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OP E R U M N E W T O N I

T O M U S Q U I N T U S .

Vol. V.

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IS A A C I N E W T O N I

O P E R A

Q U Æ E X S T A N T O M N I A .

C O M M E N T A R I I S I L L U S T R A B A T

S A M U E L H O R S L E Y , L L . D . R . S . S .

R E V E R E N D O A D M O D U M I N C H R I S T O P A T R I

R O B E R T O E P I S C O P O L O N D I N E N S I A S A C R I S

T O M . V .

L O N D I N I :
E X C U D E B A T J O A N N E S N I C H O L S .

M D C C L X X X V .

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THE
CHRONOLOGY
OF
ANTIEN KINGDOMS
AMENDED.

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ADVERTISEMENT

PREFIXED TO THE

FIRST EDITION.

THOUGH the Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended was writ by the author many years since; yet he lately revised it, and was actually preparing it for the press at the time of his death. But the Short Chronicle was never intended to be made publick, and therefore was not so lately corrected by him. To this the reader must impute it, if he shall find any places, where the Short Chronicle does not accurately agree with the dates assigned in the larger piece. The sixth chapter was not copied out with the other five, which makes it doubtful whether he intended to print it: but being found among his papers, and evidently appearing to be a continuation of the same work, and (as such) abridged in the Short Chronicle; it was thought proper to be added.

Had the great Author himself lived to publish this work, there would have been no occasion for this Advertisement; but as it is, the reader is desired to allow for such imperfections, as are inseparable from posthumous pieces; and, in so great a number of proper names, to excuse some errors of the press that have escaped.

A S H O R T
C H R O N I C L E
F R O M T H E
F I R S T M E M O R Y O F T H I N G S I N E U R O P E ,
T O T H E
C O N Q U E S T O F P E R S I A B Y A L E X A N D E R T H E G R E A T .

THE Greek antiquities are full of poetical fictions; because the Greeks wrote nothing in prose, before the conquest of Asia by Cyrus the Persian. Then Pherecydes Scyrius and Cadmus Milesius introduced the writing in prose. Pherecydes Atheniensis, about the end of the reign of Darius Hystaspis, wrote of antiquities, and digested his work by genealogies, and was reckoned one of the best genealogers. Epimenides the historian proceeded also by genealogies; and Hellanicus, who was twelve years older than Herodotus, digested his history by the ages or successions of the priestesses of Juno Argiva. Others digested theirs by the kings of the Lacedæmonians, or Archons of Athens. Hippias the Elean, about thirty years before the fall of the Persian

INTRODUC-
TION.

fian empire, published a breviary or list of the Olympic victors; and about ten years before the fall thereof, Ephorus, the disciple of Isocrates, formed a chronological history of Greece, beginning with the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, and ending with the siege of Perinthus, in the twentieth year of Philip, the father of Alexander the Great: but he digested things by generations, and the reckoning by Olympiads was not yet in use; nor doth it appear, that the reigns of kings were yet set down by numbers of years. The Arundelian marbles were composed sixty years after the death of Alexander the Great (an. 4, olymp. 128.) and yet mention not the olympiads: but in the next olympiad, Timæus Siculus published an history in several books down to his own times, according to the olympiads, comparing the ephori, the kings of Sparta, the archons of Athens, and the priestesses of Argos, with the olympic victors; so as to make the olympiads, and the genealogies and successions of kings, archons, and priestesses, and poetical histories suit with one another, according to the best of his judgment. And where he left off, Polybius began and carried on the history.

So then a little after the death of Alexander the Great, they began to set down the generations, reigns and successions, in numbers of years; and by putting reigns and successions equipollent to generations, and three generations to an hundred or an hundred and twenty years, as appears by their chronology, they have made the antiquities of Greece three or four hundred years older than the truth. And this was the original of the technical chronology of the Greeks. Eratosthenes wrote about an hundred years after the death of Alexander the Great: he was followed by Apollodorus, and these two have been followed ever since by chronologers.

But how uncertain their chronology is, and how doubtful it was reputed by the Greeks of those times, may be understood by these passages of Plutarch. "Some reckon, saith he, 'Lycurgus contemporary to Iphitus, and to have been his companion in ordering the olympic festivals: amongst whom was Aristotle the philosopher, arguing from the olympic disc, which had the name of Lycurgus upon it. Others supputing the times by the succession

"succession of the kings of the Lacedæmonians, as Eratosthenes<sup>INTRODUC-
TION.</sup> and Apollodorus affirm, that he was not a few years older than "the first olympiad." First Aristotle, and some others, made him as old as the first olympiad: then Eratosthenes, Apollodorus, and some others, made him above an hundred years older: and in another place Plutarch¹ tells us: "The congress of Solon with¹ Cræsus, some think they can confute by chronology. But an history so illustrious, and verified by so many witnesses, and (which is more) so agreeable to the manners of Solon, and so worthy of the greatness of his mind and of his wisdom, I cannot persuade myself to reject because of some chronological ca-
"nons, as they call them, which hundreds of authors correct-
"ing, have not yet been able to constitute any thing certain, in
"which they could agree among themselves, about repugnancies." It seems the chronologers had made the legislature of Solon too ancient, to consist with that congress.

For reconciling such repugnancies, chronologers have sometimes doubled the persons of men. So when the poets had changed Io, the daughter of Inachus, into the Egyptian Isis, chronologers made her husband Osiris or Bacchus, and his mistress Ariadne, as old as Io; and so feigned that there were two Ariadnes, one the mistress of Bacchus, and the other the mistress of Theseus; and two Minos's their fathers, and a younger Io the daughter of Jasus, writing Jasus corruptly for Inachus. And so they have made two Pandions, and two Erechtheus's, giving the name of Erechthonius to the first; (Homer calls the first, Erechtheus) and by such corruptions they have exceedingly perplexed ancient history.

And as for the chronology of the Latins, that is still more uncertain. Plutarch represents great uncertainties in the originals of Rome: and so doth Servius. The old records of the Latins were burnt by the Gauls, sixty and four years before the death of Alexander the Great; and Quintus Fabius Pictor, the oldest historian of the Latins, lived an hundred years later than that king.

In sacred history, the Assyrian empire began with Pul and Tiglathpilsaser, and lasted about 170 years. And accordingly
Herodotus

INTRODUC-
TION.

Herodotus hath made Semiramis only five generations, or about 166 years, older than Nitocris, the mother of the last king of Babylon. But Ctesias hath made Semiramis 1500 years older than Nitocris, and feigned a long series of kings of Assyria, whose names are not Assyrian, nor have any affinity with the Assyrian names in Scripture.

The priests of Egypt told Herodotus, that Menes built Memphis and the sumptuous temple of Vulcan, in that city: and that Rhampsinitus, Mæris, Afychis and Psammiticus, added magnificent porticos to that temple. And it is not likely that Memphis could be famous before Homer's days, who doth not mention it, or that a temple could be above two or three hundred years in building. The reign of Psammiticus began about 655 years before Christ, and I place the founding of this temple by Menes about 257 years earlier. But the priests of Egypt had so magnified their antiquities before the days of Herodotus, as to tell him that from Menes to Mæris (who reigned 200 years before Psammiticus) there were 330 kings, whose reigns took up as many ages, that is eleven thousand years; and had filled up the interval with feigned kings, who had done nothing. And before the days of Diodorus Siculus, they had raised their antiquities so much higher, as to place six, eight, or ten new reigns of kings between those kings, whom they had represented to Herodotus to succeed one another immediately.

In the kingdom of Sicyon, chronologers have split Apis, Epaphus, or Epopeus, into two kings, whom they call Apis and Epopeus; and between them have inserted eleven or twelve feigned names of kings, who did nothing; and thereby they have made its founder Ægialeus three hundred years older than his brother Phoroneus. Some have made the kings of Germany as old as the Flood: and yet, before the use of letters, the names and actions of men could scarce be remembered above eighty or an hundred years after their deaths: and therefore I admit no chronology of things done in Europe, above eighty years before Cadmus brought letters into Europe; none, of things done in Germany, before the rise of the Roman empire.

Now

Now since Eratosthenes and Apollodorus computed the times by the reigns of the kings of Sparta; and, as appears by their chronology still followed, have made the seventeen reigns of these kings in both races, between the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus and the battle of Thermopylæ, take up 622 years, which is after the rate of $36\frac{1}{2}$ years to a reign; and yet a race of seventeen kings of that length is no where to be met with in all true history; and kings at a moderate reckoning reign but eighteen or twenty years a-piece with one another: I have stated the time of the return of the Heraclidæ by the last way of reckoning, placing it about 340 years before the battle of Thermopylæ. And making the taking of Troy eighty years older than that return, according to Thucydides; and the Argonautic expedition a generation older than the Trojan war; and the wars of Sesostris in Thrace, and death of Ino the daughter of Cadmus, a generation older than that expedition: I have drawn up the following chronological table, so as to make chronology suit with the course of nature, with astronomy, with sacred history, with Herodotus the father of history, and with itself; without the many repugnancies complained of by Plutarch. I do not pretend to be exact to a year: there may be errors of five or ten years, and sometimes twenty, and not much above.

A SHORT

A S H O R T

C H R O N I C L E

F R O M T H E

FIRST MEMORY OF THINGS IN EUROPE

T O T H E

CONQUEST OF PERSIA BY ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

THE TIMES ARE SET DOWN IN YEARS BEFORE CHRIST.

THE Canaanites, who fled from Joshua, retired in great numbers into Egypt; and there conquered Timaus, Thamus, or Thammuz, king of the lower Egypt, and reigned there under their kings Salatis, Bœon, Apachnas, Apophis, Janias, Affis, &c. until the days of Eli and Samuel. They fed on flesh; and sacrificed men after the manner of the Phœnicians; and were called shepherds by the Egyptians, who lived only on the fruits of the earth, and abominated flesh-eaters. The upper parts of Egypt were in those days under many kings, reigning at Coptos, Thebes, This, Elephantis, and other places; which by conquering one another grew by degrees into one kingdom: over which Misphragmuthosis reigned in the days of Eli.

In the year before Christ 1125 Mephres reigned over the upper Egypt from Syene to Heliopolis; and his successor, Misphragmuthosis, made a lasting war upon the shepherds soon after, and caused many of them to fly into Palæstine, Idumæa, Syria, and Libya; and under Lelex, Æzeus, Inachus, Pelasgus, Æolus the First,

C H R O N O L O G Y.

9

First, Cecrops, and other captains, into Greece. Before those days Greece and all Europe was peopled by wandering Cimmerians, and Scythians from the backside of the Euxine Sea; who lived a rambling wild sort of life, like the Tartars in the northern parts of Asia. Of their race was Ogyges; in whose days these Egyptian strangers came into Greece. The rest of the shepherds were shut up by Misphragmuthosis, in a part of the lower Egypt called Abaris, or Pelusium.

In the year 1100 the Philistims, strengthened by the access of the shepherds, conquer Israel, and take the Ark. Samuel judges Israel.

1085. Hæmon, the son of Pelasgus, reigns in Theffaly.

1080. Lycaon, the son of Pelasgus, builds Lycosura; Phoroneus the son of Inachus, Phoronicum, afterwards called Argos; Ægialeus, the brother of Phoroneus and son of Inachus, Ægialeum, afterwards called Sicyon: and these were the oldest towns in Peloponnesus. Till then they built only single houses, scattered up and down in the fields. About the same time Cecrops built Cecropia in Attica, afterwards called Athens; and Eleusine, the son of Ogyges, built Eleusis. And these towns gave a beginning to the kingdoms of the Arcadians, Argives, Sicyons, Athenians, Eleusinians, &c. Deucalion flourishes.

1070. Amosis, or Tethmosis, the successor of Misphragmuthosis, abolishes the Phœnician custom in Heliopolis of sacrificing men, and drives the shepherds out of Abaris. By their access the Philistims become so numerous, as to bring into the field against Saul 30000 chariots, 6000 horsemen, and people as the sand on the sea-shore for multitude. Abas, the father of Acrisius and Proetus, comes from Egypt.

1069. Saul is made king of Israel; and, by the hand of Jonathan, gets a great victory over the Philistims. Eurotas the son of Lelex, and Lacedæmon, who married Sparta the daughter of Eurotas, reign in Laconia, and build Sparta.

1060. Samuel dies.

1059. David made king.

1048. The Edomites are conquered and dispersed by David, and some of them fly into Egypt with their young king Hadad.

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Others

CHRONICLE. Others fly to the Persian Gulph with their commander Oannes; and others from the Red Sea to the coast of the Mediterranean, and fortify Azoth against David, and take Zidon; and the Zidonians, who fled from them, built Tyre and Aradus, and make Abibalus king of Tyre. These Edomites carry to all places their arts and sciences; amongst which were their navigation, astronomy, and letters: for in Idumæa they had constellations and letters before the days of Job, who mentions them; and there Moses learnt to write the Law in a book. These Edomites, who fled to the Mediterranean, translating the word *Erythræa* into that of *Phœnicia*, give the name of Phœnicians to themselves, and that of Phœnicia to all the sea-coasts of Palæstine from Azoth to Zidon. And hence came the tradition of the Persians, and of the Phœnicians themselves, mentioned by Herodotus, that the Phœnicians came originally from the Red Sea, and presently undertook long voyages on the Mediterranean.

1047. Acrisius marries Eurydice, the daughter of Lacedæmon and Sparta. The Phœnician mariners who fled from the Red Sea, being used to long voyages for the sake of traffic, begin the like voyages on the Mediterranean from Zidon; and sailing as far as Greece, carry away to the daughter of Inachus: who, with other Grecian women, came to their ships to buy their merchandize. The Greek seas begin to be infested with pirates.

1046. The Syrians of Zobah and Damascus are conquered by David. Nyctimus, the son of Lycaon, reigns in Arcadia. Deucalion still alive.

1045. Many of the Phœnicians and Syrians, fleeing from Zidon and from David, come under the conduct of Cadmus, Cilix, Phœnix, Memblarius, Nycteus, Thafus, Atymnus, and other captains, into Asia Minor, Crete, Greece, and Libya; and introduce letters, music, poetry, the Octaeteris, metals and their fabrication, and other arts, sciences and customs of the Phœnicians. At this time Cranæus, the successor of Cecrops, reigned in Attica; and in his reign, and the beginning of the reign of Nyctimus, the Greeks place the flood of Deucalion. This flood was succeeded by four ages or generations of men, in the first of which Chiron, the son of Saturn and Philyra, was born, and the last

last of which, according to Hesiod, ended with the Trojan war; CHRONICLE. and so places the destruction of Troy four generations, or about 140 years later than that flood and the coming of Cadmus; reckoning with the ancients three generations to an hundred years. With these Phœnicians came a sort of men skilled in the religious mysteries, arts and sciences of Phœnicia, and settled in several places, under the names of Curetes, Corybantes, Telchines, and Idæi Dactyli.

1043. Hellen, the son of Deucalion, and father of Æolus, Xuthus, and Dorus, flourishes.

1035. Erectheus reigns in Attica. Æthlius, the grandson of Deucalion and father of Endymion, builds Elis. The Idæi Dactyli find out iron in mount Ida in Crete, and work it into armour and iron tools; and thereby give a beginning to the trades of smiths and armourers in Europe: and by singing and dancing in their armour, and keeping time by striking upon one another's armour with their swords, they bring in music and poetry; and at the same time they nurse up the Cretan Jupiter in a cave of the same mountain, dancing about him in their armour.

1034. Ammon reigns in Egypt. He conquered Libya, and reduced that people from a wandering savagelife to a civil one, and taught them to lay up the fruits of the earth; and from him Libya, and the desert above it, were anciently called Ammonia. He was the first that built long and tall ships with sails; and had a fleet of such ships on the Red Sea, and another on the Mediterranean at Irafra in Libya. Till then they used small and round vessels of burden, invented on the Red Sea, and kept within sight of the shore. For enabling them to cross the seas without seeing the shore, the Egyptians began in his days to observe the stars: and from this beginning astronomy and sailing had their rise. Hitherto the lunifolar year had been in use: but this year being of an uncertain length, and so, unfit for astronomy, in his days and in the days of his sons and grandsons, by observing the heliacal rising and setting of the stars, they found the length of the solar year; and made it consist of five days more than the twelve calendar months of the old lunifolar year.

CHRONICLE. Crœusa, the daughter of Erechtheus, marries Xuthus the son of Hellen. Erechtheus, having first celebrated the Panathenæa, joins horses to a chariot. Ægina, the daughter of Asopus, and mother of Æacus, born.

1030. Ceres, a woman of Sicily, in seeking her daughter who was stolen, comes into Attica; and there teaches the Greeks to sow corn: for which benefaction she was deified after death. She first taught the art to Triptolemus, the young son of Celeus king of Eleusis.

1028. Oenotrus, the young son of Lycaon, the Janus of the Latines, led the first colony of Greeks into Italy, and there taught them to build houses. Perseus born.

1020. Arcas, the son of Callisto and grandson of Lycaon, and Eumelus the first king of Achaia, receive bread-corn from Triptolemus.

1019. Solomon reigns, and marries the daughter of Ammon, and by means of this affinity is supplied with horses from Egypt; and his merchants also bring horses from thence for all the kings of the Hittites and Syrians: for horses came originally from Libya; and thence Neptune was called *Equestris*. Tantalus, king of Phrygia, steals Ganymede the son of Tros king of Troas.

1017. Solomon, by the assistance of the Tyrians and Aradians, who had mariners among them acquainted with the Red Sea, sets out a fleet upon that sea. Those assistants build new cities in the Persian Gulph, called Tyre and Aradus.

1015. The Temple of Solomon is founded. Minos reigns in Crete, expelling his father Asterius; who flees into Italy, and becomes the Saturn of the Latines. Ammon takes Gezer from the Canaanites, and gives it to his daughter, Solomon's wife.

1014. Ammon places Cepheus at Joppa.

1010. Sefac, in the reign of his father Ammon, invades Arabia Foelix, and sets up pillars at the mouth of the Red Sea. Apis, Epaphus or Epopeus, the son of Phroroneus, and Nycteus king of Boeotia slain. Lycus inherits the kingdom of his brother Nycteus. Ætolus, the son of Endymion, flies into the country of the Curetes in Achaia, and calls it Ætolia; and of Pronoë, the daughter of Phorbas, begets Pleuron and Calydon; who built cities

CHRONICLE. ties in Ætolia called by their own names. Antiopa, the daughter of Nycteus, is sent home to Lycus by Lamedon, the successor of Apis, and in the way brings forth Amphion and Zethus.

1008. Sefac, in the reign of his father Ammon, invades Africa and Spain; and sets up pillars in all his conquests, and particularly at the mouth of the Mediterranean; and returns home by the coast of Gaul and Italy.

1007. Ceres being dead, Eumolpus institutes her mysteries in Eleusine. The mysteries of Rhea are instituted in Phrygia, in the city Cybele. About this time temples begin to be built in Greece. Hyagnis the Phrygian invents the pipe. After the example of the common-council of the five lords of the Philistines, the Greeks set up the Amphictyonic council; first at Thermopylæ; by the influence of Amphictyon the son of Deucalion; and a few years after at Delphi, by the influence of Acrisius. Among the cities, whose deputies met at Thermopylæ, I do not find Athens, and therefore doubt whether Amphictyon was king of that city. If he was the son of Deucalion, and brother of Hellen; he and Cranius might reign together in several parts of Attica. But I meet with a later Amphictyon, who entertained the great Bacchus. This council worshipped Ceres, and therefore was instituted after her death.

1006. Minos prepares a fleet; clears the Greek seas of pirates, and sends colonies to the islands of the Greeks; some of which were not inhabited before. Cecrops II. reigns in Attica. Caucon teaches the mysteries of Ceres in Messene.

1005. Andromeda carried away from Joppa by Perseus. Pandion, the brother of Cecrops II, reigns in Attica. Car, the son of Phoroneus, builds a temple to Ceres.

1002. Sefac reigns in Egypt, and adorns Thebes, dedicating it to his father Ammon, by the name of No-Ammon or Ammon-No; that is the people or city of Ammon: whence the Greeks called it Diospolis, the city of Jupiter. Sefac also erected temples and oracles to his father in Thebes, Ammonia, and Ethiopia; and thereby caused his father to be worshipped as a god in those countries, and I think also in Arabia Foelix: and this was the original of the worship of Jupiter Ammon, and the first mention

CHRONICLE. tion of oracles that I meet with in prophane history. War between Pandion and Labdacus the grandson of Cadmus.

994. Ægeus reigns in Attica.

993. Pelops, the son of Tantalus, comes into Peloponnesus; marries Hippodamia the grand-daughter of Acrisius; takes Ætolia from Ætolus the son of Endymion; and by his riches grows potent.

990. Amphion and Zethus slay Lycus; put Laius the son of Labdacus to flight; and reign in Thebes, and wall the city about.

989. Dædalus, and his nephew Talus, invent the saw; the turning-lath; the wimble; the chip-ax; and other instruments of carpenters and joiners; and thereby give a beginning to those arts in Europe. Dædalus also invented the making of statues with their feet asunder, as if they walked.

988. Minos makes war upon the Athenians, for killing his son Androgeus. Æacus flourishes.

987. Dædalus kills his nephew Talus, and flies to Minos. A priestess of Jupiter Ammon, being brought by Phœnician merchants into Greece, sets up the oracle of Jupiter at Dodona. This gives a beginning to oracles in Greece: and by their dictates, the worship of the dead is every where introduced.

983. Sisyphus, the son of Æolus and grandson of Hellen, reigns in Corinth, and some say that he built that city.

980. Laius recovers the kingdom of Thebes. Athamas, the brother of Sisyphus and father of Phrixus and Helle, marries Ino the daughter of Cadmus.

979. Rehoboam reigns. Thoas is sent from Crete to Lemnos; reigns there in the city Hephæstia; and works in copper and iron.

978. Alcmena born, of Electryo, the son of Perseus and Andromeda, and of Lyfidice the daughter of Pelops.

974. Sefac spoils the Temple, and invades Syria and Persia, setting up pillars in many places. Jeroboam, becoming subject to Sefac, sets up the worship of the Egyptian gods in Israel.

971. Sefac invades India, and returns with triumph the next year but one: whence *Trieterica Bacchi*. He sets up pillars on two mountains at the mouth of the river Ganges.

968. Theseus reigns, having overcome the Minotaur; and soon after unites the twelve cities of Attica under one government. Sefac, having carried on his victories to Mount Caucasus, leaves his nephew Prometheus there, and Æetes in Colchis.

967. Sefac, passing over the Hellespont, conquers Thrace; kills Lycurgus king thereof; and gives his kingdom, and one of his singing-women, to Oeagrus the father of Orpheus. Sefac had in his army Ethiopians commanded by Pan, and Libyan women commanded by Myrina, or Minerva. It was the custom of the Ethiopians to dance, when they were entering into a battle; and from their skipping they were painted with goats feet in the form of satyrs.

966. Thoas, being made king of Cyprus by Sefac, goes thither with his wife Calycopis, and leaves his daughter Hypsipyle in Lemnos.

965. Sefac is baffled by the Greeks and Scythians; loses many of his women with their queen Minerva; composes the war; is received by Amphiction at a feast; buries Ariadne; goes back through Asia and Syria into Egypt with innumerable captives, among whom was Tithonus, the son of Laomedon king of Troy; and leaves his Libyan Amazons, under Marthesia and Lampeto, the successors of Minerva, at the river Thermodon. He left also in Colchos geographical tables of all his conquests; and thence geography had its rise. His singing-women were celebrated in Thrace by the name of the Muses. And the daughters of Pierus, a Thracian, imitating them, were celebrated by the same name.

964. Minos, making war upon Cocalus king of Sicily, is slain by him. He was eminent for his dominion, his laws, and his justice: upon his sepulchre, visited by Pythagoras, was this inscription, ΤΟΤ ΔΙΟC; the sepulchre of Jupiter. Danaus with his daughters flying from his brother Egyptus (that is from Sefac) comes into Greece. Sefac, using the advice of his secretary Thoth, distributes Egypt into xxxvi Nomes; and in every Nome erects a temple; and appoints the several gods, festivals, and religions of the several Nomes. The temples were the sepulchres of his great men; where they were to be buried and worshipped.

CHRONICLE worshipped after death, each in his own temple, with ceremonies and festivals appointed by him; while he and his queen, by the names of Osiris and Isis, were to be worshipped in all Egypt. These were the temples seen and described by Lucian eleven hundred years after, to be of one and the same age; and this was the original of the several Nomes of Egypt, and of the several gods and several religions of those nomes. Sefac divided also the land of Egypt by measure amongst his soldiers; and thence geometry had its rise. Hercules and Eurystheus born.

963. Amphictyon brings the twelve gods of Egypt into Greece; and these are the *Dii magni majorum gentium*, to whom the earth and planets and elements are dedicated.

962. Phryxus and Helle fly from their step-mother Ino, the daughter of Cadmus. Helle is drowned in the Hellespont, so named from her; but Phryxus arrived at Colchos.

960. The war between the Lapithæ and the people of Thesfaly, called Centaurs.

958. Oedipus kills his father Laius. Sthenelus, the son of Perseus, reigns in Mycenæ.

956. Sefac is slain by his brother Japetus; who after death was deified in Afric by the name of Neptune, and called Typhon by the Egyptians. Orus reigns and routs the Libyans; who, under the conduct of Japetus, and his son Antæus or Atlas, invaded Egypt. Sefac, from his making the river Nile useful, by cutting channels from it to all the cities of Egypt, was called by its names, Sihor or Siris, Nilus and Egyptus. The Greeks hearing the Egyptians lament, *O Siris* and *Bou Siris*, called him Osiris and Busiris. The Arabians from his great acts called him Bacchus; that is, the Great. The Phrygians called him Ma-fors, or Mavors, The Valiant; and, by contraction, Mars. Because he set up pillars in all his conquests, and his army in his father's reign fought against the Africans with clubs, he is painted with pillars and a club. And this is that Hercules who, according to Cicero, was born upon the Nile; and, according to Eudoxus, was slain by Typhon; and, according to Diodorus, was an Egyptian; and went over a great part of the world, and set up the pillars in Afric. He seems to be also the Belus, who, according to Diodorus, led

CHRONICLE a colony of Egyptians to Babylon; and there instituted priests called Chaldeans, who were free from taxes, and observed the stars, as in Egypt. Hitherto Judah and Israel laboured under great vexations; but henceforward Afa, king of Judah, had peace ten years.

947. The Ethiopians invade Egypt, and drown Orus in the Nile. Thereupon Bubaste, the sister of Orus, kills herself, by falling from the top of an house, and their mother Isis, or Atræa, goes mad: and thus ended the reign of the gods of Egypt.

946. Zerah the Ethiopian is overthrown by Afa. The people of the lower Egypt make Ofarsiphus their king, and call in two hundred thousand Jews and Phœnicians against the Ethiopians. Menes or Amenophis, the young son of Zerah and Cissia, reigns.

944. The Ethiopians under Amenophis retire from the lower Egypt, and fortify Memphis against Ofarsiphus. And by these wars and the Argonautic expedition, the great empire of Egypt breaks in pieces. Eurystheus, the son of Sthenelus, reigns in Mycenæ.

943. Evander and his mother Carmenta carry letters into Italy.

942. Orpheus deifies the son of Semele, by the name of Bacchus, and appoints his ceremonies.

940. The great men of Greece, hearing of the civil wars and distractions of Egypt, resolve to send an embassy to the nations upon the Euxine and Mediterranean seas, subject to that empire; and for that end ordered the building of the ship Argo.

939. The ship Argo is built, after the pattern of the long ship in which Danæus came into Greece: and this was the first long ship built by the Greeks. Chiron, who was born in the Golden Age, forms the constellations for the use of the Argonauts; and places the solstitial and equinoctial points in the fifteenth degrees, or middles, of the constellations of Cancer, Chelæ, Capricorn, and Aries. Meton, in the year of Nabonassar 316, observed the summer solstice in the eighth degree of Cancer; and therefore the solstice had then gone back seven degrees. It goes back one degree in about seventy-two years; and seven degrees in about 504 years. Count these years back from the year of Nabonassar

CHRONICLE. bonassar 316, and they will place the Argonautic expedition about 936 years before Christ. Gingris, the son of Thoas, slain, and deified by the name of Adonis.

938. Theseus, being fifty years old, steals Helena, then seven years old. Pirithous, the son of Ixion, endeavouring to steal Persephone, the daughter of Orcus king of the Molossians, is slain by the dog of Orcus; and his companion Theseus is taken and imprisoned. Helena is set at liberty by her brothers.

937. The Argonautic expedition. Prometheus leaves Mount Caucasus, being set at liberty by Hercules. Laomedon, king of Troy, is slain by Hercules. Priam succeeds him. Talus, a brazen man, of the brazen age, the son of Minos, is slain by the Argonauts. Æsculapius and Hercules were Argonauts, and Hippocrates was the eighteenth from Æsculapius by the father's side, and the nineteenth from Hercules by the mother's side; and because these generations, being noted in history, were most probably by the chief of the family, and for the most part by the eldest sons; we may reckon 28, or at the most 30 years, to a generation: and thus the seventeen intervals by the father's side, and eighteen by the mother's, will, at a middle reckoning, amount unto about 507 years; which being counted backwards from the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, at which time Hippocrates began to flourish, will reach up to the time where we have placed the Argonautic expedition.

936. Theseus is set at liberty by Hercules.

934. The hunting of the Calydonian boar, slain by Meleager.

930. Amenophis, with an army out of Ethiopia and Thebais, invades the lower Egypt; conquers Osarsiphus; and drives out the Jews and Canaanites: and this is reckoned the second expulsion of the shepherds. Calycopis dies; and is deified by Thoas with temples at Paphos and Amathus in Cyprus, and at Byblus in Syria, and with priests and sacred rites; and becomes the Venus of the ancients, and the *Dea Cypria* and *Dea Syria*. And from these and other places, where temples were erected to her, she was also called Paphia, Amathusia, Byblia, Cytherea, Sallaminia, Cnidia, Erycina, Idalia, &c. And her three waiting-women became the three graces.

928. The war of the seven captains against Thebes.

927. Hercules and Æsculapius are deified. Eurytheus drives the Heracidae out of Peloponnesus. He is slain by Hyllus, the son of Hercules. Atreus, the son of Pelops, succeeds him in the kingdom of Mycenæ. Menestheus, the great grandson of Erechtheus, reigns at Athens.

925. Theseus is slain, being cast down from a rock.

924. Hyllus, invading Peloponnesus, is slain by Echemus.

919. Atreus dies. Agamemnon reigns. In the absence of Menelaus, who went to look after what his father Atreus had left to him, Paris steals Helena.

918. The second war against Thebes.

912. Thoas, king of Cyprus and part of Phœnicia, dies; and for making armour for the kings of Egypt, is deified with a sumptuous temple at Memphis, by the name of Baal Canaan, Vulcan. This temple was said to be built by Menes, the first king of Egypt, who reigned next after the gods; that is, by Menoph or Amenophis, who reigned next after the death of Osiris, Isis, Orus, Bubaste and Thoth. The city Memphis was also said to be built by Menes; he began to build it, when he fortified it against Osarsiphus. And from him it was called Menoph, Moph, Noph, &c. and is to this day called Menuf by the Arabians. And therefore Menes, who built the city and temple, was Menoph or Amenophis. The priests of Egypt at length made this temple above a thousand years older than Amenophis, and some of them five or ten thousand years older: but it could not be above two or three hundred years older than the reign of Psammiticus who finished it, and died 614 years before Christ. When Menoph, or Menes, built the city, he built a bridge there over the Nile: a work too great to be older than the monarchy of Egypt.

909. Amenophis, called Memnon by the Greeks, built the Memnonia at Susa, whilst Egypt was under the government of Proteus, his viceroy.

904. Troy taken. Amenophis was still at Susa; the Greeks feigning that he came from thence to the Trojan war.

CHRONICLE. 903. Demophoon, the son of Theseus by Phœdra the daughter of Minos, reigns at Athens.

901. Amenophis builds small pyramids in Cochoe.

896. Ulysses leaves Calypso in the island Ogygia (perhaps Cadis or Cales). She was the daughter of Atlas, according to Homer. The ancients at length feigned that this island, which from Atlas they called Atlantis, had been as big as all Europe, Africa and Asia, but was sunk into the sea.

895. Teucer builds Salamis in Cyprus. Hadad, or Benhadad, king of Syria dies; and is deified at Damascus with a temple and ceremonies.

887. Amenophis dies; and is succeeded by his son Rameffes, or Rhampsinetus; who builds the western portico of the temple of Vulcan. The Egyptians dedicated to Osiris, Isis, Orus senior, Typhon, and Nephthe, the sister and wife of Typhon, the five days added by the Egyptians to the twelve calendar months of the old luni-solar year; and said, that they were added when these five princes were born. They were therefore added in the reign of Ammon, the father of these five princes. But this year was scarce brought into common use, before the reign of Amenophis: for in his temple or sepulchre at Abydos, they placed a circle of 365 cubits in compass, covered on the upper side with a plate of gold, and divided into 365 equal parts, to represent all the days of the year; every part having the day of the year, and the heliacal risings and settings of the stars on that day, noted upon it: and this circle remained there, till Cambyses spoiled the temples of Egypt. And from this monument I collect, that it was Amenophis who established this year, fixing the beginning thereof to one of the four cardinal points of the heavens. For had not the beginning thereof been now fixed, the heliacal risings and settings of the stars could not have been noted upon the days thereof. The priests of Egypt, therefore, in the reign of Amenophis, continued to observe the heliacal risings and settings of the stars upon every day. And when by the sun's meridional altitudes they had found the solstices and equinoxes, according to the sun's mean motion, his equation being not yet known; they fixed the beginning of this year to the vernal

vernal equinox; and in memory thereof erected this monument. CHRONICLE.

Now this year being carried into Chaldaea, the Chaldeans began their year of Nabonassar on the same Thoth with the Egyptians, and made it of the same length. And the Thoth of the first year of Nabonassar fell upon the 26th day of February: which was 33 days and five hours before the vernal equinox, according to the sun's mean motion. And the Thoth of this year moves backwards 33 days and five hours in 137 years; and therefore fell upon the vernal equinox 137 years before the æra of Nabonassar began; that is, 884 years before Christ. And if it began upon the day next after the vernal equinox, it might begin three or four years earlier; and there we may place the death of this king. The Greeks feigned that he was the son of Tithonus; and therefore he was born after the return of Sefac into Egypt with Tithonus and other captives; and so might be about 70 or 75 years old at his death.

883. Dido builds Carthage; and the Phœnicians begin presently after to sail as far as to the Straights Mouth, and beyond. Æneas was still alive, according to Virgil.

870. Hesiod flourishes. He hath told us himself, that he lived in the age next after the wars of Thebes and Troy; and that this age should end, when the men then living grew hoary, and dropt into the grave; and therefore it was but of an ordinary length: and Herodotus has told us, that Hesiod and Homer were about 400 years older than himself. Whence it follows, that the destruction of Troy was not older, than we have represented it.

860. Mœris reigns in Egypt. He adorned Memphis, and translated the seat of his empire thither from Thebes. There he built the famous labyrinth, and the northern portico of the temple of Vulcan; and dug the great lake called the lake of Mœris; and upon the bottom of it built two great pyramids of brick: and these things being not mentioned by Homer or Hesiod, were unknown to them, and done after their days. Mœris wrote also a book of geometry.

852. Hazael, the successor of Hadad at Damascus, dies; and is deified, as was Hadad before: and these gods, together with

CHRONICLE. Arathes the wife of Hadad, were worshipped in their sepulchres or temples, till the days of Josephus the Jew; and the Syrians boasted their antiquity; not knowing, saith Josephus, that they were Eovel.

844. The Æolic migration. Bœotia, formerly called Cadmeis, is seized by the Bœotians.

838. Cheops reigns in Egypt. He built the greatest pyramid for his sepulchre, and forbade the worship of the former kings; intending to have been worshiped himself.

825. The Heraclidæ, after three generations, or an hundred years, reckoned from their former expedition, return into Peloponnesus. Henceforward, to the end of the first Messenian war, reigned ten kings of Sparta by one race, and nine by another; ten of Messene, and nine of Arcadia: which, by reckoning (according to the ordinary course of nature) about twenty years to a reign, one reign with another, will take up about 190 years. And the seven reigns more in one of the two races of the kings of Sparta, and eight in the other, to the battle at Thermopylæ, may take about 150 years more: and so place the return of the Heraclidæ about 820 years before Christ.

824. Cephren reigns in Egypt, and builds another great pyramid.

808. Mycerinus reigns there, and begins the third great pyramid. He shut up the body of his daughter in a hollow ox, and caused her to be worshiped daily with odours.

804. The war between the Athenians and Spartans; in which Codrus, king of the Athenians, is slain.

802. Nitocris, the sister of Mycerinus, succeeds him; and finishes the third great pyramid.

794. The Ionic migration, under the conduct of the sons of Codrus.

790. Pul founds the Assyrian empire.

788. Asychis reigns in Egypt, and builds the eastern portico of the temple of Vulcan very splendidly; and a large pyramid of brick, made of mud dug out of the lake of Mœris. Egypt breaks into several kingdoms. Gnephactus and Bocchoris reign successively in the upper Egypt; Stephanatis, Necepsos and Nechus,

CHRONICLE. chus, at Sais; Anyfis or Amosis, at Anyfis or Hanes; and Ta-cellotis, at Bubaste.

776. Iphitus restores the Olympiads. And from this æra the olympiads are now reckoned. Gnephactus reigns at Memphis.

772. Necepsos and Pelosiris invent astrology in Egypt.

760. Semiramis begins to flourish. Sanchoniatho writes.

751. Sabacon, the Ethiopian, invades Egypt, now divided into various kingdoms; burns Bocchoris; slays Nechus; and makes Anyfis fly.

747. Pul, king of Assyria, dies; and is succeeded at Nineveh by Tiglathpilasser, and at Babylon by Nabonassar. The Egyptians, who fled from Sabacon, carry their astrology and astronomy to Babylon, and found the æra of Nabonassar in Egyptian years.

740. Tiglathpilasser, king of Assyria, takes Damascus, and captivates the Syrians.

729. Tiglathpilasser is succeeded by Salmanasser.

721. Salmanasser, king of Assyria, carries the ten tribes into captivity.

719. Sennacherib reigns over Assyria. Archias, the son of Evagetus, of the stock of Hercules, leads a colony from Corinth into Sicily, and builds Syracuse.

717. Tiribakah reigns in Ethiopia.

714. Sennacherib is put to flight by the Ethiopians and Egyptians, with great slaughter.

711. The Medes revolt from the Assyrians. Sennacherib slain. Asserhadon succeeds him: that is, that Asserhadon-Pul, or Sardanapalus, the son of Anacyndaraxis, or Sennacherib, who built Tarsus and Anchiale in one day.

710. Lycurgus brings the poems of Homer out of Asia into Greece.

708. Lycurgus becomes tutor to Charillus, or Charilæus, the young king of Sparta. Aristotle makes Lycurgus as old as Iphitus, because his name was upon the olympic disc. But the disc was one of the five games called the Quinquertium, and the Quinquertium was first instituted upon the eighteenth olympiad. Socrates and Thucydides made the institutions of Lycurgus about

CHRONICLE. 300 years older than the end of the Peloponnesian war, that is, 705 years before Christ.

701. Sabacon, after a reign of 50 years, relinquishes Egypt to his son Sevechus, or Sethon, who becomes priest of Vulcan, and neglects military affairs.

698. Manasseh reigns.

697. The Corinthians begin first of any men to build ships with three orders of oars, called Triremes. Hitherto the Greeks had used long vessels of fifty oars.

687. Tirhakah reigns in Egypt.

681. Afferhadon invades Babylon.

673. The Jews conquered by Afferhadon, and Manasseh carried captive to Babylon.

671. Afferhadon invades Egypt. The government of Egypt committed to twelve princes.

668. The western nations of Syria, Phœnicia, and Egypt, revolt from the Assyrians. Afferhadon dies, and is succeeded by Saolduchinus. Manasseh returns from captivity.

658. Phraortes reigns in Media. The Prytanes reign in Corinth, expelling their kings.

657. The Corinthians overcome the Corcyreans at sea: and this was the oldest sea-fight.

655. Psammiticus becomes king of all Egypt, by conquering the other eleven kings, with whom he had already reigned fifteen years: he reigned about 39 years more. Henceforward the Ionians had access into Egypt; and thence came the Ionian philosophy, astronomy, and geometry.

652. The first Messenian war begins: it lasted twenty years.

647. Charops, the first decennial archon of the Athenians. Some of these archons might die before the end of the ten years, and the remainder of the ten years be supplied by a new archon. And hence the seven decennial archons might not take up above forty or fifty years. Saolduchinus king of Assyria dies, and is succeeded by Chyniladon.

640. Josiah reigns in Judæa.

636. Phraortes, king of the Medes, is slain in a war against the Assyrians. Astyages succeeds him.

635. The Scythians invade the Medes and Assyrians.

633. Battus builds Cyrene; where Irafæ, the city of Antæus, had stood.

627. Rome is built.

625. Nabopolassar revolts from the king of Assyria, and reigns over Babylon. Phalantus leads the Parthenians into Italy; and builds Tarentum.

617. Psammiticus dies. Nechaoh reigns in Egypt.

611. Cyaxeres reigns over the Medes.

610. The princes of the Scythians slain in a feast by Cyaxeres.

609. Josiah slain. Cyaxeres and Nebuchadnezzar overthrow Nineveh; and, by sharing the Assyrian empire, grow great.

607. Creon the first annual archon of the Athenians. The second Messenian war begins. Cyaxeres makes the Scythians retire beyond Colchos and Iberia, and seizes the Assyrian provinces of Armenia, Pontus, and Cappadocia.

606. Nebuchadnezzar invades Syria and Judæa.

604. Nabopolassar dies; and is succeeded by his son Nebuchadnezzar, who had already reigned two years with his father.

600. Darius the Mede, the son of Cyaxeres, is born.

599. Cyrus is born of Mandane, the sister of Cyaxeres, and daughter of Astyages.

596. Susiana and Elam conquered by Nebuchadnezzar. Caranus and Perdiccas fly from Phidon, and found the kingdom of Macedon. Phidon introduces weights and measures, and the coining of silver money.

590. Cyaxeres makes war upon Alyattes king of Lydia.

588. The Temple of Solomon is burnt by Nebuchadnezzar. The Messenians being conquered, fly into Sicily, and build Messana.

585. In the sixth year of the Lydian war, a total eclipse of the sun, predicted by Thales, May the 28th, puts an end to a battle between the Medes and Lydians: whereupon they make peace; and ratify it by a marriage between Darius Medus the son of Cyaxeres, and Ariene the daughter of Alyattes.

584. Phidon presides in the 49th olympiad.

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580. Phidon is overthrown. Two men chosen by lot, out of the city Elis, to preside in the olympic games.

572. Draco is archon of the Athenians, and makes laws for them.

568. The Amphictions make war upon the Cirrheans, by the advice of Solon, and take Cirrha. Clisthenes, Alcmaeon, and Eurolicus, commanded the forces of the Amphictions, and were contemporary to Phidon. For Leocides, the son of Phidon, and Megacles, the son of Alcmaeon, at one and the same time, courted Agarista the daughter of Clisthenes.

569. Nebuchadnezzar invades Egypt. Darius the Mede reigns.

562. Solon, being archon of the Athenians, makes laws for them.

557. Periander dies; and Corinth becomes free from taxes.

555. Nabonadius reigns at Babylon. His mother Nitocris adorns and fortifies that city.

550. Pisistratus becomes tyrant at Athens. The conference between Croesus and Solon.

549. Solon dies, Hegestratus being archon of Athens.

544. Sardes is taken by Cyrus. Darius the Mede recoins the Lydian money into Darics.

538. Babylon is taken by Cyrus.

536. Cyrus overcomes Darius the Mede, and translates the empire to the Persians. The Jews return from captivity, and found the second Temple.

529. Cyrus dies. Cambyfes reigns.

521. Darius, the son of Hytaspes, reigns. The Magi are slain. The various religions of the several nations of Persia, which consisted in the worship of their ancient kings, are abolished; and by the influence of Hytaspes and Zoroaster, the worship of One God at altars, without temples, is set up in all Persia.

520. The second Temple is built at Jerusalem, by the command of Darius.

515. The second Temple is finished and dedicated.

513. Harmodius and Aristogiton slay Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus, tyrant of the Athenians.

508. The kings of the Romans expelled, and consuls erected.

491. The battle of Marathon.

485. Xerxes reigns.

480. The passage of Xerxes over the Hellespont into Greece, and battles of Thermopylæ and Salamis.

464. Artaxerxes Longimanus reigns.

457. Ezra returns into Judæa. Johanan, the father of Jaddua, was now grown up, having a chamber in the Temple.

444. Nehemiah returns into Judæa. Herodotus writes.

431. The Peloponnesian war begins.

428. Nehemiah drives away Manasseh, the brother of Jaddua, because he had married Nicaso, the daughter of Sanballat.

424. Darius Nothus reigns.

422. Sanballat builds a temple in Mount Gerizim; and makes his son-in-law Manasseh the first high-priest thereof.

412. Hitherto the priests and Levites were numbered, and written in the chronicles of the Jews, before the death of Nehemiah: at which time either Johanan or Jaddua was high-priest. And here ends the sacred history of the Jews.

405. Artaxerxes Mnemon reigns. The end of the Peloponnesian war.

359. Artaxerxes Ochus reigns.

338. Arogus reigns.

336. Darius Codomannus reigns.

332. The Persian empire conquered by Alexander the Great.

331. Darius Codomannus, the last king of Persia, slain.

T H E

C H R O N O L O G Y

O F

A N C I E N T K I N G D O M S

A M E N D E D.

C H A P. I.

Of the chronology of the first ages of the Greeks.

CHAPTER
FIRST.

^a Herod. l. 2.
c. 142.

ALL nations, before they began to keep exact accounts of time, have been prone to raise their antiquities; and this humour has been promoted, by the contentions between nations about their originals. Herodotus ^a tells us, that the priests of Egypt reckoned, from the reign of Menes to that of Sethon, who put Sennacherib to flight, three hundred forty and one ge-

(¹) This is a mistake. The Egyptians, according to Herodotus, reckoned 15000 years not from Pan, but from Bacchus to Amosis. This however does not invalidate Sir Isaac Newton's reasoning, when he would infer, from the example of the Egyptians, the proneness of nations to raise their antiquities, but rather strengthens it: because Bacchus, according to the Egyptians, was younger than Pan. Herod. lib. II. c. 145.

(²) Lib. II. c. 43.

(³) Simplicius relates this in his commentary upon Aristotle De Cælo, p. 123, upon the authority of Porphyry.

(⁴) Diod. Sic. p. 118. Cic. de Div. lib. 1. c. 19, and lib. 2. c. 46. Syncell. Chronogr. p. 17.

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nerations of men, and as many priests of Vulcan, and as many ^{GREEKS.} kings of Egypt: and that three hundred generations make ten thousand years; for, saith he, three generations of men make an hundred years: and the remaining forty and one generations make 1340 years: and so the whole time from the reign of Menes to that of Sethon was 11340 years. And by this way of reckoning, and allotting longer reigns to the gods of Egypt than to the kings which followed them, Herodotus tells us from the priests of Egypt, that from Pan to Amosis were 15000 years (¹); and from Hercules to Amosis 17000 years (²). So also the Chaldæans boasted of their antiquity; for Callisthenes, the disciple of Aristotle, sent astronomical observations from Babylon to Greece, said to be of 1903 (³) years standing before the times of Alexander the Great. And the Chaldeans boasted further, that they had observed the stars 473000 (⁴) years; and there were others who made the kingdoms of Assyria, Media, and Damascus, much older than the truth.

II. Some of the Greeks called the times before the reign of Ogyges, Unknown (¹), because they had no history of them: those between his flood and the beginning of the olympiads, Fabulous; because their history was much mixed with poetical fables: and those after the beginning of the olympiads, Historical; because their history was free from such fables. The fabulous ages wanted a good chronology; and so also did the historical, for the first 60 or 70 olympiads.

III. The Europeans had no chronology before the times of the Persian empire: and whatsoever chronology they now have of ancienter times, hath been framed since by reasoning and conjecture. In the beginning of that monarchy, Acusilaus made Phoroneus as old as Ogyges and his flood; and that flood 1020 (¹) years

§ II.

(¹) This division of times into the *αἰὼν, μυθικός, and ἱστοικός*; (the first comprizing all that preceded the Ogygian flood; the second, the interval between that flood and the first olympiad; the third beginning with the first olympiad) was Varro's. *Vid. Censorinum de Die Natali, c. 21.*

§ III.

(¹) This Sir John Martham affirms, upon the authority, as he imagines, of a fragment of Africanus preserved by Eusebius, *Præp. Evang. p. 287.* But in this fragment, Acusilaus is indeed the authority, for making the Ogygian flood happen in Attica, while Phoroneus was reigning at

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years older than the first olympiad; which is above 680 years older than the truth: and to make out this reckoning, his followers have encreased the reigns of kings in length and number. Plutarch^a tells us, that the philosophers anciently delivered their opinions in verse; as Orpheus, Hesiod, Parmenides, Xenophanes, Empedocles, Thales; but afterwards left off the use of verses; and that Aristarchus, Timocharis, Aristillus, Hipparchus, did not make astronomy the more contemptible, by describing it in prose, after Euxodus, Hesiod, and Thales, had wrote of it in verse. Solon wrote^b in verse; and all the Seven Wise Men were addicted to poetry, as⁽²⁾ Anaximenes^c affirmed. Till those days⁽³⁾ the Greeks wrote only in verse; and while they did so, there could be no chronology, nor any other history, than such as was mixed with poetical fancies. Pliny^d, in reckoning up the inventors of things, tells us, that Pherecydes Syrius taught to compose discourses in prose, in the reign of Cyrus; and Cadmus Milesius, to write history. And in^e another place he saith, that Cadmus Milesius was the first that wrote in prose. Josephus tells us^f, that Cadmus Milesius and Acusilaus were but a little before the expedition of the Persians against the

Greeks:

at Argos; but not for the number of years, between Ogyges and the first olympiad. This Africanus seems to have determined for himself, and he alleges nothing for it but his own calculations.

⁽²⁾ PROBABLY that Anaximenes of Lampascus, who is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, and other ancient writers, as the author of a work entitled *ἱστορίαι*. It was a history, which began with a Theogony and the first race of men; and was carried down to the battle of Mantinea and the death of Epaminondas. It consisted of 12 books, which comprized, saith Diodorus (p. 504) almost all the affairs both of Greeks and barbarians. See *Meursius in Chalcidion*.

⁽³⁾ STRABO mentions Cadmus, Pherecydes, and Hecataeus, as the first prose writers. Of these Cadmus was probably contemporary with Halyattes, the father of Croesus; and therefore somewhat earlier than the beginning of the Persian monarchy. (See Vossius de Hist. Gr. lib. 4. c. 1.) Hecataeus was somewhat later; being contemporary with Darius, the son of Hytaspes. Pherecydes of Scyros flourished in the 59th olympiad, according to Diogenes Laertius; therefore in the time of Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy. This Pherecydes was probably a different person from the preceptor of Pythagoras. See *Salmasius Laertii. Pion p. 594, edit. Ultra Trajecti*, tra. tract.

⁽⁴⁾ THAT Epimenides the genealoger was a different person from the Cretan philosopher, we learn from Diogenes Laertius (Tom. I. p. 74) who ascribes, however, some writings in prose to the philosopher. I know not upon what ground Vossius took up his opinion, that there were two genealogers of this name. Diogenes Laertius, the only author that he cites for it, says no such thing.

⁽⁵⁾ Vid. Voss. de Hist. Gr. lib. 1. c. 1.

⁽⁶⁾ THUCYDIDES defines the time when the Peloponnesian war commenced by the Athenian archon, the Spartan Ephorus, and the year of the priests of Juno at Argos. And the scholiast remarks upon the place, that the Argives kept the reckoning of their time by the succession of the

Greeks: and Suidas^a calls Acusilaus a most ancient historian; and saith, that he wrote genealogies out of tables of brass, which his father, as was reported, found in a corner of his house. Who hid them there, may be doubted: for the Greeks^b had no publick table or inscription older than the laws of Draco. Phe-
recydes Atheniensis, in the reign of Darius Hytaspis, or soon after, wrote of the antiquities and ancient genealogies of the Athenians, in ten books; and was one of the first European writers of this kind, and one of the best; whence he had the name of *Genealogus*; and by Dionysius^c Halicarnassensis is said to be second to none of the genealogers. Epimenides, not the philosopher but an historian⁽⁴⁾, wrote also of the ancient genealogies: and Hellanicus, who was twelve years older than Herodotus⁽⁵⁾, digested his history by the ages or successions of the priestesses of Juno Argiva⁽⁶⁾. Others digested theirs by those of the archons of Athens, or kings of the Lacedæmonians. Hippias the Elean published a breviary of the olympiads, supported by no certain arguments, as Plutarch^d tells us: he lived in the 105th olympiad⁽⁷⁾, and was derided by Plato for his ignorance.

This

the priestesses. (Vid. Thucyd. p. 84.) Dionysius Halicarnassensis, in his Roman antiquities, relating the different opinions of authors of note concerning the builder of Rome and the time when Rome was built, speaks of one, whom he describes without naming him as the writer who had collected the Argive priestesses, and the facts which had happened in the time of each (p. 58.) And in another place, where he would define the time of the expulsion of the Siculi from Italy, he says, "In this manner the race of the Siculi left Italy, as Hellanicus of Lesbos saith, in the third generation before the Trojan war, in the 26th year of the priesthood of Alecyone at Argos" (lib. 1. c. 22.) From all these circumstances put together it seems evident, that Hellanicus's history was digested by the years of the Argive priestesses. And it puts the thing out of doubt, that Stephanus Byzantinus frequently refers to Hellanicus in the 1st, 2d, or 3d book of the priestesses of Juno. See Stephanus in the articles *Νίζαία*, *Σιπυλῶν*, *Φαίαξ*, *Φρικύς*, *Χαίρωνας*, *Χαλκίς*, *Χαονία*. The learned reader, for further information, may consult Meursius *De Arcbontibus Atheniensium*, and Valesius in *Exc. Polyb.*

⁽⁷⁾ He must have lived sooner; if he was, as Newton supposes, the same person with Hippias the sophist, the object of Plato's raillery. This person, in the two dialogues in which he bears so conspicuous a part, is not made to address Socrates in the character of a very young man conversing with an old one. On the contrary, in the first, *Περὶ τοῦ Ψεύδους*, he speaks as if he had for some time been in the practice of displaying his dialectic talents at the olympic festival. And in the other, *Περὶ τοῦ Καλῶς*, he talks of important embassies, in which he had been employed. He was therefore in the height of his fame, during the life of Socrates; which ended in the 1st year of the 95th olympiad. Some learned men, in the text of Plutarch, for *ἑπταετηρὲς ἐκδιδάσκει τὸν Ἡρόδοτον*, would read *ἑπταετηρὲς ἐκδιδάσκει τὸν Διόδωρον*. The Scholiast on Apollonius Argonaut. lib. 3. lin. 1178, quotes one Hippias of Delus: but the only reason for introducing him here is, that it is imagined, Plutarch would not have said of a writer 500 years older than himself, as Hippias the Elean sophist was, that he had late compiled a list, *ὅς τε φασὶν ἑπταετηρὲς ἐκδιδάσκει*. But this is not a sufficient reason for altering the text, without the authority of any MS. or old edition. For the *late* is of

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* Diodor.

l. 10. p. 550.

edit Sieph.

This breviary seems to have contained nothing more than a short account of the victors in every olympiad. Then ^a Ephorus, the disciple of Isocrates, formed a chronological history of Greece⁽⁸⁾; beginning with the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, and ending with the siege of Perinthus, in the twentieth year of Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, that is, eleven years before the fall of the Persian empire: but ^b he digested things by generations⁽⁹⁾; and the reckoning by the olympiads, or by any other æra, was not yet in use among the Greeks. The Arundelian marbles were composed sixty years after the death of Alexander the Great (An. 4. Olymp. 128.) and yet mention not the olympiads, nor any other standing æra; but reckon backwards from the time then present. But chronology was now reduced to a reckoning by years; and in the next olympiad⁽¹⁰⁾, Timæus Siculus improved it: for he wrote a history in several books, down to his own times, according to the olympiads; comparing the Ephori, the kings of Sparta, the archons of Athens, and the priestesses of Argos with the olympic victors, so as to make the

of the compilation hath respect not to Plutarch's age, but to the commencement of the olympiads. It is to be observed, that Plutarch seems to speak of this work by hear-say or tradition, as of one that he had not seen; *φασιν ἱστορεῖν ὑποτάξει*: which makes it probable either that it was not extant in his time, or that it was in no esteem.

⁽⁸⁾ Not of Greece only, but an universal history; as Diodorus (p. 550^a), and Polybius (p. 379) both attest. Polybius says, that Ephorus was the first who undertook an universal history.

⁽⁹⁾ I know not upon what authority this is said: nor upon what authority Sir John Marsham has asserted, that Ephorus had given a list of the kings of Sparta, and perhaps of the Ephori.

⁽¹⁰⁾ VARIOUS works of this Timæus are mentioned in antient authors. Three books of Syria, its cities and kings: Affairs of Italy and Sicily in 8 books: Affairs of Greece and Sicily: A Collection of Rhetorical Topics in 68 books: A Chronicle, or Olympic Victors. See Suidas in *Τιμαῖος*. A history of the wars of the Romans with Pyrrhus of Epire (Dionys. Hal. p. 5.) And besides all these, what I suppose was his principal work, an Universal History (*Κοινὴ ἱστορία*. Dionys. Hal. *ibid.*) That his history came down to the 129th olympiad, we have the express testimony of Polybius, p. 6. Sir John Marsham says, that he could not find where it began. (*Sec. XVI. tit. Præm. Olympias vulgaris.*) To me it seems probable, that it began with the fabulous ages. For it appears from Dionys. Hal. p. 5 and 60 that Timæus, in his Universal History, had treated of the antiquities of the Roman story; and from Diodorus Siculus (p. 159) that he had written of Hercules's battle with the Giants in the Phlegrean plains.

⁽¹¹⁾ Polyb. p. 1395. edit. Gronov.

⁽¹²⁾ Polyb. p. 6.

⁽¹³⁾ ERATOSTHENES was called to the care of the Alexandrin library by Ptolemy Euergetes. He continued to flourish during the reign of Philopator, and died in the reign of Epiphanes. (Suidas *Ερατοσθένης* and *Απολλωνίδης*.) Dionysius Halicarnassensis speaks very highly of the chronographic canons of Eratosthenes; and mentions a work of his own, in which, he says, he had proved them to be sound (Dionys. Hal. p. 60.) It will not be improper to present the reader with a succinct view of the general principles of the chronology of Eratosthenes from the Stromata of Clemens Alexandrinus (p. 145.)

the olympiads, and the genealogies and successions of kings and GREEKS. priestesses, and the poetical histories suit with one another, according to the best of his judgement⁽¹¹⁾: and where he left off, Polybius began, and carried on the history⁽¹²⁾. Eratosthenes wrote above an hundred years after the death of Alexander the Great⁽¹³⁾: he was followed by Apollodorus⁽¹⁴⁾; and these two have been followed ever since by chronologers.

IV. But how uncertain their chronology is, and how doubtful it was reputed by the Greeks of those times, may be understood by these passages of Plutarch. "Some reckon Lycurgus, saith he, ^a contemporary to Iphitus, and to have been his compa-^b nion in ordering the olympic festivals, amongst whom was Aristotle the philosopher; arguing from the Olympic Disc, which had the name of Lycurgus upon it. Others supputing the times by the kings of Lacedæmon, as Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, affirm that he was not a few years older than the first olympiad." He began to flourish in the 17th or 18th olympiad⁽¹⁾, and at length Aristotle made him as old as the first olympiad; and so did Epaminondas, as he is cited by Ælian⁽²⁾

and

	Years.
From the taking of Troy to the return of the Heraclidæ,	80
From the return of the Heraclidæ to the settlement of Ionia,	60
From the settlement of Ionia to the guardianship of Lycurgus,	159
From the guardianship of Lycurgus to the year next preceding the first olympiad,	108
From that year to the invasion of Xerxes,	297
From the invasion of Xerxes to the beginning of the Peloponnesian war,	48
From the beginning to the end of that war,	27
From the end of the Peloponnesian war to the battle of Leuctra,	34
From the battle of Leuctra to the death of Philip,	35
From the death of Philip to the death of Alexander,	12

The numbers, as they stand in Clemens, are happily confirmed by a passage of Dionysius Halicarnassensis (p. 60); from which we learn, that the 432d year from the taking of Troy was, according to the canons of Eratosthenes, the 1st of the 7th olympiad: which agrees with the Clementine numbers.

⁽¹⁴⁾ THIS Apollodorus was the disciple of Panætius, the Stoic philosopher; and flourished in the time of Ptolemy Physcon. (Vossius *de Hist. Gr. lib. 1. c. 21.* and Gale in *Dissert. de Scripturis Mythologicis.*) That he followed Eratosthenes in his system of chronology, may be probably collected from these circumstances. They agreed concerning the interval between the taking of Troy and the return of the Heraclidæ; both making it 80 years. (See the last note, and compare Diod. Sic. p. 4.) They agreed concerning the age of Homer. (See Clem. Alex. p. 141.) They agreed concerning the age of Lycurgus (Clemens, *ibid.*) and they took the same method to determine it. (Plutarch in Lycurg.) Apollodorus adopted Eratosthenes's list of the kings of Thebais. (Syncellus, p. 91.)

§ IV.

⁽¹⁾ Vid. infra, § XL.

⁽²⁾ EPAMINONDAS, as he is cited by Ælian and Plutarch, agrees with those chronologers, who made

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and Plutarch: and then Eratosthenes, Apollodorus, and their followers, made him above an hundred years older. And in another place Plutarch^a tells us: "The congress of Solon with Cræsus, some think they can confute by chronology. But a history so illustrious, and verified by so many witnesses, and, which is more, so agreeable to the manners of Solon, and worthy of the greatness of his mind, and of his wisdom, I cannot persuade myself to reject, because of some chronological canons, as they call them, which hundreds of authors correcting have not yet been able to constitute any thing certain, in which they could agree amongst themselves about repugnancies."

^a Plutarch. in Romulo & Numa.
^b In Æneid. 7. v. 678.
^c Diodor. l. 1.

V. And as for the chronology of the Latines, that is still more uncertain. Plutarch^b represents great uncertainties in the originals of Rome; and so doth Servius^c. The old records of the Latines were burnt^d by the Gauls an hundred and twenty years after

made Lycurgus above 100 years older than the first olympiad. They make him say (Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 13. c. 42, and Plutarch. in Apophthegm.) that the territory of the Lacedæmonians had been free from the devastations of an enemy for 500 years before his incursions. Now from the battle of Leuctra to the beginning of the olympiads, the interval was only 406 years: but to the guardianship of Lycurgus, according to Eratosthenes, 514. See § III. Note 13.) Epaminondas therefore, if he took the age of Lycurgus for the commencement of that long period of tranquillity which Laconia enjoyed, must have been in that opinion, which Eratosthenes afterwards maintained. But little stress is to be laid on the evidence, which Epaminondas is to made to give upon this question. The spirit of his Apophthegm will be just the same, though the interval between him and Lycurgus be contracted from five to three hundred years. It is therefore not improbable, that whoever first committed this Apophthegm to writing, might fit it with the date which liked him best: and we can have no assurance, that the genuine opinion of Epaminondas hath been faithfully transmitted to us.

§ V.

(¹) THAT Rome was taken by the Gauls twenty years after the regifuge, we learn from the express testimony of Dionysius Halicarn. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 74. p. 60. From him also we learn, that this event was 64 years before the death of Alexander the Great. For he places it in the first year of the 98th olympiad: and Alexander died in the first of the 114th. That many ancient records, both public and private, perished in the conflagration which the city then underwent, is generally believed upon the authority of Livy, lib. 6. c. 1. It is to be remembered, however, that Livy does not say that all the public records perished in that fire; and the greater probability may be, that all that were in being were preserved. They would be but few, from the rudeness of the Roman people in those early ages: and Livy, because few were to be found, might from that circumstance infer, without any positive evidence, that many had been destroyed. The reasons which incline me to this opinion are these:—The Gauls never were in possession of the Capitol, where the Romans kept their records, nor did they burn it. When the resolution was taken of defending the Capitol, and abandoning the rest of the city to the enemy, it was given in charge to the Flamens and Vestal virgins, to take the best care they could of whatever was most sacred in the temples. Many things they packed in casks, and buried under a chapel adjoining to the house of the Flamen Quirinalis; and the rest they carried away in

carts

after the regifuge, and sixty-four years before the death of GREEKS. Alexander the Great (¹): and Quintus Fabius Pictor, the oldest historian of the Latines (²), lived an hundred years later than that king (³), and took almost all things from Diocles Peparethius (⁴), a Greek. And the chronologers of Gallia, Spain, Germany, Scythia, Swedeland, Britain, and Ireland, are of a date still later; for Scythia, beyond the Danube, had no letters, till Ulphilas (⁵) their bishop formed them; which was about six hundred years (⁶) after the death of Alexander the Great: and Germany had none till it received them from the western empire of the Latines, above seven hundred years after the death of that king. The Hunns had none in the days of Procopius; who flourished 850 years after the death of that king: and Sweden and Norway received them still later. And things said to be done above one or two hundred years before the use of letters, are of little credit.

carts to Cære. Livy, lib. 5. c. 40. Florus, lib. 1. c. 13. Amongst the treasure thus preserved, were some of the sacred books. At least it appears, that some of these books survived the conflagration. For the first business, after the Gauls were gone, was to repair and purify the temples, which had been occupied and defiled by the enemy; and the sacred books were searched, for the rites of purification. Livy, lib. 5. c. 50. And since the sacred books were preserved, why not the pontifical annals? Dionysius Halicarnassensis mentions records of a sort, which should seem more likely to perish; because, though they related to public affairs, they were in private custody. The records I mean were the Cenforian commentaries; which were handed down from father to son, and religiously preserved in the families of those who had born the office of Cenfor. Dionysius speaks, as if he had seen some of these not less antient than the Gallic conflagration; by which he had been enabled to settle the distance of time between the regifuge and that calamity. Antiq. Rom. lib. 1. c. 74. p. 60. The uncertainty therefore of the Latin chronology (which is but too manifest) is not to be derived from a total destruction of the Roman Archives by the Gauls; nor is it greater than what must necessarily arise from that original imperfection, which there will always be in the records of rude ages.

(¹) Livy, lib. 2. c. 40.

(²) For he lived in the time of the 2d Punic war. Livy, lib. 22. c. 7.

(³) Plutarch in Romulo, tom. I. p. 19.

(⁴) Sozomen. Hist. Eccates, lib. 6. c. 37. Socr. lib. 4. c. 33. Philostorg. lib. 2.

(⁵) PHILOSTORGUS is, as I believe, the only author who makes Ulphilas, or, as he calls him, Urphilas, contemporary with Constantine the Great. If with all the rest of the Ecclesiastical historians we place him under Constantius, and the succeeding emperor Valens; he was little less than 700 years later than Alexander the Great. Whatever might be Sir Isaac Newton's reason for giving credit to Philostorgius, I cannot but incline to the opinion of the learned Gothofred; that Philostorgius makes Ulphilas older than he was, for the sake of doing credit to the Arian doctrine, by representing it as the oldest christianity with which the Goths were acquainted. For the same purpose he speaks of Ulphilas as their first bishop. Whereas if he was their first bishop, he must have been still older than Philostorgius makes him: because he must have been their bishop before Theophilus, who assisted at the Nicene council, and was therefore contemporary with Constantine the Great. See Gothofred *Dissert. in lib. 2. Philostorgii*.

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Lib. I. in
Proem. p. 4.

VI. Diodorus, * in the beginning of his history, tells us, that he did not define, by any certain space, the times preceding the Trojan war, because he had no certain foundation to rely upon: but from the Trojan war, according to the reckoning of Apollodorus, whom he followed, there were eighty years to the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus; and that from that period to the first olympiad, there were three hundred and twenty-eight years, computing the times from the kings of the Lacedæmonians. Apollodorus followed Eratosthenes, and both of them followed Thucydides (¹), in reckoning eighty years from the Trojan war to the return of the Heraclidæ: but in reckoning 328 years

§ VI.

(¹) Lib. I. c. 12. p. 18.

(²) PLUTARCH tells us, that Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, to settle the age of Lycurgus, reckoned the time by the successions of the kings of Sparta. But it does not appear from Plutarch, nor, as far as I know, from any positive testimony, that they took the same method for the whole interval between the return of the Heraclidæ and the first olympiad. It is probable, however, that they did. For that Diodorus Siculus took this method, is certain from his own evidence. And the length, that he assigns to this interval, is precisely the same that Eratosthenes assigned to it; namely, 328 years. (Vid. Diod. Sic. p. 4. and § III. note 13.) Hence it is highly probable, that Eratosthenes and Diodorus used the same method of computation.

§ VII.

(³) WHEN the antients endeavoured to estimate intervals of time by the reigns of princes, it was by adding into one sum the number of years, which history or tradition had assigned to each in a long succession. It does not appear, that they ever thought of a definite proportion, whether of equality or any other, necessarily subsisting in the nature of things, between the mean length of the reigns of kings and generations: from which, when once it should be ascertained, the length of any considerable interval of time might be found from the number of successive reigns contained in it, though the length of each reign should be unknown. Newton himself was, I believe, the first chronologer, who thought of correcting the accounts of time by this principle. And therefore what he says, "that the Egyptians reckoned the reigns of kings equipollent to generations of men," can be admitted only in this sense; that they had never attended to that important circumstance, that the reigns of kings must, upon an average, be shorter than generations in some certain proportion: not that they formally held the proportion between reigns and generations at an average to be that of equality, and had formed a system of chronology upon that assumption. That the Egyptians tacitly held the equality of reigns and generations, appears from Herodotus: who says, that from their first king to Sethon, they reckoned just as many kings, and as many high priests, as generations. (Lib. 2. c. 142.) In the same place he tells us, that three generations make 100 years. And this estimation of a generation seems to be his own, not borrowed from the Egyptian priests. The Greeks gave this definition of a generation: that it is the time from a man's birth to his becoming a father (See Plutarch *De Oraculorum Diffectu*, tom. II. p. 415. and Porphyry, as he is quoted by Grævius in his *Lectiæ Hesiodæ*, c. 4.) They seem to have assigned very different lengths to this time in different ages. Some, says Heisychius, reckon a generation at 20 years, some at 25, some at 30. And Porphyry says, that the higher you go in antiquity, the longer you will find the generations. With Timæus Siculus the length of the generation seems to have been forty years. For Dionysius Halicarnassensis, in the second book of his Roman Antiquities, when he sets himself to refute the received tradition, that Numa Pompilius had been a disciple of Pythagoras, says, that Pythagoras was later than Numa by four whole generations, *ὡς ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν περιληψαμέναι ἱστορίαι*. (By

years from that return to the first olympiad, Diodorus tells us, *ΓΕΝΕΑ*. that the times were computed from the kings of the Lacedæmonians (¹); and Plutarch ² tells us, that Apollodorus, Eratosthenes, ³ Plutarch. in Lycurgo, sub initio. and others, followed that computation: and since this reckoning is still received by chronologers, and was gathered by computing the times from the kings of the Lacedæmonians, that is from their number; let us re-examine that computation.

VII. The Egyptians reckoned the reigns of kings equipollent to generations of men, and three generations to an hundred years, as above; and so did the Greeks and Latines (¹): and accordingly they have made their kings reign, one with another, thirty and

(By the *κοινὰ ἱστορία*, I imagine the great work of Timæus is intended, which bore that title. Vide § III. note 10.) For, says he, Numa became king of Rome in the middle of the 16th olympiad. And it was certainly after the 50th that Pythagoras lived in Italy. (Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. lib. 2.) Here then, taking the text of Dionysius as it stands, 33 olympiads and a half, that is 134 years, are made equivalent to four generations: which is at the rate of three generations to a century. But it is certain, from the unanimous testimony of the best authors, that Pythagoras did not settle in Italy earlier than the time of Tarquinius Superbus; that is, not till after the 60th olympiad. Hence the learned Valesius with good reason contends, that the text of Dionysius is corrupt; and that *εἰκοσὶ γενεαί* should be *ἑκατὼτ*. This emendation being admitted, we shall find 43 and a half olympiads, or 174 years equivalent to four entire generations, in the estimation of the writer of the *κοινὰ ἱστορία*; which is at the rate of more than 43 years to a generation. But as the expression *τρεῖς καὶ ἡμίση γενεαί* does not imply, that the interval was precisely four generations, but that it rather exceeded so many, than fell short of them; I think the round number 40 may reasonably be taken for the number of years in Timæus's valuation of a generation.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis himself seems uniformly to value a generation at 27 years. Rome, he says, was built by Romulus 16 generations after the Trojan war. (Antiq. lib. 1. c. 9. p. 8.) In another passage, which I have already had occasion to produce (§ III. note 13) he says, Rome was built 432 years after the taking of Troy. Therefore 432 years with Dionysius are equivalent to 16 generations; which is at the rate of 27 years to a generation. In another place, speaking of the long duration of the Roman greatness, he says, "From the time that Rome became mistress of Italy, and conceived the high design of grasping at universal dominion, having driven the Carthaginians, who had the chief naval force from the seas, and having received the submission of Macedonia, which then seemed to be the strongest of all nations by land, having no longer any power to contend with either among Greeks or barbarians, she continues to this day, in the seventh generation, sovereign of the whole world." (Ant. Rom. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 3.) Here, by this day, is to be understood, as the sentence next preceding shews, the 193d olympiad. In the 193d olympiad, it seems, the seventh generation was setting in from that time, when Rome first began to consider herself as the nation which was to give laws to the world: and this she began to do, when she found there was no where, among Greeks or barbarians, a power that might contend with her either by sea or land: that is, when, besides that she had subdued the whole of Italy, she had in the first place ruined the naval power of the Carthaginians, which was done in the first Punic war; and had likewise extinguished the kingdom of Macedonia, and made the strength of that great nation her own. When she had done all this, then, and not before, commenced the period of Rome's ambition and grandeur. And the seventh generation of that period commenced in the 193d olympiad. Now the kingdom of Macedonia was extinguished, when Perseus was conquered and made prisoner by Paulus Æmilius. With his captivity, therefore, Dionysius dates the commencement of Rome's greatness. And the interval between the captivity of that monarch and the 193d olympiad, according to him, contained six complete generations, and the beginning of a seventh. For that is the force of the

and three years a-piece, and above. For they make the seven kings of Rome, who preceded the consuls, to have reigned 244 years^(*), which is 35 years a-piece: and the first twelve kings of Sicyon, Ægialeus, Europs, &c. to have reigned 529 years⁽²⁾, which is 44 years a-piece: and the first eight kings of Argos, Inachus, Phoroneus, &c. to have reigned 371 years⁽³⁾, which is above 46 years a-piece: and between the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, and the end of the first Messenian war, the ten kings of Sparta in one race; Eurythenes, Agis, Echestratus, Labotas, Doryagus, Agefilæus, Archelæus, Teleclus, Alcamenes, and Polydorus: the nine in the other race; Procles, Sôus, Eurypon, Prytanis, Eunomus, Polydecles, Charilæus, Nicander, Theopompus: the ten kings of Messene; Cresphontes, Epytus, Glaucus, Isthmius, Dotadas, Sibotas, Phintas, Antiochus, Euphæus, Aristodemus: and the nine of Arcadia; Cypselus, Olæas, Buchalion, Phialus, Simus, Pompus, Ægineta, Polymnestor, Æchmis⁽⁴⁾, according to chronologers, took up 379 years: which is 38 years a-piece to the ten kings, and 42 years a-piece to the nine.

the Greek expressions *γυναὶ ἰσθμίου τῆς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ βασιλεὺς ἀρχαίας*. Not that seven generations were completed; but six were completed, and the seventh was just setting in. The defeat and captivity of Perseus happened in the first year of the 153d olympiad. From the beginning of the 153d to the middle of the 193d olympiad is 40 and a half olympiads, or 162 years. So 162 years are here stated as equal to six generations; which is at the rate of 27 years to a generation. The learned Dodwell, conceiving that the historian speaks of the period of the Roman greatness, from the commencement of it to his own time, as containing seven complete generations; and persuading himself that the commencement was to be placed at the end of the third Punic war; concludes, in his Dissertation on the age of Dionys. Halicarn. that this accurate writer used the word *γυναὶ* vaguely, for no definite number of years. Whereas it seems to me, that Dionysius uniformly values the generation at 27 years. As for the Latins, I do not know that they had any word which answered to the Greek *γυναὶ*, or generation. Their *ætas* rather signified the natural period of human life: and what they meant by their *seculum*, they seem not to have known themselves.

(*) Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Rom. lib. 1. c. 75. p. 61. Livy, lib. 1. c. 60.

(2) Euseb. Chron. Petavius in Paralipom. Doct. Temp. (3) Euseb. in Chron. Petavius.

(4) The successions and synchronisms of these kings of Sparta, Messene and Arcadia, are easily to be collected from Pausanias. The time to be allotted, according to chronologers, to the entire successions, may be compendiously estimated in this manner.

The first Messenian war ended with the surrender of Ithome in the first year of the 14th olympiad, according to Pausanias, lib. 4. c. 13. And this was probably the last year of Polydorus, king of Sparta. (Pausan. lib. 3. c. 3.) From the beginning of the olympiads, therefore, to the last year of Polydorus, king of Sparta, the interval was thirteen complete olympiads, or 52 years. Add 328 years, the interval from the return of the Heraclidæ to the beginning of the olympiads, according to Eratosthenes; and the sum gives the whole interval, from the return of the Heraclidæ to the end of Polydorus king of Sparta, 380 years complete.

Again: The first Messenian war came to an end, when Hippomenes, the successor of Aristodemus, had reigned four years complete. (Pausan. lib. 4. c. 13.) Therefore Aristodemus died in the 1st year of the 13th olympiad: and from the beginning of the olympiads to his death, the interval

nine. And the five kings of the race of Eurythenes, between GREEKS. the end of the first Messenian war, and the beginning of the reign of Darius Hystaspis⁽⁶⁾; Eurycrates, Anaxander, Eurycrates II. Leon, Anaxandrides, reigned 202 years; which is above 40 years a-piece.

VIII. Thus the Greek chronologers, who follow Timæus and Eratosthenes, have made the kings of their several cities, who lived before the times of the Persian empire, to reign about 35 or 40 years a-piece, one with another; which is a length so much beyond the course of nature, as is not to be credited. For by the ordinary course of nature, kings reign, one with another, about eighteen or twenty years a-piece: and if in some instances they reign, one with another, five or six years longer, in others they reign as much shorter: eighteen or twenty years is a medium. So the eighteen kings of Judah, who succeeded Solomon, reigned 390 years, which is, one with another, 22 years a-piece. The fifteen kings of Israel, after Solomon, reigned 259 years, which is 17½ years a-piece⁽⁷⁾. The eighteen kings of Baby-

lon, interval was 12 complete olympiads, or 48 years. Add 328 years as before. The sum gives the interval from the return of the Heraclidæ to the death of Aristodemus, 376 years.

(6) DARIUS, the son of Hystaspes, became king of Persia in the 4th year of the 64th olympiad. (Petavius Doct. Temp. lib. 10. c. 19.) And the first Messenian war having ended in the 1st year of the 14th, the interval is 50 entire olympiads and 2 years; that is, 202 years, throwing away the year in which Darius's reign began. But what certain evidence Sir Isaac Newton might have, that the end of Anaxandrides coincided with the beginning of Darius, I know not. The best light I can give in this matter, is this; Anaxandrides was reigning at Sparta in the time of Cræsus. (Herodot. lib. 1. c. 67.) From the end of Cræsus to the beginning of Darius, the interval was 22 years complete: for Cræsus was conquered by Cyrus in the 1st year of the 59th olympiad. Therefore we may reasonably look for the end of Anaxandrides about the beginning of Darius. The successor of Anaxandrides was the mad Cleomenes; whose first exploit was his incursion of the Argive territory; when the women of Argos armed, at the instigation of the poetess Telephilla, and saved their country. (Pausan. lib. 3. c. 4. Plutarch de de Virtut. Mul. tom. II. p. 245.) Of the year of this memorable event, which was probably the first year of Cleomenes, I can find no certain character. But the next remarkable transaction of his reign seems to have been the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ from Athens. (Pausan. lib. 3. c. 4.) Now Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, after that event, took refuge at the Persian court; and in the twentieth year after his flight he fought, on the Persian side, at Marathon. (Thucyd. lib. 6. c. 59. p. 383.) The year of the battle of Marathon, therefore, was the twentieth of Hippias's exile: and it was the 32d of Darius's reign. (Petav. Doct. Temp. lib. 10. c. 23.) Therefore the expulsion of Hippias must have happened in the 12th or 11th of Darius. At this time Cleomenes reigned in Sparta: and perhaps had been reigning two or three years before. His father Anaxandrides, therefore, might hardly survive the 9th or 10th of Darius; and I find no evidence that he died sooner. Sir Isaac Newton therefore, in placing the death of Anaxandrides so early as in the beginning of Darius's reign, puts the whole time of the five reigns in question at the shortest, and gives the utmost advantage to the opinion which he combats.

§ VIII.

(7) I know not for what reason Sir Isaac Newton makes the successors of Solomon only 18 in the kingdom

lon, Nabonassar, &c. reigned 209 years, which is $11\frac{2}{3}$ years a-piece. The ten kings of Persia; Cyrus, Cambyfes, &c. reigned 208 years, which is almost 21 years a-piece. The sixteen successors of Alexander the Great, and of his brother and son in Syria; Seleucus, Antiochus Soter, &c. reigned 244 (*) years, after the breaking of that monarchy into various kingdoms, which is $15\frac{1}{4}$ years a-piece. The eleven kings of Egypt; Ptolomæus Lagi, &c. reigned 277 years, counted from the same period, which is 25 years a-piece ('). The eight in Macedonia; Cassander, &c. reigned 138 years, which is $17\frac{1}{4}$ years a-piece (*). The thirty kings of England; William the Conqueror, William Rufus, &c. reigned 648 years, which is $21\frac{1}{2}$ years a-piece. The first twenty-four kings of France; Pharamundus, &c. reigned 458 years, which is 19 years a-piece: the next twenty-four kings of France; Ludovicus Balbus, &c. 451 years, which is $18\frac{1}{4}$ years a-piece. The next fifteen, Philip Valefius, &c. 315 years, which is 21 years a-piece. And all the sixty-three kings of France, 1224 years, which is $19\frac{1}{2}$ years a-piece. Generations from father to son, may be reckoned one with another at about 33 or 34 years a-piece, or about three generations to an hundred years: but if the reckoning proceed by the eldest sons, they are shorter, so that three of them may be reckoned at about 75 or 80 years: and the reigns of kings are still shorter; because kings are succeeded not only by their eldest sons, but sometimes

kingdom of Judah, and only 15 in that of Israel. They were 20 in the kingdom of Judah, and 19 in Israel, reckoning the usurper Zimri; whom Eusebius, indeed, on account of the shortness of his reign of seven days omits: but in the present enquiry, account is to be taken of the shortest, as well as of the longest reigns. The 20 kings of Judah, after Solomon, reigned just 400 years. The 19 of Israel only 268. Hence the mean length of the reign, for the kings of Judah, was 20 years: for the kings of Israel only 14 years.

(*) From the beginning of Seleucus Nicanor to the extinction of the Syrian kingdom by Pompey, the interval was 246 years; and the number of princes in succession was 22; or rather 23, counting Tigranes for one. (See Petavius Doct. Temp. lib. 10. c. 47.) The last of these, Antiochus Asiaticus, had a very short reign; of not more than three years, or perhaps not three years complete. Sir Isaac Newton seems to throw this last prince out of the list, and to consider the kingdom of Syria as coming to an end, at the time of the conquest of Tigranes by Lucullus. For this reason he might shorten the whole interval by two years: and finding this Antiochus Asiaticus called by Appian, the 17th prince of the Seleucid race, he might imagine there had been but 16 kings before him; not considering that Appian, speaking of the descendants of Seleucus, does not reckon three princes who were not of that descent: and seems to have omitted Antiochus and Philip, the sons of Grypus, the two immediate successors of Antiochus Eusebes: for he speaks of Antiochus Eusebes as himself spoiled of his kingdom by Tigranes. So that five

princes,

times by their brothers, and sometimes they are slain or deposed; and succeeded by others of an equal or greater age, especially in elective or turbulent kingdoms. In the later ages, since chronology hath been exact, there is scarce an instance to be found of ten kings reigning any where in continual succession above 260 years: but Timæus and his followers, and I think also some of his predecessors, after the example of the Egyptians, have taken the reigns of kings for generations, and reckoned three generations to an hundred, and sometimes to an hundred and twenty years; and founded the technical chronology of the Greeks upon this way of reckoning. Let the reckoning be reduced to the course of nature, by putting the reigns of kings, one with another, at about eighteen or twenty years a-piece: and the ten kings of Sparta by one race, the nine by another race, the ten kings of Messene, and the nine of Arcadia above-mentioned, between the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus and the end of the first Messenian war, will scarce take up above 180 or 190 years: whereas according to chronologers they took up 379 years.

IX. For confirming this reckoning, I may add another argument. Euryleon the son of Ægeus, * commanded the main body of the Messenians (') in the fifth year of the first Messenian war; and was in the fifth generation from Oiolytus the son

princes, or six with Tigranes, must be added to Appians 17, to make up the whole succession, from the beginning of this kingdom, under Seleucus Nicanor, to the extinction of it, in the person of Antiochus Asiaticus, by Pompey.

(') From the beginning of Lagus to the end of Dionysius, the last of the Lagidæ except Cleopatra, the interval was 275 years according to Eusebius, or 277 according to Petavius. (Doct. Temp. lib. 10. c. 48.) And in this interval Eusebius mentions only 11 kings, but Petavius reckons up 13.

(*) The interval intended must be from the beginning of Cassander to the conquest of Perseus by the Romans; which was about 150 years according to Eusebius, or according to Petavius 149 (Vid. *Paralipomena Librorum de Doctrina Temporum*.) Perhaps Sir Isaac Newton reckoned only to the beginning of Perseus; which being ten years earlier, the whole interval, from the beginning of Cassander to that epoch, will be within a year or two what Newton makes it. But the successions from Cassander were not fewer than 16 with Perseus, or fifteen without him. For Cassander was the twenty-fifth king of Macedonia, and Perseus the fortieth. It is true Eusebius calls Cassander the twenty-sixth, and Perseus the thirty-ninth. But the reason of this is, that among the princes before Cassander, he has counted one twice over; and after Cassander, he omits two reigns; namely, the short one of Philip, Cassander's son, and that of Arinæ, the widow of Lyfimachus.

§ IX.
(') — Messenians] read Lacedæmonians.
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FIRST.
Pausan. l. 3.
c. 3. p. 285.

of Theras^(*), the brother-in-law of Aristodemus, and tutor to his sons Eurysthenes and Procles, as Pausanias^a relates: and by consequence, from the return of the Heraclidæ, which was in the days of Theras, to the battle, which was in the fifth year of this war, there were six⁽³⁾ generations; which, as I conceive, being for the most part by the eldest sons, will scarce exceed thirty years to a generation; and so may amount unto 170 or 180 years. That war lasted 19 or 20 years: add the last 15 years; and there will be about 190 years to the end of that war: whereas the followers of Timæus make it about 379 years; which is above sixty years to a generation.

X. By these arguments, chronologers have lengthened the time, between the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus and the first Messenian war; adding to it about 190 years: and they have also lengthened the time between that war and the rise of the Persian empire. For in the race of the Spartan kings, descended from Eurysthenes, after Polydorus, reigned^b these kings; Eurycrates, Anaxander, Eurycratides, Leon, Anaxandrides, Cleomenes, Leonidas, &c.⁽¹⁾. And in the other race descended from Procles, after Theopompus reigned^c these; Anaxandrides, Archidamus, Anaxilaus, Leutychides, Hippocratides, Ariston, Demaratus, Leutychides II. &c.⁽²⁾ according to Herodotus. These kings reigned till the sixth year of Xerxes, in which Leonidas was slain by the Persians at Thermopylæ; and Leutychides II. soon

(*) The words of Pausanias are these: τὸ μισθὸν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρυκλῆος, τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ Λακωνικοῦ, τὰ νῦν ἀρχαῖα δὲ ἀπὸ Κἀδμῳ καὶ ἐκ Θούλῃς Ἀργεῖος, τὴν Οἰκλῆν τὴν Θούλῃς τὴν Αἰολίδα, ἀπογοῖν τιμῆ. Lib. 4. c. 7. Pausanias therefore says, that this Eurycleon was the fifth in descent, not from Oicleus the son, but from Ægeus, the grandson of Theras. Sir Isaac Newton has been misled by the Latin translation.

(1) Seven at least. But Sir Isaac Newton's conclusion will be little affected by this mistake.

§ X.

(1) Pausan. lib. 3. c. 3 & 4.

(2) This list of the Proclidæ, taken from a corrupt passage of Herodotus, is erroneous. The successors of Theopompus were these: Zeuxidamus, Anaxidamus, Archidamus, Agasicles, Ariston, Demaratus, Leutychides. Pausan. lib. 3. c. 7. and Meursius *De Regno Lacædæmoniorum*, cap. 17.

(3) Herodot. lib. 6. c. 72.

(4) According to the true list, only seven.

(5) The battle of Thermopylæ was in the first year of the 75th olympiad, at the very beginning of the year. (Diod. Sic. lib. 11. c. 1. Herodot. lib. 7. c. 206.) The interval, therefore, from the beginning of the olympiads to this battle was 74 complete olympiads; that is, 296 years. But from the return of the Heraclidæ to this battle, our author reckons 342. The difference is 46 years; the interval by which the return of the Heraclidæ, by this reckoning, preceded the beginning of the olympiads. But the olympiads began Ann. Per. Jul. 3938.

soon after, flying from Sparta to Tegæa, died there⁽¹⁾. The seven reigns of the kings of Sparta, which follow Polydorus, being added to the ten reigns above-mentioned, which began with that of Eurysthenes, make up seventeen reigns of kings, between the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus and the sixth year of Xerxes: and the eight⁽⁴⁾ reigns following Theopompus, being added to the nine reigns above-mentioned, which began with that of Procles, make up also seventeen reigns: and these seventeen reigns, at twenty years a-piece one with another, amount unto 340 years. Count these 340 years upwards from the sixth year of Xerxes, and one or two years more for the war of the Heraclidæ, and reign of Aristodemus, the father of Eurysthenes and Procles; and they will place the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, 159 years after the death of Solomon, and 46⁽⁵⁾ years before the first olympiad, in which Coræbus was victor. But the followers of Timæus have placed this return 280 years earlier. Now this being the computation upon which the Greeks, as you have heard from Diodorus and Plutarch, have founded the chronology of their kingdoms, which were ancients than the Persian empire; that chronology is to be rectified, by shortening the times which preceded the death of Cyrus, in the proportion of almost two to one; for the times which follow the death of Cyrus are not much amiss.

Solomon died (according to Petavius, Doct. Temp. Ann. Per. Jul. 3739.	Years.
Solomon's death, therefore, was earlier than the beginning of the olympiads by	199
Subtract the time by which the return of the Heraclidæ preceded the olympiads,	46
The interval by which Solomon's death preceded the return of the Heraclidæ, will be	153

But these conclusions seem irreconcilable with the date assigned to the return of the Heraclidæ in § VIII and IX. In § VIII. our author, estimating the time between the return of the Heraclidæ and the end of the first Messenian war, by the number of successive reigns which he found in that interval in the kingdoms of Sparta, Messene, and Arcadia, fixes it at 190, or not less than 180 years. In § IX. he values the same interval by a computation founded on the number of generations which it contained: which he endeavours to ascertain by the pedigree of a Lacædæmonian general: and he finds his former reckoning confirmed by the result of this new calculation. But if the interval between the return of the Heraclidæ and the end of the first Messenian war was 190 or 180 years; then, since the end of this war was only 52 years later than the commencement of the olympiads, the interval between the return of the Heraclidæ and the commencement of the olympiads, could not be less than 138 or 128 years. In this section our author would estimate the whole interval, between the return of the Heraclidæ and the battle of Thermopylæ, by the number of successive reigns in the kingdoms of Sparta. And by this reckoning, that whole interval turns out so short, that when the known time between the commencement of the olympiads and the battle of Thermopylæ is thrown away, what remains for the interval between the return of the Heraclidæ and the commencement of the olympiads, is not above a third part of the length which the former computations, from the very same principle, had assigned to it. A striking instance of the fallacy of the principle upon which these computations proceed.

XI. The artificial chronologers have made Lycurgus, the legislator, as old as Iphitus, the restorer of the olympiads; and Iphitus, 112 years older than the first olympiad: and, to help out the hypothesis, they have feigned twenty-eight olympiads older than the first olympiad, wherein Coræbus was victor⁽¹⁾. But these things were feigned, after the days of Thucydides and Plato: for Socrates died three years after the end of the Peloponnesian war, and Plato^a introduceth him saying, that "the institutions of Lycurgus were but of three hundred years standing, or not much more." And^b Thucydides, in the reading followed by Stephanus, saith, that "the Lacedæmonians had, from ancient times, used good laws, and been free from tyranny; and that from the time that they had used one and the same administration of their commonwealth, to the end of the Peloponnesian war, there were three hundred years⁽²⁾ and a few more." Count 300 years back from the end of the Peloponnesian war, and they will place the legislature of Lycurgus upon the 19th olympiad. And, according to Socrates, it might be upon the 22d or 23d. Athenæus^c tells us out of ancient authors (Hellanicus, Sosimus, and Hieronymus) that Lycurgus the legislator was contemporary to Terpander the musician; and that Terpander was the first man who got the victory in the Carnea, in a solemnity of music instituted in those festivals in the 26th olympiad⁽³⁾. He overcame four times in those Pythic games⁽⁴⁾, and therefore lived at least till the 29th olympiad: and beginning to flourish in the days of Lycurgus, it is not likely that Lycurgus began to flourish much before the 18th olympiad. The name of Lycurgus being on the olympic disc, Aristotle concluded thence, that Lycurgus was the companion of Iphitus, in restoring the olympic games⁽⁵⁾: and this argument might be the ground of the opinion of chronologers, that Ly-

^a Plato in *Minoc.* p. 567. Ficin.

^b Thucyd. l. 2. p. 13.

^c Athen. l. 14. p. 635. edit. Cambr.

⁽¹⁾ See Sir John Marsham, *Sec. XV. Tit. Olympia.*

⁽²⁾ The old Basil edition of Hervagius has 400. So has Henry Stevens's own edition, in the Greek text. So have the modern editions of Hudson and Duker. And it does not appear by their collections of various readings, that any other number was to be found in any of the MSS. Stevens has taken no notice of the passage in his notes. Therefore it seems probable, that it is by some accidental mistake, that the number 300 appears in his Latin translation.

⁽³⁾ Athenæus tells us, from Hellanicus, that Terpander was the first victor in the Carnea; and, from Hieronymus, that he was contemporary with Lycurgus. But he mentions these as two different opinions, both assigning a great antiquity, but not the same time, to Terpander.

⁽⁴⁾ Plutarch de *Mus.* tom. II. p. 1132.

curgus and Iphitus were contemporary⁽⁶⁾. But Iphitus did not^{GREEKS.} restore all the olympic games. He^a restored indeed the racing^a Pausan. l. 5. c. 8. in the first olympiad, Coræbus being victor. In the 14th olympiad, the double stadium was added, Hypænus being victor: and in the 18th olympiad, the quinquertium and wrestling were added, Lampus and Eurybatus, two Spartans, being victors: and the disc was one of the games of the quinquertium. ^b Pau-^b Pausan. l. 6. c. 19. sanias tells us, that there were three discs kept in the olympic treasury at Altis: these therefore having the name of Lycurgus upon them, shew that they were given by him, at the institution of the Quinquertium, in the 18th olympiad⁽⁷⁾. Now Polydestes king of Sparta, being slain before the birth of his son Charillus, or Charilaus, left the kingdom to Lycurgus his brother; and Lycurgus, upon the birth of Charillus, became tutor to the child; and after about eight months travelled into Crete and Asia, till the child grew up; and brought back with him the poems of Homer; and soon after published his laws⁽⁸⁾, suppose upon the 22d or 23d olympiad; for he was then growing old: and Terpander was a lyric poet, and began to flourish about this time; for^c he imitated Orpheus and Homer, and sung Homer's^c Plutarch. de Musica. Tom. II. p. 1132. verses and his own, and wrote the laws of Lycurgus in verse, and was victor in the Pythic games in the 26th olympiad, as^c mens Strom. l. 1. c. 15. p. 308. above. He was the first who distinguished the modes of lyric music by several names. Ardalus and Clonas soon after did the like for wind-music: and from henceforward, by the encouragement of the Pythic games, now instituted, several eminent musicians and poets flourished in Greece: as Archilochus, Eumelus Corinthius, Polymnestus, Thaletas, Xenodemus, Xenocritus, Sacadas, Tyrtæus, Tlesilla, Rhianus, Alcman, Arion, Stesichorus, Mimnermus, Alcæus, Sappho, Theognis, Anacreon, Ibycus, Simonides, Æschylus, Pindar, by whom the music and poetry of the Greeks were brought to perfection.

⁽¹⁾ Vid. § IV.

⁽²⁾ Which Athenæus mentions as a thing universally agreed, lib. 14. p. 635.

⁽³⁾ I apprehend, that it was not on any of the three discs at Altis, but on the famous disc of Iphitus, preserved in the temple of Juno at Elis, that the name of Lycurgus was inscribed. This disc had no reference to the institution of the game of the Quoit; but contained the original articles of the armistice preferred by Iphitus, when he restored the olympic games, to be observed ever afterwards during the celebrity. See Pausan. lib. 5. c. 20. and Phlegon. Trall. in the fragment of his work *De Olympioniciis*, and Jackson's Chronology, vol. III.

⁽⁴⁾ Plutarch in Lycurgo.

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XII. Lycurgus published his laws in the reign of Agefilaus⁽¹⁾, the son and successor of Doryagus, in the race of the kings of Sparta descended from Eurysthene. From the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, to the end of the reign of Agefilaus, there were six reigns: and from the same return to the end of the reign of Polydectes, in the race of the Spartan kings descended from Procles, there were also six reigns: and these reigns, at twenty years a-piece one with another, amount unto 120 years; besides the short reign of Aristodemus, the father of Eurysthene and Procles, which might amount to a year or two: for Aristodemus came to the crown, as ^a Herodotus and the Lacedæmonians themselves affirmed. The times of the deaths of Agefilaus and Polydectes are not certainly known: but it may be presumed, that Lycurgus did not meddle with the olympic games before he came to the kingdom; and therefore Polydectes died in the beginning of the 18th olympiad, or but a very little before. If it may be supposed that the 20th olympiad was in, or very near to, the middle time between the deaths of the two kings Polydectes and Agefilaus, and from thence be counted upwards the aforesaid 120 years, and one year more for the reign of Aristodemus; the reckoning will place the return of the Heraclidæ about 45 years before the beginning of the olympiads.

^a Herod. l. 6. c. 52.

^b Pausan. l. 5. c. 4.

XIII. Iphitus, who restored the olympic games, ^b was descended from Oxylus, the son of Hæmon, the son of Thoas, the son

§ XII.

(1) In this Sir Isaac Newton follows Pausanias, lib. 3. c. 2. Plutarch places the legislation of Lycurgus in the reign of Archelæus, the successor of Agefilaus; and this the learned Meursius confirms by many authorities. See his *Miscellanea Laconica*, lib. 2. c. 5.

§ XIII.

(1) Pausan. lib. 5. c. 3.

(2) ——— Lib. 5. c. 3.

(3) ——— Strabo, lib. 8. p. 357, edit. Caufab.

(4) Pausan. lib. 5. c. 8.

(1) ——— Lib. 5. c. 4.

(2) ——— Lib. 5. c. 1.

(3) Strabo, lib. 8. p. 357.

(4) ——— lib. 5. c. 4.

§ XIV.

(1) The passage, in which Pausanias is supposed to represent this, is, I fear, so corrupt, that no conclusion can be safely drawn from it. It is near the end of the 18th chapter of the 5th book, and stands thus: Κούλην καὶ τοὺς προγονοὺς ἔχον τὴν γῆν· ἑκάστην τῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ προγονοὺς οὖτοις ἢ Μίλας; ἢ Ἀλκίωνα. By these words, it seems, Sir Isaac Newton understood, that Cypselus and his ancestors were originally descended from Gonussa, a daughter of Sicyon: that Melas was the head of the family in the male line; and that Cypselus was the sixth in descent from

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son of Andræmon⁽¹⁾: Hercules and Andræmon married two GREEKS. sisters⁽²⁾: Thoas warred at Troy⁽³⁾: Oxylus returned into Peloponnesus with the Heraclidæ⁽⁴⁾. In this return he commanded the body of the Ætolians, and recovered Elea⁽⁵⁾; ^a from whence his ancestor Ætolus⁽⁶⁾, the son of Endymion, the son of Aethlius⁽⁷⁾, had been driven ^b by Salmoneus, the grandson of Hellen⁽⁸⁾. By the friendship of the Heraclidæ, Oxylus had the care of the olympic temple committed to him: and the Heraclidæ, for his service done them, granted further upon oath, that the country of the Eleans should be free from invasions, and be defended by them from all armed force⁽⁹⁾: and when the Eleans were thus consecrated, Oxylus restored the olympic games⁽¹⁰⁾: and after they had been again intermitted, Iphitus their king ^c restored them, and made them quadrennial. Iphitus is by some reckoned the king of Hæmon, by others the son of Praxonidas, the son of Hæmon⁽¹¹⁾: but Hæmon being the father of Oxylus, I would reckon Iphitus the son of Praxonidas, the son of Oxylus, the son of Hæmon. And by this reckoning the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus will be two generations by the eldest sons, or about 52 years, before the olympiads.

^a Pausan. l. 5. c. 1, 3, 8. Strabo, l. 8. p. 357. ^b Pausan. l. 5. c. 4.

^c Pausan. l. 5. c. 19.

XIV. Pausanias ^d represents, that Melas the son of Antrassus, of the posterity of Gonussa the daughter of Sicyon, was not above six generations older than Cypselus king of Corinth⁽¹⁾; and

^d Pausan. l. 5. c. 18.

from him. But it appears from Pausanias's account of the early times of Corinth, that Cypselus was at least eleven generations later than Aletes, with whom this Melas was contemporary. Pausanias says (lib. 2. c. 4.) that Aletes and his descendants reigned in Corinth for five generations, until Bacchis the son of Prumnis. From Bacchis the Bacchiadæ reigned for five generations more, unto Telestes the son of Aristodemus. This Telestes was slain, and after his death there was no king for some time; but annual magistrates of the Bacchiadæ: until Cypselus the son of Eetion drove out that family. From Aletes therefore, and his contemporary Melas, to Cypselus, there were not less than eleven generations; allowing only the space of one generation to the reign of Telestes, and the whole duration of the annual magistracy; which however took up four at least, according to the old chronology. (See Euseb. in Chron.) The position therefore, that Cypselus was in the sixth generation after Melas, seems clearly refuted. The passage alleged in proof of it, seems rather indeed to imply, that Cypselus was the sixth from a daughter of Sicyon. But this will set Pausanias still more at variance with himself. For if Cypselus was not earlier than in the eleventh generation from the return of the Heraclidæ, he could not be within seven of Sicyon, who lived long before the Trojan war. Fortunately, however, the manifest depravity of the passage acquits the writer of the charge of inconsistency. When the Greek writers number generations, the word they use is, not γενεαίς, but γένεα; and I believe no instance is to be found, in which these two words are confounded. Nor do they express themselves

and that he was contemporary to Aletes, who returned with the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus. The reign of Cypselus began an. 2, olymp. 31, according to chronologers (*); and six generations, at about 30 years to a generation, amount unto 180 years. Count those years backwards from an. 2, olymp. 31, and they will place the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus 58 years before the first olympiad. But it might not be so early, if the reign of Cypselus began three or four olympiads later; for he reigned before the Persian empire began.

XV. Hercules the Argonaut was the father of Hyllus; the father of Cleodæus; the father of Aristomachus; the father of Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus (*), who led the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus: and Eurytheus, who was of the same age with Hercules, was slain in the first attempt of the Heraclidæ to return (*): Hyllus was slain in the second attempt (*), Cleodæus in the third attempt, Aristomachus in the fourth attempt (*), and Aristodemus died as soon as they were returned, and left the kingdom of Sparta to his sons Eurytheneas and Procles. Whence their return was four generations later than

selves by the genitive of the name of the person, from whom generations are counted, without a preposition; as is done here, if *ἑξῆς γενεῶν* mean the sixth generation from Gonufa: for *ἑξῆς* is no preposition, but an adverb. Neither would the Greek writers, or any writer, I think, of common sense in any language say, that a man and his ancestors collectively were the sixth generation from any one person. Add, that we no-where read of this Gonufa the daughter of Sicyon. Sicyon had a daughter Cthonophyle (Pausan. lib. 2. c. 6.) and it appears not from history, that he had any other child. But if there was no Gonufa, a daughter of Sicyon, there was a town Gonocessa not far from the city Sicyon, to the north of it.

Or as some write it *Δονοῖσα* (Eustath. ad locum & Palmer. Exercitat. p. 415.) and of this town was Melas. *Μέλας δὲ ἐκ Γονοῦσας τῆς ὑπὲρ Σικυωνίας.* (Pausan. lib. 2. c. 4.) Hence I doubt not but that the true reading of this passage of the Eliaca, from whence Cypselus has been placed in the sixth generation after Melas is this: *Κυψέλος καὶ τοῖς πρόγονοις αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἑξῆς ἐκ Γονοῦσας τῆς ὑπὲρ Σικυωνίας, καὶ πρόγονος σφίσιν ἐν Μέλῃ ἐδίδασκεν.* "Cypselus and his ancestors were originally from the town of Gonocessa to the north of Sicyon; and Melas the son of Antassus was among their ancestors." Thus Pausanias says just what is to his purpose, and nothing more. For if the learned reader will take the trouble to consider the passage in the original, as connected with the author's subject, he will perceive that it was much to the purpose to mention, that Melas was among the ancestors of Cypselus; but not at all, to state the distance of time between them.

(*) Eusebius places the beginning of the reign of Cypselus in the first, Petavius in the third year, of the 30th olympiad.

§ XV.

(*) Herodot. lib. 7. c. 204. Lib. 8. c. 131. Lib. 6. c. 52. Pausan. lib. 2. c. 18. p. 151.

(*) Eurytheus was slain before any attempt of the Heraclidæ to return, in an expedition of his

than the Argonautic expedition: and these generations were short ones, being by the chief of the family, and suit with the reckoning of Thucydides and the ancients, that the taking of Troy was about 75 or 80 years before the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus; and the Argonautic expedition one generation earlier than the taking of Troy. Count therefore 80 years backward from the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus to the Trojan war: and the taking of Troy will be about 76 years after the death of Solomon: and the Argonautic expedition, which was one generation earlier, will be about 43 years after it (*). From the taking of Troy to the return of the Heraclidæ, could scarce be more than eighty years; because Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, was a youth at the taking of Troy, and his sons Penthilus and Tifamenes lived till the return of the Heraclidæ (*).

XVI. Æsculapius (*) and Hercules (*) were Argonauts: and Hippocrates was the eighteenth inclusively by the father's side

his own against them settled in the Athenian territory. Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 57 and 58. p. 181. and Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 8. § 1.

(*) HYLLUS, having been unsuccessful in his first attempt, renewed it after an interval of three years; and in this second attempt he was slain. Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 58. Herodot. lib. 9. c. 26.

(*) I KNOW not where Sir Isaac Newton finds mention of the death of Cleodæus in a third attempt, and of Aristomachus in a fourth. The learned Meursius, who has taken much pains to bring together whatever is to be found in ancient writers on this subject (see his *Regnum Laconicum*, c. 7 & 8.) speaks only of three attempts; the two of Hyllus, and that under the sons of Aristomachus, which, proving successful, was of course the last. Of the death of Aristomachus I find no mention, except in Apollodorus: who says, that Aristomachus died in the second attempt of Hyllus. Lib. 3. c. 8. § II. But since it is intimated in the very next sentence, that the sons of Cleodæus were not grown up at the time of this expedition; since Aristomachus was a son, if not the only son of Cleodæus; and since the last successful attempt is said to have been made, when the persons intended in this passage, whoever they might be, were grown up; for these reasons I suspect, that the names of Aristomachus and Cleodæus have changed places in the text of Apollodorus, and that Cleodæus fell in the second expedition of his father Hyllus.

(*) OUR author here seems to suppose, that the return of the Heraclidæ was 43 years earlier than the beginning of the olympiads. This being supposed, the taking of Troy, which was 80 years earlier than that return, must have been 123 years earlier than the beginning of the olympiads. Solomon's death was 199 years before the olympiads (§ X. note 4.) Therefore the taking of Troy, by this reckoning, will have been 76 years later than the death of Solomon.

(*) Pausan. lib. 2. c. 18. p. 151.

§ XVI.

(*) HYGINUS reckons Æsculapius among the Argonauts, though he is not to be found in the Orphic list, nor in that of Apollonius, or of Apollodorus. He must have been contemporary with the Argonauts, if, according to the fable, he was instructed in medicine by the Centaur Chiron. Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 10. § III.

(*) Orph. Argonaut. v. 116. Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. v. 122.

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from

from Æsculapius, and the nineteenth from Hercules by the mother's side⁽³⁾: and because these generations, being taken notice of by writers, were most probably by the principal of the family, and so for the most part by the eldest sons; we may reckon about 28 or at the most about 30 years to a generation. And thus the seventeen intervals by the father's side, and eighteen by the mother's, will, at a middle reckoning, amount unto about 507 years: which counted backwards from the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, at which time Hippocrates began to flourish, will reach up to the 43d year after the death of Solomon, and there place the Argonautic expedition⁽⁴⁾.

XVII. When the Romans conquered the Carthaginians, the archives of Carthage came into their hands: and thence Appian, in his history of the Punic wars⁽⁵⁾, tells in round numbers that Carthage stood seven hundred years: and Solinus adds the odd number of years in these words: "*Adrymeto atque Carthagini auctor est à Tyro populus. Urbem istam, ut Cato in Oratione Senatoria autumat, cum rex Hiarbas rerum in Libya potiretur, Elissa mulier extruxit, domo Phœnix, & Carthadam dixit; quod Phœnicum ore exprimit civitatem novam: mox sermone verso Carthago dicta est; quæ post annos septingentos triginta septem exciditur quàm fuerat extructa.*" Elissa was Dido; and Carthage was destroyed in the consulship of Lentulus and Mummius, in the year of the Julian Period 4568⁽⁶⁾; from whence count backwards 737 years, and the Encænïa or dedication of the city, will fall upon the 16th year of Pygmalion, the brother of

⁽³⁾ Ἰπποκράτης γένει μὴ τῷ Κωῶτι, ὅς γε Ἡρακλεὺς καὶ Φαιακίης, οὐκ Ἡρακλεὺς καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τοῦ γένος ἀσκληπιοῦ· ἀφ' οὗ μὴ ἱκοσὶ ἀφ' οὗ δ' ἡ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι. Soranus in *Vit. Hippoc.* When Sir Isaac Newton says the 18th and 19th inclusively, I imagine his meaning is, including Hippocrates, but excluding Æsculapius and Hercules.

⁽⁴⁾ The Peloponnesian war began Ann. 2. Olymp. 87. or in the 346th olympic year. Count back 507 years, and you come to the 162d before the olympiads; which is about the 37th after Solomon's death. (See § X. note 4.)

⁽⁵⁾ P. 82. edit. H. Steph.

§ XVII.

⁽⁶⁾ Euseb. in *Chron. ad Ann. 3. Olymp. 158.*

⁽⁷⁾ Joseph. contr. Ap. lib. 1. c. 18, p. 1341. edit. Hudson.

⁽⁸⁾ *Æn. l. lin. 623—626.*

⁽⁹⁾ The ejection of Cinyras is not expressly mentioned either by Virgil or Servius. But Virgil makes Dido say, that her father held Cyprus by right of conquest: and Servius adds, that he granted the island to Teucer: and the prince, that Dido's father conquered, according to that chronology which makes Dido and her father contemporary with the Trojan war, could be no other than Cinyras, since Cinyras was king of Cyprus when that war commenced; as appears from the breast-plate of Agamemnon;

of Dido, and king of Tyre. She fled in the seventh year of GREEKS. Pygmalion⁽¹⁾; but the æra of the city began with its Encænïa. Now Virgil and his scholiast Servius, who might have some things from the archives of Tyre and Cyprus as well as from those of Carthage, relate that Teucer came from the war of Troy to Cyprus in the days of Dido, a little before the reign of her brother Pygmalion; and, in conjunction with her father, seized Cyprus⁽²⁾, and ejected Cinyras⁽³⁾: and the marbles say, that Teucer came to Cyprus seven years after the destruction of Troy, and built Salamis; and Apollodorus, that Cinyras married Metharme the daughter of Pygmalion, and built Paphos⁽⁴⁾. Therefore if the Romans, in the days of Augustus, followed not altogether the artificial chronology of Eratosthenes, but had these things from the records of Carthage, Cyprus, or Tyre; the arrival of Teucer at Cyprus will be in the reign of the predecessor of Pygmalion: and by consequence the destruction of Troy, about 76 years later than the death of Solomon⁽⁵⁾.

XVIII. Dionysius Halicarnassensis^a tells us, that in the time of the Trojan war, Latinus was king of the Aborigines in Italy; and that in the sixteenth age after that war, Romulus built Rome. By ages, he means reigns of kings: for after Latinus, he names sixteen kings of the Latines, the last of which was Numitor⁽¹⁾, in whose days Romulus built Rome; for Romulus was contemporary to Numitor: and after him Dionysius and others reckon six kings more over Rome, to the beginning of the consuls. Now these twenty and two reigns, at about 18 years to a reign one with another, for many of these kings were slain, took up 396 years; which counted back from the consulship of

^a Τὸν τοῦ ἐν Κιπρῶν βασιλῆα, ἑστηκότος αὐτοῦ.

Παύσιος γὰρ Κυπρῶν βασιλῆα κληῖται.

Il. A. lin. 20.

⁽²⁾ Lib. 3. c. 13. § III.

⁽³⁾ For Josephus reckons 143 years from the building of Solomon's Temple to the building of Carthage (contr. Ap. lib. 1. c. 18.) which last epoch he seems not to distinguish from the flight of Dido in the 7th of Pygmalion. Solomon survived the building of the Temple thirty years, 1 Kings vi. 38. and xi. 43. Therefore from Solomon's death to the flight of Dido, the interval will be 113 years. Subtract seven years. There remains 106 for the interval between Solomon's death and the beginning of Pygmalion's reign. Therefore if the war of Troy was in the generation next before Pygmalion, it must have happened about 76 years after the death of Solomon.

§ XVIII.

⁽⁴⁾ Lib. 1. c. 63—71. p. 51—57.

Junius Brutus and Valerius Publicola⁽²⁾, the two first consuls, place the Trojan war about 78⁽³⁾ years after the death of Solomon.

XIX. The expedition of Sesostris was one generation earlier than the Argonautic expedition: for in his return back into Egypt he left Æetes in Colchis, and Æetes reigned there till the Argonautic expedition⁽¹⁾; and Prometheus was left by Sesostris with a body of men at Mount Caucasus to guard that pass, and after thirty years was released by Hercules the Argonaut: and Phlias and Eumedon⁽⁴⁾, the sons of the great Bacchus, so the poets call Sesostris, and of Ariadne the daughter of Minos, were Argonauts. At the return of Sesostris into Egypt, his brother Danäus fled from him into Greece with his fifty daughters in a long ship⁽⁵⁾; after the pattern of which the ship Argo was built: and Argus, the son of Danäus⁽⁶⁾, was the master-builder thereof. Nauplius the Argonaut was born in Greece of Amy-mone, one of the daughters of Danäus, and of Neptune⁽⁷⁾, the brother and admiral of Sesostris: and two others of the daughters of Danäus married Archander and Architeles⁽⁸⁾, the sons of Achæus⁽⁹⁾, the son of Cræusa, the daughter of Erechtheus king of Athens⁽¹⁰⁾: and therefore the daughters of Danäus were three

⁽¹⁾ i. e. from the 1st year of the 68th olymp. Dionys. Hal. lib. 2. c. 1. p. 277.

⁽²⁾ 70, if the death of Solomon was 199 years earlier than the olympiads.

§ XIX.

⁽¹⁾ It is much to be regretted, that our author hath not produced his authority, for a matter of so much importance to his system. That the Colchians were an Egyptian colony, settled in those parts by Sesostris, seems to be the uniform tradition of antiquity. (Herodot. lib. 2. c. 104—106. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 55. p. 35. Apoll. Rhod. lib. 4. lin. 272. &c.) But that Æetes, the prince who reigned at Colchis when the Argonauts arrived there, was himself left there by Sesostris, seems to be a supposition that Sir Isaac Newton has adopted, because it suits its system. Stephanus Byzantinus may seem to give some countenance to it; when he says that Æetes was the builder of Æa. But his authority, if it were more express than it is, might hardly be allowed to outweigh the testimony of more antient writers. Apollonius Rhodius makes Argus speak of the expedition of Sesostris as a thing of such remote antiquity, that many of the cities, which that conqueror had founded in Asia, might be supposed to be gone to ruin in the time of the Argonautic expedition:

— πύλος γὰρ αὐτοῦ κατακρηνίσθη αἶψα.

Æa, however, was in being

Lib. 4. lin. 276.

Τὰνδ' αἰδῶν, ὅς ἐστι καὶ ἡμεῖς αἰσιν ἄνθρωποι.

Lin. 277.

Upon which passage the Scholiast observes, that the word *ἄνθρωποι* is used catachrestically, to signify remoter descendants than grand-children; as *Ἡρακλεῖδαι* is used for remoter descendants of Hercules than his sons. And he says, that Dicaearchus reckoned no less than 2936 years between Sesostris,

three generations younger than Erechtheus; and by consequence ^{GREEKS.} contemporary to Theseus the son of Ægeus, the adopted son of Pandion, the son of Erechtheus⁽¹⁾. Theseus, in the time of the Argonautic expedition, was of about 50 years of age, and so was born about the 33d year of Solomon: for he stole Helena^a just before that expedition, being then 50 years old⁽¹⁰⁾, and^a Apollon. Argonaut. l. 1. v. 101. she but seven⁽¹¹⁾, or as some say ten⁽¹²⁾. Pirithöus the son of Ixion helped Theseus to steal Helena; and then^b Theseus went^b Plutarch. in Theseo. with Pirithöus to steal Persephone, the daughter of Aidoneus, or Orcus, king of the Molossians, and was taken in the action⁽¹³⁾: and whilst he lay in prison, Castor and Pollux returning from the Argonautic expedition, released their sister Helena, and captivated Æthra, the mother of Theseus⁽¹³⁾. Now the daughters of Danäus being contemporary to Theseus, and some of their sons being Argonauts; Danäus with his daughters fled from his brother Sesostris into Greece, about one generation before the Argonautic expedition; and therefore Sesostris returned into Egypt in the reign of Rehoboam. He came out of Egypt in the fifth year of Rehoboam, and spent nine years in that expedition against the eastern nations and Greece; and therefore returned back into Egypt, in the fourteenth year of Rehoboam.

^a Diodor. l. 1. c. 55. p. 35.

Sesostris, or Sesonchosis, and the first olympiad.

⁽¹⁾ APOLLONIUS mentions Phlias as the son of Bacchus. Lib. 2. lin. 115. The Scholiast seems to say, that his mother was Cthonophyle. Hyginus mentions Phliasius and Eumedon as sons of Bacchus by Ariadne, and as Argonauts. Fab. 14.

⁽²⁾ Manetho apud Joseph. contr. Ap. lib. 1. c. 15, 16. p. 1339.

⁽⁴⁾ APOLLONORUS makes Argus the son of Phrixus the builder of the ship. Lib. 1. c. 9. § XVI. And this was probably the opinion of Pherecydes, who said that the ship was named after Argos the son of Phrixus. Scholiast. in Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. lin. 4. But Apollonius Rhodius makes the builder a different person from the son of Phrixus, but not the son of Danäus. He calls him Argus Aëstorides, or Hestorides, or Acestorides (Lib. 1. lin. 112): for the reading seems uncertain. Hyginus says that Argus, the builder of the ship, was the son of Polybus and Argia, or according to others of Danäus. Fab. 14.

⁽⁵⁾ See Orph. Argonaut. lin. 200. Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. lin. 136. Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 1. § V.

⁽⁶⁾ Pausan. lib. 7. c. 1. p. 522.

⁽⁷⁾ — the sons of Achæus] according to Pausanias. But Herodotus makes Archander the grand-son of Achæus. *Ἀρχάνδης τῷ Φθίῳ, τῷ Ἀχαιῷ*. Lib. 2. c. 98. As Pausanias says that Archander and Architeles were settled in the Phthiotis, before they went to Argos and married the daughters of Danäus, it might seem probable that Φθίῳ, in the text of Herodotus, is a corruption for Φθίῳ. But Stephanus Byzantinus, under the word *Ἑλλάς*, mentions a Phthius a son of Achæus.

⁽⁸⁾ Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 7. § II.

⁽⁹⁾ Vid. Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 14. § V.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Plutarch in Theseo. tom. I. p. 14.

⁽¹¹⁾ H. Tzetzes ad Lycophron.

⁽¹²⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 63. p. 185.

⁽¹³⁾ Plutarch in Theseo. tom. I. p. 15.

CHAPTER
FIRST.

Sefac and Sefoftris were therefore kings of all Egypt, at one and the same time: and they agree not only in the time, but also in their actions and conquests. God gave Sefac *קמלכות הארצות* the kingdoms of the lands, 2 Chron. xii. Where Herodotus describes the expedition of Sefoftris; Josephus^a tells us that he described the expedition of Sefac, and attributed his actions to Sefoftris, erring only in the name of the king⁽¹⁾. Corruptions of names are frequent in history; Sefoftris was otherwise called Sefochris, Sefochis, Sefoofis, Sethofis, Sefonchis, Sefonchosis. Take away the Greek termination, and the names become Sefoft, Sefoch, Sefoos, Sethos, Sefonch: which names differ very little from Sefach. Sefonchis and Sefach differ no more than Memphis and Moph, two names of the same city. Josephus^b tells us also, from Manetho, that Sethofis was the brother of Armais, and that these brothers were otherwise called Ægyptus and Danäus; and that upon the return of Sethofis or Ægyptus, from his great conquests into Egypt, Armais or Danäus fled from him into Greece.

XX. Egypt was at first divided into many small kingdoms, like other nations; and grew into one monarchy by degrees: and the father of Solomon's queen was the first king of Egypt, who came into Phœnicia with an army: but he only took Gezir, and gave it to his daughter⁽¹⁾. Sefac, the next king, came out of Egypt with an army of Libyans, Troglodites, and Ethiopians, 2 Chron. xii. 3. and therefore was then king of all those countries; and we do not read in Scripture, that any former king of Egypt, who reigned over all those nations, came out of Egypt with a great army to conquer other countries. The sacred history of the Israelites, from the days of Abraham to the days of Solomon, admits of no such conqueror. Sefoftris reigned over all the same nations of the Libyans, Troglodites and Ethiopians, and came out of Egypt with a great army to conquer other kingdoms.

(1) ——— *Συσανος* περι ὃ πλανῶν; *Ἡροδοτὸς* τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ Σισωργὸν προσκαλεῖται. And a little after, *μνησται δὲ ταύτης τῆς γῆρατις* [Sufaci in Judæa] καὶ ὁ *Αἰγυπτίωσι* *Ἡροδοτὸς*, περι μοιρο τοῦ βασιλεὺς πλανῶντος ὄνομα. These are the passages of Josephus, from which Conringius and Tornællus, and after them Sir J. Marham and Sir Isaac Newton, would make out, that Sefac and Sefoftris are only different names of the same person. Which however may be more than Josephus

doms. The shepherds reigned long in the lower part of Egypt, GREEKS. and were expelled thence just before the building of Jerufalem and the Temple, according to Mahetho; and whilst they reigned in the lower part of Egypt, the upper part thereof was under other kings: and while Egypt was divided into several kingdoms, there was no room for any such king of all Egypt as Sefoftris; and no historian makes him later than Sefac: and therefore he was one and the same king of Egypt with Sefac. This is no new opinion: Josephus discovered it, when he affirmed that Herodotus erred, in ascribing the actions of Sefac to Sefoftris, and that the error was only in the name of the king: for this is as much as to say, that the true name of him who did those things described by Herodotus, was Sefac; and that Herodotus erred only in calling him Sefoftris; or that he was called Sefoftris by a corruption of his name. Our great chronologer, Sir John Marham, was also of opinion that Sefoftris was Sefac: and if this be granted, it is then most certain, that Sefoftris came out of Egypt in the fifth year of Rehobam to invade the nations, and returned back into Egypt in the 14th year of that king; and that Danäus then flying from his brother, came into Greece within a year or two after: and the Argonautic expedition, being one generation later than that invasion, and than the coming of Danäus into Greece, was certainly about 40 or 45 years later than the death of Solomon. Prometheus stayed on Mount Caucasus^a thirty years, and then was released by Hercules: and therefore the Argonautic expedition was thirty years after Prometheus^b had been left on Mount Caucasus by Sefoftris; that is, about 44 years after the death of Solomon.

XXI. All nations, before the just length of the solar year was known, reckoned months by the course of the moon; and years by the^b returns of winter and summer, spring and autumn: Gen. i. 14. & viii. 22. Censorinus c. 19 & 20. Cicero in Verrem. Geminus c. 6. and in making calendars for their festivals, they reckoned thirty days to a lunar month, and twelve lunar months to a year; plus meant: The opinion is largely examined by Perizonius in the 8th and 9th chapters of his Origines Egyptiacæ.

§ XX.

(1) : Kings ix. 16. Marham. Sec. XIV. Tit. Ophir.

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ing the nearest round numbers: whence came the division of the ecliptic into 360 degrees. So in the time of Noah's flood, when the moon could not be seen, Noah reckoned thirty days to a month ('): but if the moon appeared a day or two before the end of the month, ^a they began the next month with the first day of her appearing: and this was done generally, till the Egyp-

^a Cicero in Verrem.

^b Diodor. l. i. c. 50. p. 32.

tians of Thebais found the length of the solar year. So ^b Diodorus tells us, that "the Egyptians of Thebais use no inter-

^c Cicero in Verrem. lib. 2. c. 53.

"calary months, nor subduct any days [from the month] as is "done by most of the Greeks." And ^c Cicero, "*est consuetudo "Siculorum ceterorumque Græcorum, quod suos dies mensesque con-*

^d Gem. c. 6.

"gruere volunt cum Solis Lunæque ratione, ut nonnunquam siquid "discrepet, eximant unum aliquem diem aut summum biduum ex "mense [civilis dierum triginta] quos illi ἑξαίρεσίμους dies nomi- "nant." And Proclus, upon Hesiod's τριακάς, mentions the same thing. And ^d Geminus: "Πρόθεσις γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, "τὰς μὲν μῆνας ἄγειν κατὰ σελήνην, τὰς δὲ ἐνιαυτὸς κατ' ἥλιον. Τὸ "γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων, καὶ τῶν χρησμῶν παραγγελόμενον, τὸ θύειν κατὰ "γ', ἡγναι τὰ πάτρια, μῆνας, ἡμέρας, ἐνιαυτοὺς· τῷτο διέλαβον ἅπαντες "οἱ Ἕλληνες τῷ τὰς μὲν ἐνιαυτοὺς συμφώνως ἄγειν τῷ ἡλίῳ, τὰς δὲ ἡμέ- "ρας καὶ τὰς μῆνας τῇ σελήνῃ. ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν κατ' ἥλιον ἄγειν τὰς ἐνιαυτοὺς, "τὸ περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ὥρας τῇ ἐνιαυτῷ τὰς αὐτὰς θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτε- "λεῖσθαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἑαρινὴν θυσίαν διὰ παντὸς κατὰ τὸ ἔαρ συντελεῖσθαι "τὴν δὲ θερινὴν, κατὰ τὸ θέρος· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰς λοιπὰς καιροὺς τῇ "ἔτι τὰς αὐτὰς θυσίας πῶπτε. Τῷτο γὰρ ὑπέλαβον προσηγνὲς καὶ μεχα- "ρισμένον εἶναι τοῖς θεοῖς. Τῷτο δ' ἄλλως ἐκ ἂν δύναιτο γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ "αἱ τροπαί, καὶ αἱ ἡμεραίαι περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς τόπας γίγνοιτο. Τὸ δὲ κατὰ "σελήνην ἄγειν τὰς ἡμέρας, τοῖστίον ἐστὶ· τὸ ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς τῆς σελήνης "φωτισμοῖς τὰς προσηγορίας τῶν ἡμερῶν γίνεσθαι· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν τῆς σε- "λήνης φωτισμῶν αἱ προσηγορίαι τῶν ἡμερῶν κατωνομασθήσαν. Ἐν ᾧ "μὲν γὰρ ἡμέρα νέα ἡ σελήνη φαίνεται, κατὰ συναλοιφὴν νεομηνία προση- "γορεύθη· ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡμέρα τὴν δευτέραν φάσιν ποιῆται, δευτέραν προση- "γορεύσαν· τὴν δὲ κατὰ μέσον τῆ μηνὸς γινομένην φάσιν τῆς σελήνης, ἀπὸ "αὐτῆς τῆ συμβαινόντος διχομηνίαν ἐκάλεσαν. καὶ καθόλα δὲ πάσας τὰς "ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς σελήνης φωτισμῶν προσωνόμασαν. ὅθεν καὶ τὴν τρια-

§ XXI.

(') For 150 days are made exactly equal to five months. Compare Genesis viii. 3, 4. with Gen. vii. 11.

"χοστὴν

"χοστὴν τῆ μηνὸς ἡμέραν ἐσχάτην ἔσαν ἀπὸ αὐτῆς τῆ συμβαινόντος τριακάς. GREEK.

"κάδα ἐκάλεσαν. *Propositum enim fuit veteribus, menses quidem "agere secundum lunam, annos verò secundam solem. Quod enim à "legibus & oraculis præcipiebatur, ut sacrificarent secundum tria, "videlicet patria, menses, dies, annos; hoc ita distinxerunt faciebant "universi Græci, ut annos agerent congruenter cum sole, dies verò "et menses cum lunâ. Porro secundum solem annos agere, est circa "easdem tempestates anni eadem sacrificia diis perfici, & verum "sacrificium semper in vere consummari, æstivum autem in æstate: "similiter & in reliquis anni temporibus eadem sacrificia cadere. "Hoc enim putabant acceptum & gratum esse diis. Hoc autem "aliter fieri non posset, nisi conversiones solstitiales & æquinoctia in "iisdem Zodiaci locis fierent. Secundum lunam verò dies agere, est "tale, ut congruant cum lunæ illuminationibus appellationes dierum. "Nam à lunæ illuminationibus appellationes dierum sunt denomi- "natæ. In quâ enim die luna apparet nova, ea per Synalephen, "seu compositionem νεομηνία, id est, novilunium appellatur. In "quâ verò die secundam facit apparitionem, eam secundam lunam "vocarunt. Apparitionem lunæ, quæ circa medium mensis fit, ab "ipso eventu διχομηνίαν, id est medietatem mensis nominarunt. Ac "summatim, omnes dies à lunæ illuminationibus denominarunt. "Unde etiam tricesimam mensis diem, cum ultima fit, ab ipso eventu "τριακάδα vocarunt."*

XXII. The ancient Calendar-year of the Greeks consisted therefore of twelve lunar months, and every month of thirty days: and these years and months they corrected from time to time, by the courses of the sun and moon, omitting a day or two in the month, as often as they found the month too long for the course of the moon; and adding a month to the year, as often as they found the twelve lunar months too short for the return of the four seasons. Cleobulus, ^a one of the Seven Wise Men of Greece, alluded to this year of the Greeks, in his para- ^{Apud Laertium, in Cleobulo.} ble of one father who had twelve sons, each of which had thirty daughters, half white and half black: and Thales ^b called the ^{Apud Laertium, in Thalete.} last day of the month τριακάδα ('), the thirtieth: and Solon count-

ed

§ XXII.

(') So says Diogenes Laertius: but it can not be true. For the word occurs at the very beginning Vol. V. I

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ed the ten last days of the month backward from the thirtieth, calling that day *ἐννὴς καὶ νέαν*, the old and the new, or the last day of the old month and the first day of the new: for he introduced months of 29 and 30 days alternately, making the thirtieth day of every other month to be the first day of the next month (*).

XXIII. To the twelve lunar months ^a the ancient Greeks added a thirteenth, every other year, which made their *Dieteris*; and because this reckoning made their year too long by a month in eight years, they omitted an intercalary month once in eight years, which made their *Oëtæteris*, one half of which was their *Tetræteris*: and these periods seem to have been almost as old as the religions of Greece, being used in divers of their *Sacra*. The ^b *Oëtæteris* was the *annus magnus* of Cadmus and Minos (*), and seems to have been brought into Greece and Crete by the Phœnicians, who came thither with Cadmus and Europa, and to have continued till after the days of Herodotus: for in counting the length of seventy years, ^c he reckons thirty days to a lunar month, and twelve such months, or 360 days, to the ordinary year, without the intercalary months, and 25 such months to the *Dieteris* (*): and according to the number of days in the calendar year of the Greeks, Demetrius Phalereus had 360 statues erected to him by the Athenians. But the Greeks, Cleostratus, Harpalus, and others, to make their months agree better with the course of the moon, in the times of the Persian empire, varied the manner of intercalating the three months in the

Oëtæteris;

beginning of Hesiod's *Works and Days*: and by the particular mention which is made of the true *triakas* in the 4th line, it appears, that there was in Hesiod's time a true and a false *triakas*; i. e. a natural and a civil one: or that the word was used both to denote the half day of the artificial month, which was really the thirtieth, and the day of the true conjunction, although that should not be the last of the month. See Proclus on the place. This name, therefore, was given to the last day of the month before Thales.

(*) See Plutarch, in Solon, tom. I. p. 92. Diog. Laert. lib. 1. § LVIII & LX. Aristoph. Nub. lin. 1129 & 1180—1196, with the Scholia.

§ XXIII.

(*) Besides the places to which our author refers, see Plato in *Minos*. p. 558.

(*) The passage of Herodotus seems rather to be an argument, that the *Dieteris* was in use in his time. "I fix the term of human life, says Solon, at 70 years. These 70 years, taking no account

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Oëtæteris; and Meton found out the cycle of intercalating seven *Gazætes* months in nineteen years (*).

XXIV. The ancient year of the Latines was also luni-solar; for Plutarch ^a tells us, that the year of Numa consisted of twelve ^{Plutarch. in Numa. Tom. I.} lunar months, with intercalary months to make up what the twelve lunar months wanted of the solar year. The ancient year ^{P. 71, 72.} of the Egyptians was also luni-solar, and continued to be so till the days of Hyperion, or Osiris, a king of Egypt, the father of Helios and Selene, or Orus and Bubaste: for the Israelites brought this year out of Egypt; and Diodorus ^b tells us that Ouranus, ^{Diodor. l. 3. c. 56. p. 133.} the father of Hyperion, used this year (*); and ^c that in the temple of Osiris the priests appointed thereunto filled 360 milk-bowls every day; I think he means one bowl every day, in all 360, to count the number of days in the calendar year, and thereby to find out the difference between this and the true solar year: for the year of 360 days was the year, to the end of which they added five days. ^{Diodor. l. 1. c. 22. p. 13.}

XXV. That the Israelites used the luni-solar year is beyond question (*). Their months began with their new moons. Their first month was called Abib, from the earing of corn in that month. Their Passover was kept upon the fourteenth day of the first month, the moon being then in the full: and if the corn was not then ripe enough for offering the First Fruits, the festival was put off, by adding an intercalary month to the end of the year; and the harvest was got in before the Pentecost, and the other fruits gathered before the feast of the seventh month.

"account of the embolimean months, give 15200 days. But if every other year is to be lengthened by a month, in order that the seasons may come round at the proper time, the embolimean months in the 70 years will be 35. The days arising from these months will be 1050. Now all these days in the 70 years being 16250, &c."

(*) Cenforinus de Die Natali, c. 18.

§ XXIV.

(*) This Diodorus affirms of the Uranus of the Atlantæi. And Sir Isaac Newton supposes the Hyperion of the Atlantæi, who was the son of this Uranus, and the Egyptian Osiris to be the same.

§ XXV.

(*) But whether this was their antient year, or adopted only after the death of Alexander the Great, was a question warmly agitated between Scaliger and Petavius.

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FIRST.
* Apud
Theodorum
Guzam de
mensibus.

XXVI. Simplicius, in his commentary ^a on the first of Aristotle's Physical *Acroasis*, tells us, that "some begin the year upon the summer Solstice, as the people of Attica; or upon the autumnal equinox, as the people of Asia; or in the winter, as the Romans; or about the vernal equinox, as the Arabians and people of Damascus: and the month began, according to some, upon the full moon, or upon the new." The years of all these nations were therefore luni-solar, and kept to the four seasons: and the Roman year began at first in spring, as I seem to gather from the names of their months, *Quintilis, Sextilis, September, October, November, December*: and the beginning was afterwards removed to winter. The ancient civil year of the Assyrians and Babylonians was also luni-solar: for this year was also used by the Samaritans, who came from several parts of the Assyrian empire; and the Jews who came from Babylon called the months of their luni-solar year after the names of the months of the Babylonian year; and Berosus ^b tells us, that the Babylonians celebrated the feast *Sacæa* upon the 16th day of the month *Lous*, which was a lunar month of the Macedonians, and kept to one and the same season of the year: and the Arabians, a nation who peopled Babylon, use lunar months to this day. Suidas ^c tells us, that the *Sarus* of the Chaldeans contains 222 lunar months, which are eighteen years, consisting each of twelve lunar months, besides six intercalary months: and when ^d Cyrus cut the river Gindus into 360 channels, he seems to have alluded unto the number of days in the calendar year of the Medes and Persians: and the emperor Julian ^e writes, "For when all other people, that I may say it in one word, accommodate their months to the course of the moon; we alone, with the Egyptians, measure the days of the year by the course of the sun."

XXVII. At length the Egyptians, for the sake of navigation, applied themselves to observe the stars; and by their heliacal risings and settings, found the true solar year to be five days longer

(^a) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 4.

(^b) Diodorus says, that the Egyptians of Thebais to the 12 months of 30 days, added five days and a quarter. And Strabo in effect says the same thing. Vide Strab. p. 806 & 816.

than

than the calendar year, and therefore added five days to the ^a Greeks. twelve calendar months; making the solar year to consist of twelve months and five days (¹). Strabo ^a and ^b Diodorus ascribe ^c Strabo, l. 17. p. 816. this invention to the Egyptians of Thebes (¹). "The Theban ^d Diodor. l. 1. c. 50. p. 32. priests, saith Strabo, are above others said to be astronomers and philosophers. They invented the reckoning of days not by the course of the moon, but by the course of the sun. To twelve months, each of thirty days, they add yearly five days (¹)." In memory of this emendation of the year they dedicated the ^e five additional days to Osiris, Isis, Orus senior, Typhon, and Nephthe the wife of Typhon; feigning that those days were added to the year when these five princes were born; that is, in the reign of Ouranus, or Ammon, the father of Sefac: and in ^d the sepulchre of Amenophis (¹), who reigned soon ^e after, they placed a golden circle of 365 cubits in compass, and divided it into 365 equal parts, to represent all the days in the year, and noted upon each part the heliacal risings and settings of the stars on that day; which circle remained there till the invasion of Egypt by Cambyfes king of Persia. Till the reign of Ouranus, the father of Hyperion, and grandfather of Helius and Selene, the Egyptians used the old luni-solar year: but in his reign, that is, in the reign of Ammon, the father of Osiris or Sefac, and grandfather of Orus and Bubaste, the Thebans began to apply themselves to navigation and astronomy, and by the heliacal risings and settings of the stars determined the length of the solar year; and to the old calendar year added five days, and dedicated them to his five children above mentioned, as their birth-days: and in the reign of Amenophis, when by further observations they had sufficiently determined the time of the solstices, they might place the beginning of this new year upon the vernal equinox. This year being at length propagated into Chaldæa, gave occasion to the year of Nabonassar; for the years of Nabonassar and those of Egypt began on one and the same

(¹) But he adds, that they took account of the fraction of a day, by which the year exceeds 365 days, by means of a Cycle. Vid. Strab. p. 816.

(¹) or Olymanduas, as Diodorus calls him, in our author's opinion at least, who supposes the Olymanduas of Diodorus and Amenophis to have been the same person.

day,

day, called by them Thoth (*), and were equal and in all respects the same: and the first year of Nabonassar began on the 26th day of February of the old Roman year, seven hundred forty and seven years before the vulgar æra of Christ (°), and thirty and three days and five hours before the vernal equinox, according to the sun's mean motion; for it is not likely that the equation of the sun's motion should be known in the infancy of astronomy. Now reckoning that the year of 365 days wants five hours and 49 minutes of the equinoctial year; the beginning of this year will move backwards thirty and three days and five hours in 137 years: and by consequence this year began at first in Egypt upon the vernal equinox, according to the sun's mean motion, 137 years before the æra of Nabonassar began; that is, in the year of the Julian period 3830, or 96 (°) years after the death of Solomon: and if it began upon the next day after the vernal equinox, it might begin four years earlier; and about that time ended the reign of Amenophis: for he came not from Susa to the Trojan war, but died afterwards in Egypt. This year was received by the Persian empire from the Babylonian; and the Greeks also used it in the *Æra Philippæa*, dated from the death of Alexander the Great; and Julius Cæsar corrected it, by adding a day in every four years, and made it the year of the Romans.

XXVIII. Syncellus tells us, that the five days were added to the old year by the last king of the shepherds: and the difference in time between the reign of this king, and that of Ammon, is but small; for the reign of the shepherds ended but one generation, or two, before Ammon began to add those days. But the shepherds minded not arts and sciences.

XXIX. The first month of the luni-solar year, by reason of the intercalary month, began sometimes a week or a fortnight before the equinox or solstice, and sometimes as much after it. And this year gave occasion to the first astronomers, who formed the Asterisms, to place the equinoxes and solstices in the middles

(*) Censorin. de Die Nat. c. 21.

(°) See Petav. Doct. Temp. lib. 9. c. 57, 58.

(°) Or 91; if the death of Solomon be rightly placed by Petavius on the year of the Julian period 3739.

of the constellations of Aries, Cancer, Chelæ, and Capricorn. GREEN.
Achilles Tattius * tells us, that "some antiently placed the sol-
"stice in the beginning of Cancer; others, in the eighth degree Isagoge. sect. 12. a.
"of Cancer; others, about the twelfth degree; and others about Petavio edit. Uranolog. p. 146.
"the fifteenth degree thereof." This variety of opinions proceeded from the precession of the equinox, then not known to the Greeks. When the sphere was first formed, the solstice was in the fifteenth degree, or middle of the constellation of Cancer (°): then it came into the twelfth, eighth, fourth, and first degree successively. Eudoxus, who flourished about sixty years after Meton, and an hundred years before Aratus, in describing the sphere of the ancients, placed the solstices and equinoxes in the middles of the constellations of Aries, Cancer, Chelæ, and Capricorn, as is affirmed by ^b Hipparchus Bithynus; and appears ^b Hipparch. ad Phænom. l. 2. sect. 3. a. also by the description of the equinoctial and tropical circles in ^c Aratus (°), who copied after Eudoxus; and by the positions of ^c Petavio edit. Uranolog. p. 213. the Colures of the equinoxes and solstices; which, in the sphere ^d Hipparch. ad Phænom. l. 1. sect. 2. of Eudoxus, described by Hipparchus, went through the middles of those constellations. For Hipparchus tells us, that Eudoxus drew the Colure of the solstices, through the middle of the Great Bear; and the middle of Cancer; and the neck of Hydrus; and the star between the poop and mast of Argo; and the tail of the South Fish; and through the middle of Capricorn, and of Sagitta; and through the neck and right-wing of the Swan; and the left-hand of Cepheus: and that he drew the equinoctial Colure through the left-hand of Arctophylax; and along the middle of his body; and cross the middle of Chelæ; and through the right-hand and fore-knee of the Centaur; and through the flexure of Eridanus and head of Cetus; and the back of Aries across, and through the head and right-hand of Perseus (°).

XXX. Now Chiron delineated σχήματα ὀλύμπου, the Asterisms, as the ancient author of Gigantomachia (°), cited by ^d Clemens ^d Strom. 1. p. 132, 357.

§ XXIX.

(*) For since there is no record, that it was ever placed to the east of the middle of Cancer, it is probable that this was its place when the sphere was first formed.

(°) lin. 477—505.

(°) Uranolog. p. 207, 208.

§ XXX.

(°) Read *Titanomachia*.

CHAPTER
FIRST.* Laertius
Proem. l. 1.

Alexandrinus, informs us (²): for Chiron was a practical astronomer, as may be there understood also of his daughter Hippo: and Musæus, the son of Eumolpus and master of Orpheus, and one of the Argonauts, ^a made a sphere, and is reputed the first among the Greeks who made one (³): and the sphere itself shews that it was delineated in the time of the Argonautic expedition; for that expedition is delineated in the Asterisms, together with several other ancients histories of the Greeks, and without any thing later. There is the golden RAM, the ensign of the vessel in which Phryxus fled to Colchis; the BULL with brazen hoofs tamed by Jason; and the TWINS, CASTOR and POLLUX, two of the Argonauts, with the SWAN of Leda their mother. There is the ship ARGO, and HYDRUS the watchful dragon; with Medea's CUP, and a RAVEN upon its carcass, the symbol of death. There is CHIRON the master of Jason, with his ALTAR and SACRIFICE. There is the Argonaut HERCULES (⁴) with his DART and VULTURE falling down; and the DRAGON, CRAB, and LYON, whom he slew; and the HARP of the Argonaut Orpheus. All these relate to the Argonauts. There is ORION the son of Neptune, or, as some say, the grandson of Minos, with his DOGS, and HARE, and RIVER, and SCORPION. There is the story of Perseus in the constellations of PERSEUS, ANDROMEDA, CEPHEUS, CASSIOPEA and CETUS: that of Callisto, and her son Arcas, in URSA MAJOR and ARCTOPHYLAX: that of

(²) ———— ὁ δὲ
Εἰς τὰ δικαιώματα θυῶν γινῆσθαι πρῶτον, δεῖξας
Ὀρεον, καὶ θυῶν ἱλαράς, καὶ σχήμα' Ὀλύμπου.

As these σχήμα' Ὀλύμπου stand connected here with oaths and propitiatory sacrifices, and the knowledge of them is made a part of the discipline, by which mankind was brought to a just and civilized life; I much doubt whether the Asterisms be intended. Indeed both Chiron and his daughter Hippo seem to have been skilled in physics. But the lady's particular excellence was in judicial astrology.

Ἡ πρῶτα μὲν τὰ θεῶν περιβαλίνουσα
Χρησμοῖσιν, ἢ δὲ ἀγίται ἐπαύλους.

Were not these σχήμα' Ὀλύμπου the configurations of the heavenly bodies, on which astrologers were used to form their predictions? Prediction is connected with popular superstition. And thus these σχήμα' Ὀλύμπου might have a connection with oaths, and sacrifices, and the discipline of civil life.

(³) ———— πρῶτος δὲ θεογονία καὶ σφαῖρα πρῶτος. Diog. Laert. Proem. sect. III. That is, he was the first who wrote in verse of the theogony and the sphere. This seems much more to the purpose than Chiron's σχήμα' Ὀλύμπου. And it is still more so, that Orpheus himself was an astronomer. Vid. Suidas in Ὀρφέει.

Icareus and his daughter Erigone in BOOTES, PLAUSTRUM, and GRÆCÆ VIRGO. URSA MINOR relates to one of the nurses of Jupiter; AURIGA to Erechthonius; OPHIUCHUS to Phorbas; SAGITTARIUS to Crolus the son of the nurse of the Muses; CAPRICORN to Pan, and AQUARIUS to Ganimede. There is Ariadne's CROWN; Belerophon's HORSE; Neptune's DOLPHIN; Ganimede's EAGLE; Jupiters GOAT with her KIDS; Bacchus's ASSES; and the FISHES of Venus and Cupid, and their parent the SOUTH FISH. These with DELTOTON are the old constellations mentioned by Aratus: and they all relate to the Argonauts and their contemporaries, and to persons one or two generations older: and nothing later than that expedition was delineated there originally. ANTINOUS and COMA BERENICES are novel. The sphere seems therefore to have been formed by Chiron and Musæus, for the use of the Argonauts: for the ship Argo was the first long ship built by the Greeks. Hitherto they had used round vessels of burden, and kept within sight of the shore; and now, upon an embassy to several princes upon the coasts of the Euxine and Mediterranean Seas, ^a by the dictates of the oracle, and consent of the princes, ^b Apollo. l. 1. c. 9. of Greece, the flower of Greece were to sail with expedition ^c 16. through the deep, in a long ship with sails, and guide their ship by the stars (⁵). The people of the island Corcyra ^b attributed ^d Suidas in Αἰσχύλλει. the invention of the sphere to Nauficaa, the daughter of Alcionöus, king of the Pheaces in that island (⁶): and it is most pro-

(⁴) THIS was not the antient name of the constellation. In the time of Aratus, the Greeks had no name for it, but one taken from the posture, in which the figure was drawn, ὁ ὄρεος, and professed to be ignorant who or what was meant by it. See Aratus, lin. 613—616.

(⁵) See Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 41. p. 171. That the Argo carried masts and sails, see Orph. Argonaut. lin. 274, and Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. lin. 563—566.

(⁶) Αἰσχύλλει, ἢ Κερκυραία γραμματικὴ, ἥτις τῆς τῶν σφαῖρας ἱστορίᾳ Ναυσικάᾳ τῇ Αἰλίου θυγατρὶ ἀνατίθεισιν. Thus the Lexicographer; who probably thought as little, as the Corcyrean Grammarian, of decorating the princess Nauficaa with the fame of astronomical inventions. What sphere Nauficaa invented, and to what purpose it was applied, Athenæus tells us more distinctly. Ὁρχήσθαι δ' οἱ παρ' Ὀμήρου, αἱ μὲν τῶν ἰκιδίων αἱ δὲ διὰ τῶν σφαῖρας; ἢ τῶν ἱερῶν Ἀγῶν, ἢ Κερκυραία γραμματικὴ, Ναυσικάᾳ ἀνατίθεισιν, ὡς πολιτικὴν χερσὶν ἐκείνης. (Δικταρχῶς δὲ Σικωνίους, Ἰππασσοῦ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους, ταύτης τε καὶ τῆς γυμναστικῆς πρῶτος.) Ταύτην δὲ μόνον τῶν ἡρώων Ὀμήρῳ παρὰ τῶν σφαῖρας. Athen. lib. 1. c. 11. p. 14. That is, "The Dances, that are mentioned by Homer, are some of those of tumblers; others, with a ball; the invention of which kind of dance, Agallus, the Corcyrean grammarian, ascribes to Nauficaa, in compliment to her country-woman. (But Dicæarchus gives this invention to the Sicyonians; Hippasus to the Lacedæmonians, the first in this, as well as in many exercises.) Nauficaa is the only heroine that Homer introduces "dancing the ball-dance." It appears from Athenæus that these dances, in which the ball was used, were particularly graceful and elegant, and practised by persons of the best condition.

CHAPTER

FIRST.

Apollodor. home failed to that island, and made some stay there with her father. So then in the time of the Argonautic expedition, the cardinal points of the equinoxes and solstices were in the middles of the constellations of Aries, Cancer, Chelæ, and Capricorn.

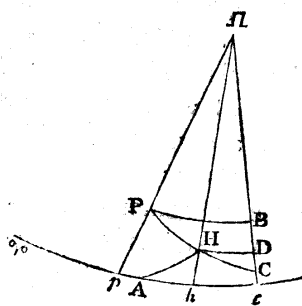
XXXI. In the end of the year of our Lord 1689 the star called Prima Arietis was in $\gamma. 28^{\circ}. 51'. 00''$ with north latitude $7^{\circ}. 8'. 58''$. And the star called *ultima caudæ Arietis* was in $\delta. 19^{\circ}. 3'. 42''$ with north latitude $2^{\circ}. 34'. 5''$. And the *Colurus Equinoctiorum* passing through the point in the middle between those two stars did then cut the ecliptic in $\delta 6^{\circ}. 44' (^{\circ})$: and by this reckoning

§ XXXI.

(¹) By my calculations in $\gamma. 6^{\circ}. 50'. 20''$.

The principles, upon which the calculation is founded, are these:

Let γp be an arc of the ecliptic, γ being the equinoctial point at the end of the year of our Lord 1689.



Let the point γ be the place of the first star in Aries (γ of Bayer), and c the place of the last in the tail (ϵ of Bayer). Imagine a great circle of the sphere drawn through γ and c ; and bisect the arc γc in h . Then is B the middle point between γ and c , through which the equinoctial colure of the primitive sphere passed. Therefore through h draw a great circle, hA , which may make an angle of $66^{\circ}. 30'$ with the ecliptic, the acute angle looking eastward. Then hA will be the equinoctial colure of the primitive sphere, and A the equinoctial point of that sphere.

To find the distance of A from γ , the equinoctial point of the sphere of 1690; find Π the pole of the ecliptic: and through γ , c , and h , draw circles of latitude, $\Pi\gamma$, Πc , Πh , meeting the ecliptic in the points p , c , and b . And from γ and h draw arcs of great circles, γp and hD , perpendicular to Πc . Now the arcs γp , γc , are given; being the given longitudes of the stars γ and c , at the end of the year 1689. Therefore pc , the difference of these arcs is given, and the angle $\Pi p c$, which is measured by that given arc pc . But the arc Πp is given, being the complement of the given latitude γp . Therefore in the right-angled spherical triangle, $\Pi p c$, the hypotenuse Πc is given, and the angle $\Pi p c$. Therefore both the legs, Πp , Πc , will be given by trigonometry. But Πc being given; since Πc is also given, being the complement of the given latitude cc ; their difference, bc , is given. Therefore in the right-angled spherical triangle, $\Pi p c$, the two legs, Πp and bc , are given. Therefore the hypotenuse pc , and the angle pcx will be given by trigonometry. But pc being given, its half, bc , will be given. Therefore in the right-angled spherical triangle, hDc , the hypotenuse hD being given with the angle hDc ; the legs, hD , bc , will be given by trigonometry. But bc being given, since Πc is also given, their difference, ΠD , is given. And in the right-angled spherical triangle, $\Pi D h$, the two sides, ΠD , hD , being given; the angle $\Pi D h$ and the hypotenuse Πh will be given by trigonometry. But Πh being given, its complement, hA , which is the latitude of the point h is given. And in the right-angled spherical triangle $hA b$, the side hA being given with the angle the given angle $\Pi D h$. Therefore the arc cb , the sum of cb and hA , is given. But γc is given. Therefore γA is given. Q. E. I.

reckoning the equinox, in the end of the year 1689, was gone ^{GREEKS.} back $36^{\circ}. 44' (^{\circ})$. since the Argonautic expedition: supposing that the said Colure passed through the middle of the constellation of Aries, according to the delineation of the ancients. The equinox goes back fifty seconds in one year, and one degree in seventy and two years; and by consequence $36^{\circ}. 44'$ in 2645 years; which counted back from the end of the year of our Lord

COMPUTATION.

Given	$\gamma p = 28^{\circ} 51' 00''$	Therefore	$pc = 20^{\circ} 12' 42''$
	$\gamma c = 49^{\circ} 03' 42''$	Therefore	$\Pi p = 82^{\circ} 51' 04''$
	$p p = 7^{\circ} 8' 58''$	Therefore	$\Pi c = 87^{\circ} 25' 55''$
	$cc = 2^{\circ} 34' 5''$		

Hence in the right-angled triangle $\Pi p c$	$\Pi p = 82^{\circ} 51' 04''$
	$\Pi c = 20^{\circ} 12' 42''$
Therefore the legs	$p p = 20^{\circ} 2' 52''$
	$\Pi p = 82^{\circ} 23' 12''$
But	$\Pi c = 87^{\circ} 25' 55''$
Therefore	$bc = 5^{\circ} 02' 43''$

Hence in the right-angled triangle $p p c$	$p p = 20^{\circ} 2' 52''$
	$pc = 5^{\circ} 2' 43''$
Therefore	$pcx = 76^{\circ} 27' 00''$
And	$pc = 20^{\circ} 38' 51''$
Therefore	$hc = \frac{1}{2} pc = 10^{\circ} 19' 25\frac{1}{2}''$

Hence in the right-angled triangle hDc	$hc = 10^{\circ} 19' 25\frac{1}{2}''$
And	$hD = 76^{\circ} 27' 00''$
Therefore	$hD = 10^{\circ} 1' 59''$
And	$cd = 2^{\circ} 26' 37''$
But	$\Pi c = 87^{\circ} 25' 55''$
Therefore	$\Pi D = 84^{\circ} 59' 18''$

Hence in the right-angled triangle $\Pi D h$	$\Pi D = 84^{\circ} 59' 18''$
And	$hD = 10^{\circ} 1' 59''$
Therefore	$\Pi h = 10^{\circ} 4' 15'' = bc$
And	$\Pi h = 85^{\circ} 3' 55''$
Therefore	$hA = 4^{\circ} 56' 5''$

Hence in the right-angled triangle $hA b$	$hA = 4^{\circ} 56' 5''$
And	$hA b = 66^{\circ} 30' 00''$
Therefore	$bA = 2^{\circ} 9' 7''$
But	$cb = 10^{\circ} 4' 15''$
Therefore	$ca = 12^{\circ} 13' 22''$
But	$\gamma c = 49^{\circ} 3' 42''$
Therefore	$\gamma A = 36^{\circ} 50' 20''$

(¹) $36^{\circ}. 50'. 20''$. by my reckoning.

1689, or beginning of the year 1690, will place the Argonautic expedition about 25 years after the death of Solomon⁽³⁾. But it is not necessary that the middle of the constellation of Aries should be exactly in the middle between the two stars called *prima Arietis* and *ultima cauda*: and it may be better to fix the cardinal points by the stars, through which the Colures passed in the primitive sphere, according to the description of Eudoxus above recited. By the Colure of the equinoxes, I mean a great circle passing through the poles of the equator, and cutting the ecliptic in the equinoxes in an angle of $66\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, the complement of the sun's greatest declination; and by the Colure of the solstices I mean a great circle passing through the same poles, and cutting the ecliptic at right angles in the solstices: and by the primitive sphere, that which was in use before the motions of the equinoxes and solstices were known: now the Colures passed through the following stars, according to Eudoxus.

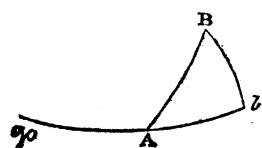
XXXII. In the back of Aries is a star of the sixth magnitude, marked ν by Bayer: in the end of the year 1689, and beginning of the year 1690, its longitude was $\delta. 9^{\circ}. 38'. 45''$ ⁽¹⁾, and north latitude $6^{\circ}. 7'. 56''$: and the *Colurus Aequinoctiorum* drawn

⁽³⁾ THE equinoctial points go back $36^{\circ}. 50'$. in 2642 years. From the end of the year of our Lord 1689, i. e. of the year of the Julian period 6402, count back 2642, and you come to the year of the Julian period 3760, the 22d from Solomon's death, according to Petavius.

§ XXXII.

⁽¹⁾ Read $8. 9^{\circ}. 48'. 35''$. See Flamsted's Cat. Brit.

⁽²⁾ ACCORDING to my calculations in $8. 7^{\circ}. 7'. 56''$.



Let $\gamma\delta$ be an arc of the ecliptic; γ being the place of the equinoctial point at the end of the year 1689. Let the point α be the place of ν of Aries. Draw the circle of latitude $\alpha\beta$, and $\alpha\alpha$ the equinoctial colure of the primitive sphere. Then in the right-angled spherical triangle $\alpha\beta\alpha$, $\alpha\beta$ being the latitude of ν of Aries, is $6^{\circ}. 7'. 56''$. And the angle $\alpha\alpha\beta$ is $66^{\circ}. 30'. 00''$. Hence I find the arc $\alpha\beta = 2^{\circ}. 40'. 39''$. But $\gamma\delta = 39^{\circ}. 48'. 35''$. being the longitude of ν of Aries in the sphere of 1690.

Therefore $\gamma\alpha = 37^{\circ}. 07'. 56''$.

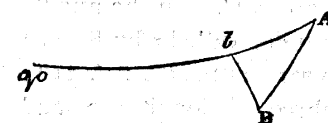
In a copy of the chronology which formerly belonged to my late dear and learned friend MATTHEW RAPER, Esq. F.R.S. for $8. 6^{\circ}. 58'. 57''$. I find $8. 7^{\circ}. 7'. 55''$. written in his hand in the margin.

⁽³⁾ BY my calculations $8. 6^{\circ}. 53'. 29''$.

These two stars are so near together, both in longitude and latitude; that the mean longitude and mean latitude may be safely assumed for the longitude and latitude of the middle point between the two.

Let,

drawn through it, according to Eudoxus, cuts the ecliptic in $\delta. 6^{\circ}. 58'. 57''$ ⁽¹⁾. In the head of Cetus are two stars of the fourth magnitude, called ν and ξ by Bayer: in the end of the year 1689 their longitudes were $\delta. 4^{\circ}. 3'. 9''$. and $\delta. 3^{\circ}. 7'. 35''$. and their south latitudes $9^{\circ}. 12'. 26''$. and $5^{\circ}. 53'. 7''$: and the *Colurus Aequinoctiorum* passing in the mid-way between them, cuts the ecliptic in $\delta. 6^{\circ}. 58'. 51''$ ⁽²⁾. In the extreme flexure of Eridanus, rightly delineated, is a star of the fourth magnitude, of late referred to the breast of Cetus, and called ρ by Bayer⁽⁴⁾; it is the only star in Eridanus through which this Colure can pass; its longitude, in the end of the year 1689, was $\gamma. 25^{\circ}. 22'. 10''$. and south latitude $25^{\circ}. 15'. 50''$. and the *Colurus Aequinoctiorum* passing through it, cuts the ecliptic in $\delta. 7^{\circ}. 12'. 40''$ ⁽⁵⁾. In the head of Perseus, rightly delineated, is a star of the fourth magnitude, called τ by Bayer; the longitude of this star, in the end of the year 1689, was $\delta. 23^{\circ}. 25'. 30''$ ⁽⁶⁾, and north latitude $34^{\circ}. 20'. 12''$: and the *Colurus Aequinoctiorum* passing through it, cuts the ecliptic in $\delta. 6^{\circ}. 18'. 57''$ ⁽⁷⁾. In the right-hand of Perseus, rightly delineated, is a star



Let α therefore be that middle point, and $\alpha\beta$ the circle of latitude passing through it, and meeting the ecliptic $\gamma\delta$ in δ . Draw a great circle, $\alpha\alpha$, to make an angle with the ecliptic of $66^{\circ}. 30'$. the acute angle looking westward, because the point α is to the south of the ecliptic. Then $\alpha\alpha$ will be the equinoctial colure of the primitive sphere, and α the equinoctial point of that sphere.

Now in the right-angled triangle $\alpha\beta\alpha$, $\alpha\beta = 7^{\circ}. 32'. 46''$; being the latitude of α : and $\alpha\alpha\beta = 66^{\circ}. 30'. 00''$.

Hence I find $\delta\alpha = 3^{\circ}. 18'. 7''$

But $\gamma\delta = 33^{\circ}. 35'. 22''$

Therefore $\gamma\alpha = 36^{\circ}. 53'. 29''$

Raper's copy has $8. 6^{\circ}. 53'. 42''$ written in his hand in the margin.

⁽⁴⁾ This is the ϵ Ceti, in *quadrilatero pectoris præcedentis lateris boreæ*, of the Britannic Catalogue.

⁽⁵⁾ In $8. 7^{\circ}. 12'. 38''$. by my calculations.

Let α in the last figure represent the place of ϵ Ceti.

Then $\alpha\beta = 25^{\circ}. 15'. 50''$

and $\alpha\alpha\beta = 66^{\circ}. 30'. 00''$

Hence I find $\delta\alpha = 11^{\circ}. 50'. 28''$

But $\gamma\delta = 25^{\circ}. 22'. 10''$

Therefore $\gamma\alpha = 37^{\circ}. 12'. 38''$

⁽⁶⁾ Read $8. 23^{\circ}. 35'. 30''$. See Flamsted, Cat. Brit.

⁽⁷⁾ In $8. 6^{\circ}. 18'. 48''$.

Let

star of the fourth magnitude, called η by Bayer; its longitude in the end of the year 1689 was $\delta. 24^\circ. 25'. 27''$ (*), and north latitude $37^\circ. 26'. 50''$: and the *Colurus Aequinoctiorum* passing through it cuts the ecliptic in $\delta. 4^\circ. 56'. 40''$ (°): and the fifth part of the sum of the places in which these five Colures cut the ecliptic, is $\delta. 6^\circ. 29'. 15''$ (°): and therefore the great circle which in the primitive sphere, according to Eudoxus, and by consequence in the time of the Argonautic expedition, was the *Colurus Aequinoctiorum* passing through the stars above-described; did, in the end of the year 1689, cut the ecliptic in $\delta. 6^\circ. 29' 15''$ (°): as nearly as we have been able to determine by the observations of the ancients, which were but coarse.

XXXIII. In the middle of Cancer is the South Afellus, a star of the fourth magnitude, called by Bayer δ ; its longitude in the end of the year 1689 was $\delta. 4^\circ. 23'. 40''$. In the neck of Hydrus, rightly delineated, is a star of the fourth magnitude, called δ by Bayer; its longitude in the end of the year 1689 was $\delta. 5^\circ. 59'. 3''$. Between the poop and mast of the ship Argo is a star of the third magnitude, called by Bayer; its longitude in the end of that year was $\delta. 7^\circ. 5'. 31''$. In Sagitta is a star of the sixth magnitude, called θ by Bayer; its longitude in the end of the same year 1689 was $\delta. 6^\circ. 29'. 53''$. In the middle of Capricorn is a star of the fifth magnitude, called η by Bayer; its longitude in the end of the same year was $\delta. 8^\circ. 25'. 55''$: and the fifth part of the sum of the three first longitudes, and

Let δ , in fig. note 2, represent the place of γ Persei.

Then	$\delta\delta = 34$	20	12
And	$\delta A\delta = 66$	30	00
Therefore	$\delta A = 17$	16	42
But	$\gamma\delta = 53$	35	30
Therefore	$\gamma A = 36$	18	48

Raper's copy has $\delta. 6^\circ. 18' 48''$ written in his own hand in the margin.

(*) This star does not appear in the Britannic Catalogue: but in that of Hevelius its longitude, at the end of the year 1660, is put down $\delta. 24^\circ. 0'. 29''$. Therefore at the end of the year 1689 its longitude must have been $\delta. 24^\circ. 24'. 29''$. In fig. note 2, let δ denote the place of this star.

Then	$\delta\delta = 37$	26	50
And	$\delta A\delta = 66$	30	00
Hence I find	$\delta A = 19$	27	06
But	$\gamma\delta = 54$	24	39
Therefore	$\gamma A = 34$	57	33

of the complements of the two last to 180 degrees (°); is $\delta. 6^\circ. 28'. 46''$ (°). This is the new longitude of the old *Colurus Solstitiorum* passing through these stars. The same Colurus passes also in the middle between the stars η and χ , of the fourth and fifth magnitudes, in the neck of the Swan; being distant from each about a degree: it passeth also by the star α , of the fourth magnitude, in the right wing of the Swan; and by the star σ , of the fifth magnitude, in the left-hand of Cepheus, rightly delineated; and by the stars in the tail of the South-Fish; and is at right angles with the *Colurus Aequinoctiorum* found above: and so it hath all the characters of the *Colurus Solstitiorum* rightly drawn.

XXXIV. The two colures therefore, which in the time of the Argonautic expedition cut the ecliptic in the cardinal points, did in the end of the year 1689 cut it in $\delta. 6^\circ. 29'$; $\delta. 6^\circ. 29'$; $\eta. 6^\circ. 29'$; and $\delta. 6^\circ. 29'$; that is, at the distance of 1 sign, 6 degrees and 29 minutes from the cardinal points of Chiron; as nearly as we have been able to determine from the coarse observations of the ancients: and therefore the cardinal points, in the time between that expedition and the end of the year 1689, have gone back from those colures 1 sign, 6 degrees and 29 minutes; which, after the rate of 72 years to a degree, answers to 2627 years. Count those years backwards from the end of the year 1689, or beginning of the year 1690, and the reckoning will place the Argonautic expedition about 43 years after the death of Solomon (°).

XXXV.

(*) According to my calculations $\delta. 4^\circ. 57'. 33''$. See the preceding note.

Raper's copy has $\delta. 4^\circ. 58'. 22''$. in his hand-writing in the margin. I imagine he took the longitude of the star in 1689, as he found it stated by Sir Isaac Newton.

(°) $\delta. 6^\circ. 30'. 05''$, according to my calculations.

(°) $\delta. 6^\circ. 30'. 05''$. See the preceding note. Raper's copy has $\delta. 6^\circ. 30'. 17''$. in his hand-writing in the margin.

§ XXXIII.

(°) — and of the complements of the two last to 180 degrees] read, and of the two last increased by six signs. RAPER. This emendation is necessary. HORSLEY.

(°) $\delta. 6^\circ. 28'. 48''$.

§ XXXIV.

(°) About 37 years after Solomon's death, as placed by Petavius.

C H R O N O L O G Y.

XXXV. And by the same method the place of any star in the primitive sphere may readily be found, counting backwards one sign, $6^{\circ}.29'$. from the longitude which it had in the end of the year of our Lord 1689. So the longitude of the first star of Aries in the end of the year 1689 was $\Upsilon. 28^{\circ}.51'$. as above: count backward 1 sign, $6^{\circ}.29'$. and its longitude, counted from the equinox in the middle of the constellation of Aries, in the time of the Argonautic expedition, will be $\Upsilon. 22^{\circ}.22'$: and by the same way of arguing, the longitude of the *Lucida Pleiadum* in the time of the Argonautic expedition will be $\Upsilon. 19^{\circ}.26'.8''$. and the longitude of *Arcturus* $\mathbb{M}. 13^{\circ}.24'.52''$: and so of any other stars.

XXXVI. After the Argonautic expedition we hear no more of astronomy till the days of Thales: he ^a revived astronomy, and wrote a book of the tropics and equinoxes, and predicted eclipses; and Pliny ^b tells us, that he determined the *Occafus Matutinus* of the Pleiades to be upon the 25th day after the autumnal equinox⁽¹⁾: and thence ^c Petavius computes the longitude of the Pleiades

^a Laert. in Thalete. Plin. l. 2. c. 12. b Plin. l. 18. c. 25.

^c Petav. Var. Diff. l. 1. c. 3.

It is to be observed, that in seeking the place of the equinoctial Colure of the primitive sphere on the sphere of 1690; the obliquity of the ecliptic on the primitive sphere has been supposed to be just $23^{\circ}.30'$. and the complement of the obliquity $66^{\circ}.30'$: and computing from these elements, we have found reason to conclude, that the primitive sphere of the Greeks was 2627 years older than the sphere of 1690. But at that distance of time, before the commencement of the year of our Lord 1690; I find, by Mayer's tables, that the obliquity of the ecliptic was $23^{\circ}.48'.54''$. I assume therefore $23^{\circ}.48'.30''$. for the obliquity on the primitive sphere; and repeating my calculations, I find these five places of the primitive equinox on the sphere of 1690.

The primitive equinoctial Colure being drawn through γ of Aries	8. 7. 05. 34
through the middle point between γ and ξ Ceti	8. 6. 56. 25
through ϵ of Cetus	8. 7. 23. 16
through τ of Perseus	8. 6. 03. 00
through μ of Perseus	8. 4. 39. 39

The mean place of these five is $8^{\circ}.6'.25'.23''$. And if this be the place of the primitive equinoctial point on the sphere of 1690; the place of the summer solstice should be $\Omega. 6^{\circ}.25'.23''$. But by the description of the solstitial Colure it should be $\Omega. 6^{\circ}.28'.46''$. It may be reasonable therefore to take $8^{\circ}.6'.27'$. and $\Omega. 6^{\circ}.27'$. for the places of the primitive equinox and solstice on the sphere of 1690. By which reckoning these points will be less advanced by $2'$. than Sir Isaac Newton has supposed. But these $2'$. will not make a difference of three years in the age of the primitive sphere.

§ XXXVI.

(1) OCCASUM matutinum Vergiliarum Hesiodus (nam hujus quoque nomine existit Astrologia) tradidit fieri cum equinoctium Autumni conficeretur: Thales, 25. die ab equinoctio. Plin. lib. 18. c. 25. I think it proper to bring forth the whole passage, to shew an objection that may be drawn from it. It may be said, that Pliny's authority is just as good to prove, that Hesiod

C H R O N O L O G Y.

Pleiades in $\Upsilon. 23^{\circ}.53'$: and by consequence the *Lucida Pleiadum* had, since the Argonautic expedition, moved from the equinox $4^{\circ}.26'.52''$: and this motion, after the rate of 72 years to a degree, answers to 320 years. Count these years back from the time in which Thales was a young man fit to apply himself to astronomical studies, that is from about the 41st olympiad^(*), and the reckoning will place the Argonautic expedition about 44 years after the death of Solomon, as above: and in the days of Thales, the solstices and equinoxes, by this reckoning, will have been in the middle of the eleventh degrees of the signs. But Thales, in publishing his book about the tropics and equinoxes, might lean a little to the opinion of former astronomers, so as to place them in the twelfth degrees of the signs.

XXXVII. Meton and Euctemon, ^a in order to publish the lunar cycle of nineteen years, observed the summer solstice in the year of Nabonassar 316, the year before the Peloponnesian war began; and Columella ^b tells us, that they placed it in the eighth degree of Cancer, which is at least seven degrees backward

^a Petav. Doct. Temp. l. 4. c. 26.

^b Columel. l. 9. c. 14. Plin. l. 18. c. 25 § 59. Harduin.

Hesiod placed the morning-setting of the Pleiades on the very day of the equinox, as that Thales placed it 25 days later. And if it be true, that *Lucida Pleiadum* did really set at sun-rise on the day of the autumnal equinox, in the age of Hesiod; this will much more refute Sir Isaac Newton's date of the Argonautic expedition, than the assumption, that the morning-setting of the same star was 25 days later, in the age of Thales, confirms it. For that Hesiod was some time later than the Argonautic expedition, is agreed: we have his own testimony, that he lived after the war of Troy. The Argonautic expedition happened, according to Sir Isaac Newton, in that age when the longitude of *Lucida Pleiadum* was in the 20th degree of the sign of Aries. But when this star set at sun-rise, on the day of the autumnal equinox, its longitude must have been rather behind the vernal equinox: as any astronomer, who will take the trouble to make the necessary calculations, may easily perceive. So that between the age of Hesiod, as thus defined by the morning-setting of *Lucida Pleiadum*, and that time which Sir Isaac Newton assigns to the Argonautic expedition, the stars must have advanced more than 20 degrees in longitude: and a change of 20 degrees, at the rate of 1 degree in 72 years, requires 1440 years. Therefore Sir Isaac Newton's date of the Argonautic expedition cannot be less than 1500 years too late.

To this specious objection our author would probably have replied; that Pliny reports the season of the morning-setting of this star, in the age of Hesiod, from a book of astronomy, of which he says only, that it was extant under the name of Hesiod: and that this book could not be Hesiod's. For Hesiod speaks of Arcturus as rising at sun-set sixty days after the winter solstice. And it is impossible that any star of the Pleiades could set at sun-rise, on the day of the autumnal equinox, in the same age when Arcturus rose at sun-rise 60 days after the winter solstice: or that these two circumstances of the sphere should be removed from each other by a less interval of time, than the space of 1440 years. This book of astronomy, therefore, that was extant in Pliny's time under the name of Hesiod, our author might have reasonably contended was certainly a supposititious work. And probably the performance of some petty retailer of science in the decline of the Grecian learning. The extravagant antiquity it would give to the Greek astronomy, entirely destroys its credit.

(*) Diog. Laert. lib. 1. segm 37, 38.

than at first. Now the equinox, after the rate of a degree in seventy and two years, goes backwards seven degrees in 504 years. Count backwards those years from the 316th year of Nabonassar; and the Argonautic expedition will fall upon the 44th year after the death of Solomon, or thereabout, as above. And thus you see the truth of what we cited above out of Achilles Tatius, viz. that some anciently placed the solstice in the eighth degree of Cancer, others about the twelfth degree, and others about the fifteenth degree thereof.

XXXVIII. Hipparchus, the great astronomer, comparing his own observations with those of former astronomers, concluded first of any man, that the equinoxes had a motion backwards in respect of the fixed stars (*): and his opinion was, that they went backwards one degree in about an hundred years (*). He made his observations of the equinoxes between the years of Nabonassar 586 and 618 (†): the middle year is 602, which is 286 years after the aforesaid observation of Meton and Euctemon; and in these years the equinox must have gone backwards four degrees, and so have been in the fourth degree of Aries in the days of Hipparchus, and by consequence have then gone back eleven degrees since the Argonautic expedition; that is, in 1090 years, according to the chronology of the ancient Greeks then in use (*): and this is after the rate of about 99 years, or, in the next round number, an hundred years to a degree, as was then

§ XXXVIII.

(*) Ptolemy, lib. 7. c. 2.

(*) From Hipparchus's words, preserved by Ptolemy (Synt. lib. 7. c. 2.) it should seem that his opinion was, that the cardinal points went back not less than a degree in a hundred years. But he did not affirm, that they might not recede faster: which has turned out to be the truth.

(†) 586 and 611, according to Petavius. Doct. Temp. lib. 4. c. 26.

(*) See § III. note 13.

§ XXXIX.

(*) *Idem*. lin. 564.

(*) I cannot deduce this consequence from the premises. When Arcturus rose at sun-set sixty days after the winter solstice; I find the longitude of that star must have been $13^{\circ} 28' 38''$; which exceeds its longitude on the primitive sphere, by no more than $1' 46''$.

Again, taking the longitude and latitude of Arcturus, each such as it was on the primitive sphere; namely, the longitude $13^{\circ} 26' 51''$, the latitude $30^{\circ} 53' 18''$; I find, that when the star rose at sun-set, the sun's true place must have been $36^{\circ} 00' 59''$. And according to the situation of the Aphelion of the earth's orbit, which obtained in that age of the world, when the equinoxes were in $8^{\circ} 6' 27''$, and $71^{\circ} 6' 27''$, of the sphere of 1690; the sun was in this place

then stated by Hipparchus. But it really went back a degree in ^{Greeks} seventy and two years, and eleven degrees in 792 years. Count these 792 years backward from the year of Nabonassar 602, the year from which we counted the 286 years, and the reckoning will place the Argonautic expedition about 43 years after the death of Solomon. The Greeks have therefore made the Argonautic expedition about 300 years ancienter than the truth, and thereby given occasion to the opinion of the great Hipparchus, that the equinox went backward after the rate of only a degree in an hundred years.

XXXIX. Hesiod tells us, that sixty days after the winter solstice the star Arcturus rose just at sun-set (*): and thence it follows, that Hesiod flourished about an hundred years after the death of Solomon, or in the generation or age next after the Trojan war (*), as Hesiod himself declares (*).

XL. From all these circumstances, grounded upon the coarse observations of the ancient astronomers, we may reckon it certain, that the Argonautic expedition was not earlier than the reign of Solomon. And if these astronomical arguments be added to the former arguments taken from the mean length of the reigns of kings, according to the course of nature; from them all we may safely conclude, that the Argonautic expedition was after the death of Solomon: and most probably that it was about 43 years after it.

place sixty days after the winter solstice. So that the conclusion from this passage of Hesiod should rather be, that he flourished in that very age when the Greeks first formed their sphere; that is, according to Sir Isaac Newton, in the age of the Argonautic expedition.

I take the truth to be, that before the retrograde motion of the equinoctial points was discovered, all writers speak of the risings and settings of the stars, as they were stated by the astronomers who first formed the sphere. This is probable of Hesiod in particular, if he lived so near the age of the Argonautic expedition, and the beginning of the Greek sphere, as Sir Isaac Newton supposes. No confusion therefore is to be drawn, concerning the particular age of any writer, much older than Hipparchus, from what he may say of the phenomena of the sphere; unless it be certain, that he was a practical astronomer, and lived at such a distance of time from the beginning of the Greek astronomy, as might produce sensible changes in the seasons of the risings and settings of the stars. Such writers might, indeed, without any knowledge of the motion of the equinoxes, describe the phenomena according to their own observations, and impute the difference, between what they saw and what their masters had delivered, to the coarseness of the first observations.

When I speak of the appearances of the primitive sphere, I mean the appearances in the latitude of 40 degrees north, at that time when the vernal equinox was in $8^{\circ} 6' 27''$, on the sphere of 1690.

(*) *Egy.* lin. 164—175.

XLII. The Trojan war was one generation later than that expedition, as was said above, several captains of the Greeks in that war being sons of the Argonauts: and the ancient Greeks reckoned Memnon or Amenophis, king of Egypt, to have reigned in the times of that war, feigning him to be the son of Tithonus, the eldest brother of Priam, and in the end of that war to have come from Susa to the assistance of Priam⁽¹⁾. Amenophis was therefore of the same age with the elder children of Priam, and was with his army at Susa in the last year of that war. And after he had there finished the Memnonia; he might return into Egypt, and adorn it with buildings, and obelisks, and statues, and die there about 90 or 95 years after the death of Solomon; when he had determined and settled the beginning of the new Egyptian year of 365 days upon the vernal equinox, so as to deserve the monument above-mentioned in memory thereof.

XLIII. Rehoboam was born in the last year of king David, being 41 years old at the death of Solomon, 1 Kings xiv. 21⁽¹⁾, and therefore his father Solomon was probably born in the 18th year of king David's reign, or before: and two or three years before his birth, David besieged Rabbah, the metropolis of the Ammonites; and committed adultery with Bathsheba⁽²⁾: and the year before this siege began, David vanquished the Ammonites⁽³⁾, and their confederates the Syrians of Zobah, and Rehob, and Ishob, and Maacah⁽⁴⁾, and Damascus, and extended his dominion over all these nations as far as to the entering in of Hamath and the river Euphrates⁽⁵⁾: and before this war began he smote Moab, and Ammon, and Edom⁽⁶⁾; and made the Edomites fly, some of them into Egypt with their king Hadad, then a little child⁽⁷⁾; and others to the Philistines, where they fortified Azoth against Israel; and others, I think, to the Persian Gulph, and other places whither they could escape: and before this he had several battles with the Philistines: and all this was after the eighth year of his reign, in which he came from Hebron to Je-

⁽¹⁾ Pausan. p. 875.

§ XLII.

⁽²⁾ 1 Kings xiv. 21. and xi. 42.

§ XLIII.

⁽³⁾ 2 Sam. xi.

⁽⁴⁾ 2 Sam. xi. 1.
rusalem.

rusalem. We cannot err therefore above two or three years, if ^{GREEKS.} we place this victory over Edom in the eleventh or twelfth year of his reign; and that over Ammon and the Syrians in the fourteenth. After the flight of Edom, the king of Edom grew up, and married Tahaphenes or Daphnis, the sister of Pharaoh's queen⁽¹⁾, and before the death of David had by her a son called Genubah, and this son was brought up among the children of Pharaoh⁽²⁾: and among these children was the chief or first-born of her mother's children, whom Solomon married in the beginning of his reign; and her little sister who at that time had no breasts; and her brother who then sucked the breasts of his mother, Cant. vi. 9. and viii. 1, 8: and of about the same age with these children was Sefac or Sefostris; for he became king of Egypt in the reign of Solomon, 1 Kings xi. 40; and before he began to reign he warred under his father; and whilst he was very young conquered Arabia, Troglodytica, and Libya, and then invaded Ethiopia; and succeeding his father, reigned till the fifth year of Afa: and therefore he was of about the same age with the children of Pharaoh above-mentioned; and might be one of them, and be born near the end of David's reign, and be about 46 years old when he came out of Egypt with a great army to invade the east: and by reason of his great conquests, he was celebrated in several nations by several names. The Chaldeans called him Belus; which in their language signified the Lord: the Arabians called him Bacchus; which in their language signified the great: the Phrygians and Thracians called him Ma-fors, Ma-vors, Mars; which signified the valiant: and thence the Amazons, whom he carried from Thrace and left at Thermodon, called themselves the daughters of Mars. The Egyptians before his reign called him their Hero or Hercules; and after his death, by reason of his great works done to the river Nile, dedicated that river to him, and deified him by its names *Sibor*, *Nilus*, and *Ægyptus*; and the Greeks hearing them lament O *Sibor*, *Bou Sibor*, called him Osiris and Busiris. Ar-

⁽¹⁾ 2 Sam. x.

⁽²⁾ 2 Sam. viii. 1. 1 Chron. xviii.

⁽³⁾ 1 Kings xi. 15—18.

⁽⁴⁾ Read, and married the sister of Tahaphenes, or Daphnis, Pharaoh's queen. 1 Kings xi. 19.

⁽⁵⁾ 1 Kings xi. 20.

CHAPTER FIRST. ^{* Astruc, l. 7.} rian * tells us, that the Arabians worshipped only two gods, Cœlus and Dionysus; and that they worshipped Dionysus for the glory of leading his army into India. The Dionysus of the Arabians was Bacchus; and all agree that Bacchus was the same king of Egypt with Osiris: and the Cœlus, or Uranus, or Jupiter Uranus of the Arabians, I take to be the same king of Egypt with his father Ammon, according to the poet:

*Quamvis Æthiopum populis, Arabumque beatis
Gentibus, atque Indis unus sit Jupiter Ammon.*

I place the end of the reign of Sefac upon the fifth year of Afa; because in that year Afa became free from the dominion of Egypt, so as to be able to fortify Judæa, and raise that great army with which he met Zerah, and routed him^(*). Osiris was therefore slain in the fifth year of Afa by his brother Japetus, whom the Egyptians called Typhon, Python, and Neptune: and then the Lybians, under Japetus and his son Atlas, invaded Egypt, and raised that famous war between the gods and giants, from whence the Nile had the name of Eridanus: but Orus the son of Osiris, by the assistance of the Ethiopians, prevailed, and reigned till the 15th year of Afa: and then the Ethiopians under Zerah invaded Egypt, drowned Orus in Eridanus, and were routed by Afa, so that Zerah could not recover himself. Zerah was succeeded by Amenophis, a youth of the royal family of the Ethiopians, and I think the son of Zerah: but the people of the lower Egypt revolted from him, and set up Osarsiphus over them, and called to their assistance a great body of men from Phœnicia, I think a part of the army of Afa; and thereupon Amenophis, with the remains of his father's army of Ethiopians, retired from the lower Egypt to Memphis, and there turned the river Nile into a new channel, under a new bridge which he built between two mountains; and at the same time he built and fortified that city against Osarsiphus, calling it by his own

(*) In the days of Afa the land was quiet ten years, 2 Chron. xiv. 1, 6. These ten years of rest Sir Isaac Newton counts from the death of Sefac to Zerah's invasion. Zerah's invasion was in the fifteenth year of Afa, 2 Chron. xv. 10, 11. Therefore the ten years of rest, if they ended with this invasion, began with the fifth of Afa. And this, according to our author's assumptions, must

own name, Amenoph or Memphis: and then he retired into Ethiopia, and stayed there thirteen years; and then came back with a great army, and subdued the lower Egypt, expelling the people which had been called in from Phœnicia: and this I take to be the second expulsion of the shepherds. Dr. Castell^a tells^a in Moph. us, that in Coptic this city is called Manphtha; whence by contraction came its names Moph, Noph.

XLIII. While Amenophis staid in Ethiopia, Egypt was in its greatest distraction: and then it was, as I conceive, that the Greeks, hearing thereof, contrived the Argonautic expedition, and sent the flower of Greece in the ship Argo to persuade the nations upon the sea-coasts of the Euxine and Mediterranean Seas to revolt from Egypt, and set up for themselves, as the Libyans, Ethiopians, and Jews, had done before. And this is a further argument for placing that expedition about 43 years after the death of Solomon; this period being in the middle of the distraction of Egypt. Amenophis might return from Ethiopia, and conquer the lower Egypt about eight years after that expedition; and having settled his government over it, he might, for putting a stop to the revolting of the eastern nations, lead his army into Persia; and leave Proteus at Memphis to govern Egypt in his absence; and stay some time at Sufa, and build the Memnonia, fortifying that city, as the metropolis of his dominion in those parts.

XLIV. Androgeus the son of Minos, upon his overcoming in the Athenæa, or quadrennial games at Athens in his youth, was perfidiously slain out of envy^(*): and Minos thereupon made war upon the Athenians, and compelled them to send every eighth year to Crete seven beardless youths, and as many young virgins, to be given as a reward to him that should get the victory in the like games instituted in Crete in honour of Androgeus^(*). These games seem to have been celebrated in the beginning of the Octaëteris, and the Athenæa in the beginning of the Tetraëteris,

must have been the year of Sefac's death.

^a XI. IV.

(*) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 14. § VII. Compare Diod. Sic. p. 183.
(*) Plutarch in Theseo. Tom. I. p. 6.

then

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then brought into Crete and Greece by the Phœnicians: and upon the third payment of the tribute of children⁽¹⁾, that is, about seventeen years after the said war was at an end, and about nineteen or twenty years after the death of Androgeus, Theseus became victor, and returned from Crete with Ariadne the daughter of Minos; and coming to the island Naxos or Dia, ^a Ariadne was there relinquished by him, and taken up by Glaucus, an Egyptian commander at sea, and became the mistress of the great Bacchus, who at that time returned from India in triumph⁽²⁾; and ^b by him she had two sons, Phlyas and Eumedon, who were Argonauts⁽³⁾. This Bacchus⁽⁴⁾ was caught in bed in Phrygia with Venus the mother of Æneas, according ^c to Homer, just before he came over the Hellespont, and invaded Thrace; and he married Ariadne the daughter of Minos, according to Hesiod^d: and therefore by the testimony of both Homer and Hesiod, who wrote before the Greeks and Egyptians corrupted their antiquities, this Bacchus was one generation older than the Argonauts; and so being king of Egypt at the same time with Sesostris, they must be one and the same king. For they agree also in their actions: Bacchus invaded India and Greece; and after he was routed by the army of Perseus, and the war was composed, the Greeks did him great honours, and built a temple to him at Argos, and called it the temple of the Cretian Bacchus, because Ariadne was buried in it, as Pausanias ^e relates. Ariadne therefore died in the end of the war, just before the return of Sesostris into Egypt; that is, in the 14th year of Rehoboam. She was taken from Naxos upon the return of Bacchus from India, and then became the mistress of Bacchus, and accompanied him in his triumphs. And therefore the expedition of Theseus to Crete, and the death of his father Ægeus, was about nine or ten years after the death of Solomon. Theseus was then a beardless young man, suppose about 19 or 20 years old; and Androgeus was slain about twenty years before, being then about 20 or 22 years old; and his father Minos might be about 25 years older, and so be born about the middle of David's reign,

⁽¹⁾ Plutarch. in Theseo. p. 6.⁽²⁾ Diod. Sic. p. 183.⁽³⁾ See § XIX. note 2.⁽⁴⁾ That is, if Bacchus and Mars were the same person, as our author supposes.

and

and be about 70 years old when he pursued Dædalus into Sicily: ^{GREENG.} and Europa and her brother Cadmus might come into Europe two or three years before the birth of Minos.

XLV. Justin, in his 18th book⁽¹⁾, tells us: "*A rege Ascalo-*
"*niorum expugnati Sidonii navibus appulsi Tyron urbem ante an-*
"*num ** Trojanæ cladis condiderunt.*" And Strabo, ^a that "*Ara-*
"*dus was built by the men who fled from Zidon.* Hence ^b Ifai-
ah calls Tyre "*the daughter of Zidon, the inhabitants of the*
"*isle whom the merchants of Zidon have replenished.*" And ^c So-
lomon, in the beginning of his reign, calls the people of Tyre
Zidonians: "*My servants,*" saith he, in a message to Hiram king
of Tyre, "*shall be with thy servants, and unto thee will I give*
"*hire for thy servants according to all that thou desirest: for*
"*thou knowest that there is not among us any that can skill to*
"*hew timber like the Zidonians.*" The new inhabitants of Tyre
had not yet lost the name of Zidonians; nor had the old inhabi-
tants, if there were any considerable number of them, gained
the reputation of the new ones for skill in hewing of timber,
as they would have done, had navigation been long in use at
Tyre. The artificers who came from Zidon were not dead; and
the flight of the Zidonians was in the reign of David; and by
consequence in the beginning of the reign of Abibalus the fa-
ther of Hiram, and the first king of Tyre mentioned in history.
David, in the twelfth year of his reign, conquered Edom, as
above, and made some of the Edomites, and chiefly the mer-
chants and seamen, fly from the Red Sea to the Philistims up-
on the Mediterranean, where they fortified Azoth. For ^d Ste-
phanus tells us: "*Ταυτην ἐκίσειν εἰς τῶν ἐπικνελευσάντων ἀπ' Ερυθραίας*
"*θαλασσης φευγάντων:* one of the fugitives from the Red Sea
"*built Azoth:*" that is, a prince of Edom, who fled from Da-
vid, fortified Azoth for the Philistims against him. The Philis-
tims were now grown very strong, by the access of the Edomites
and shepherds; and by their assistance invaded and took Zidon,
that being a town very convenient for the merchants who fled
from the Red Sea: and then did the Zidonians fly by sea to Tyre

⁽¹⁾ C. 3.

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Narrat. 37.Nonnus
Dionysiac.
l. 13. v. 333.
* sequ.

and Aradus, and to other havens in Asia Minor, Greece, and Libya, with which, by means of their trade, they had been acquainted before; the great wars and victories of David their enemy, prompting them to fly by sea. For ^a they went with a great multitude, not to seek Europa as was pretended, but to seek new seats; and therefore fled from their enemies (¹): and when some of them fled under Cadmus and his brothers to Cilicia, Asia Minor, and Greece; others fled under other commanders to seek new seats in Libya, and there built many walled towns, as Nonnus ^b affirms: and their leader was also there called Cadmus, which word signifies an eastern man, and his wife was called Sithonis, a Zidonian. Many from those cities went afterwards with the great Bacchus in his armies: and by these things, the taking of Zidon, and the flight of the Zidonians under Abibalus, Cadmus, Cilix, Thafus, Membliarius, Alymnus, and other captains, to Tyre, Aradus, Cilicia, Rhodes, Caria, Bithynia, Phrygia, Calliste, Thafus, Samothrace, Crete, Greece, and Libya, and the building of Tyre and Thebes, and beginning of the reigns of Abibalus and Cadmus over those cities, are fixed upon the fifteenth or sixteenth year of David's reign, or thereabout. By means of these colonies of Phœnicians, the people of Caria learnt sea-affairs, in such small vessels with oars as were then in use; and began to frequent the Greek Seas, and people some of the islands therein, before the reign of Minos. For Cadmus, in coming to Greece, arrived first at Rhodes, an island upon the borders of Caria; and left there a colony of Phœnicians (²), who sacrificed men to Saturn (³); and the Telchines being repulsed by Phoroneus, retired from Argos to Rhodes (³) with

(¹) This consequence but ill agrees with Canon's narrative; he says, that the Phœnicians, at the time of Cadmus's expedition, were a great people: had subdued a great part of Asia, and that the seat of their empire was at Thebes in Egypt: that Cadmus was a great man among them; and that the object of his expedition was to establish a kingdom of his own.

(²) Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 58. p. 227.

(³) PORPHYRY ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 4. p. 92. R. Steph. Porphyry however does not assert, that this custom was peculiar to the Phœnician colony settled in Rhodes by Cadmus; but simply, that it obtained in Rhodes. And our author must be understood to point at this practice, as an argument that Phœnicians, among whom it had prevailed from very ancient times, had settled in this island.

(⁴) Euseb. in Chron. Orosius. lib. 1. c. 7. The Telchines, according to Diodorus Siculus (lib.

with Phorbas (⁴), who purged the island from serpents (⁵); and ^{GREEKS.} Triopas, the son of Phorbas, carried a colony from Rhodes to Caria, and there possessed himself of a promontory, thence called Triopium (⁶): and by this and such like colonies Caria was furnished with shipping and seamen, and called ^a Phœnicia. Strabo ^b Athen. l. 4. c. 23. bo and Herodotus ^b tell us, that the Cares were called Leleges, ^c Strabo. l. 14. p. 661. and became subject to Minos; and lived first in the islands of ^d Herod. l. 1. c. 171. the Greek Seas, and went thence into Caria, a country possessed before by some of the Leleges and Pelasgi: whence it is probable, that when Lelex and Pelasgus came first into Greece to seek new seats, they left part of their colonies in Caria and the neighbouring islands.

XLVI. The Zidonians being still possessed of the trade of the Mediterranean, as far westward as Greece and Libya, and the trade of the Red Sea being richer; the Tyrians traded on the Red Sea in conjunction with Solomon and the kings of Judah (¹), till after the Trojan war; and so also did the merchants of Aradus, Arvad, or Arpad. For in the Persian Gulph ^c were two ^d Strabo, l. 16. p. 766. islands called Tyre and Aradus, which had temples like the Phœnician (²); and therefore the Tyrians and Aradians sailed thither, and beyond, to the coasts of India, while the Zidonians frequented the Mediterranean: and hence it is that Homer celebrates Zidon, and makes no mention of Tyre. But at length, ^d in the ^e 2 Chron. xxi. 8, 10. & 2 Kings viii. 20, 22. reign of Jehoram king of Judah, Edom revolted from the dominion of Judah, and made themselves a king; and the trade of Judah and Tyre upon the Red Sea being thereby interrupted, the Tyrians built ships for merchandize upon the Mediterranean, and began there to make long voyages to places not yet frequented by the Zidonians; some of them going to the coasts of Afric

(lib. 5. c. 55. p. 226) were the original inhabitants of Rhodes. According to Strabo (p. 654) they were originally Cretans, and removed from Crete first into Cyprus, and thence into Rhodes.

(²) According to Eusebius (in Chron.) Phorbas took possession of Rhodes more than 200 years after the Telchines. According to Diodorus (lib. 5. c. 58. p. 228) this Phorbas was no Argive, but a Thessalian.

(³) Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 58. p. 228.

(⁴) Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 7. p. 227. But Diodorus makes this Triopas one of the reputed Heliads.

(⁵) 1 Kings ix. 26—28.

(⁶) See more about these islands in Bochart. Chanaan. lib. 1. c. 45.

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beyond the Syrtes, and building Adrymetum, Carthage, Leptis, Utica, and Capſa⁽³⁾; and others going to the coasts of Spain, and building Carteia, Gades, and Tartessus⁽⁴⁾; and others going further to the Fortunate Islands, and to Britain and Thule⁽⁵⁾. Jehoram reigned eight years; and the two last years was sick in his bowels⁽⁶⁾; and before that sickness Edom revolted⁽⁷⁾, because of Jehoram's wicked reign. If we place that revolt about the middle of the first six years, it will fall upon the fifth year of Pygmalion king of Tyre⁽⁸⁾; and so was about twelve or fifteen years after the taking of Troy: and then, by reason of this revolt, the Tyrians retired from the Red Sea, and began long voyages upon the Mediterranean; for in the seventh year of Pygmalion, his sister Dido sailed to the coast of Afric beyond the Syrtes, and there built Carthage. This retiring of the Tyrians from the Red Sea to make long voyages on the Mediterranean, together with the flight of the Edomites from David to the Philistims, gave occasion to the tradition both of the ancient Persians, and of the Phœnicians themselves, that the Phœnicians came originally from the Red Sea to the coasts of the Mediterranean; and presently undertook long voyages, as Herodotus^a relates. For Herodotus, in the beginning of his first book, relates, that the Phœnicians coming from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, and beginning to make long voyages with Egyptian and Assyrian wares, among other places came to Argos; and having sold their wares, seized and carried away into Egypt some of the Grecian women who came to buy them; and amongst those women was Io the daughter of Inachus. The Phœnicians therefore came from the Red Sea, in the days of Io and her brother Phoroneus king of Argos; and by consequence, at that time when David conquered the Edomites, and made them fly every way from the Red Sea; some into Egypt with their young king, and others to the

^a Herod. l. i. c. 1. initio, & l. 7. circa medium, c. 89.

⁽³⁾ Bochart. Chanaan. lib. i. c. 24.

⁽⁴⁾ ——— lib. i. c. 39 and 40.

⁽⁵⁾ 2 Chron. xxi. 8 and 18.

⁽⁶⁾ The seventh of Pygmalion was the 143d from the building of Solomon's Temple. See § XVII. note 7. The 3d of Jehoram was the 119th from the building of the Temple: consequently, not the 5th of Pygmalion's reign, but the 18th or 19th before the beginning of his reign; and therefore either the twelfth or fifteenth after the taking of Troy, according as a generation

⁽⁷⁾ ——— lib. i. c. 34.
⁽⁸⁾ 2 Chron. xxi. 5 and 19.

the Philistims, their next neighbours and the enemies of David. ^{GREEKS.} And this flight gave occasion to the Philistims to call many places Erythra, in memory of their being Erythreans or Edomites, and of their coming from the Erythrean Sea; for Erythra was the name of a city in Ionia; of another in Libya; of another in Locris; of another in Bœotia; of another in Cyprus; of another in Ætolia; of another in Asia near Chius; and Erythia Acra was a promontory in Libya; and Erythræum a promontory in Crete; and Erythros a place near Tybur; and Erythini a city or country in Paphlagonia: and the name Erythea or Erythræ was given to the Island Gades, peopled by Phœnicians. So Solinus, ^a "In capite Baticæ insula à continenti septingentis passibus memoratur, quam Tyrii, à rubro mari profecti Erytheam, Pœni suâ linguâ Gadir, id est sepem, nominârunt." And Pliny, ^b concerning a little island near it; "Erythia dicta est, quoniam Tyrii, Aborigines eorum, orti ab Erythraeo mari ferebantur." Among the Phœnicians who came with Cadmus into Greece, there were ^c Arabians, and ^d Erythreans, or inhabitants of the Red Sea, that is Edomites: and in Thrace there settled a people who were circumcised, and called Odomantes; that is, as some think, Edomites. Edom, Erythra and Phœnicia, are names of the same signification, the words denoting a red colour: which makes it probable, that the Erythreans who fled from David settled in great numbers in Phœnicia; that is, in all the sea-coasts of Syria from Egypt to Zidon; and by calling themselves Phœnicians in the language of Syria, instead of Erythreans, gave the name of Phœnicia to all that sea-coast, and to that only. So Strabo: ^e "Οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰς Φοινίκας, καὶ τὰς Σιδωνίας τὰς κατ' ἡμᾶς, ἀποικῶς εἶναι τῶν ἐν τῷ Ωκεανῷ φασι, προστιθέντες καὶ διὰ τι Φοινίκας ἐκαλεῖσθαι, ὅτι καὶ ἡ θαλάττα ἐρυθρά. Alii referunt Phœnices & Sidonios nostros, esse colonos eorum qui sunt in Oceano, addentes illos ideo vocari Phœnices [puniceos] quod mare rubrum sit."

neration shall be reckoned either at 30 or 33 years. For the taking of Troy was in the generation before Pygmalion, according to our author's system. See § XVII. and note 7. on that section. ^a Strabo (l. 401) speaks of Arabians who passed over with Cadmus, but no where of Erythreans, and so they be included in the general name of Phœnicians: which is the very thing in question. ^b Isaac Newton seems to have imagined, that Eretria in Eubœa took its name from Erythraean, settled there by Cadmus: for without this supposition, the passages to which he refers, in Herodotus and Strabo, are nothing to his purpose.

CHAPTER XLVII. Strabo^a, mentioning the first men who left the sea-coasts and ventured out into the deep and undertook long voyages, names Bacchus, Hercules, Jason, Ulysses, and Menelaus: and saith, that the dominion of Minos over the sea was celebrated, and the navigation of the Phœnicians, who went beyond the pillars of Hercules and built cities there and in the middle of the sea-coasts of Afric, presently after the war of Troy. These Phœnicians^b were the Tyrians, who at that time built Carthage in Afric, and Carteia in Spain, and Gades in the island of that name without the Straights; and gave the name of Hercules to their chief leader, because of his labours and success; and that of Heraclea to the City Carteia which he built. So Strabo:^c “Εκπλευσιν εν, εκ της ημετερας θαλαττης εις την εξω, δεξιον εσι τωτο” και προς αυτο Καλη [Καρτηνια] πολις εν τετραρακοντα σταδιοις, αξιολογος και παλαια, ναυσαμον ποτε γενομενη των Ιζηρων” ενιοι δε και Ηρακλειας κλισμα λεγουσιν αυτην, ων εσι και Τιμοσθενης” ις φησι και Ηρακλεια ονομαζεσθαι το πλαιον” δεικνυσθαι τε μεγαν περιεβολον, και νεωσοικες.” *Mons Calpe ad dextram est è nostro mari foras navigantibus; & ad quadraginta inde stadia urbs Carteia, vetusta ac memorabilis, olim statio navibus Hispanorum. Hanc ab Hercule quidam conditam aiunt; inter quos est Timotheus, qui eam antiquitus Heracleam fuisse appellatam refert, ostendique adhuc magnum murorum circuitum & navalia.”* This Hercules, in memory of his building and reigning over the city Carteia, they called also Melcartus; the king of Carteia. Bochart^d writes, that Carteia was at first called Melcarteia, from its founder Melcartus, and by an aphæresis, Carteia; and that Melcartus signifies Melec-Kartha, the king of the city; that is, saith he, of the city Tyre; but considering that no ancient author tells us, that Carteia was ever called Melcarteia, or that Melcartus was king of Tyre; I had rather say that Melcartus, or Meleccartus, had his name from being the founder and governor, or prince, of the city Carteia. Under Melcartus the Tyrians sailed as far as Tartessus, or Tarshish, a place in the western part of Spain, between the two mouths of the river Bœtis; and there they^e met with much silver, which they purchased for trifles: they sailed also as far as Britain before the death of Melcartus; for^f Pliny tells us,

“Plumbum

“Plumbum ex Cassiteride insula primus apportavit Midacritus.”^g GREEKS. and Bochart^a observes, that Midacritus is a Greek name corruptly written for Melcartus; Britain being unknown to the Greeks long after it was discovered by the Phœnicians. After the death of Melcartus, they built^b a temple to him in the island Gades; and adorned it with the sculptures of the labours of Hercules, and of his Hydra, and the horses to whom he threw Diomedes, king of the Bistones in Thrace, to be devoured. In this temple was the golden Belt of Teucer, and the golden Olive of Pygmalion bearing Smaragdine fruit: and by these consecrated gifts of Teucer and Pygmalion, you may know that it was built in their days. Pomponius derives it from the times of the Trojan war⁽¹⁾. For Teucer, seven years after that war, according to the marbles, arrived at Cyprus, being banished from home by his father Telamon, and there built Salamis: and he and his posterity reigned there⁽²⁾ till Evagoras, the last of them, was conquered by the Persians, in the twelfth year of Artaxerxes Mneemon. Certainly this Tyrian Hercules could be no older than the Trojan war; because the Tyrians did not begin to navigate the Mediterranean till after that war. For Homer and Hesiod knew nothing of this navigation; and the Tyrian Hercules went to the coasts of Spain, and was buried in Gades. So Arnobius^c; “Tyrius Hercules sepultus in finibus Hispanie.” and Mela, speaking of the Temple of Hercules in Gades, saith, “Cur sanctum sit, ossa ejus ibi sepulta efficiunt.” Carthage^d paid tenths to this Hercules, and sent their payments yearly to Tyre: and thence it is probable, that this Hercules went to the coast of Afric, as well as to that of Spain, and by his discoveries prepared the way to Dido: Orosius^e and others tell us, that he built Capfa there. Josephus⁽³⁾ tells of an earlier Hercules, to whom Hiram built a temple at Tyre: and perhaps there might be also an earlier Hercules of Tyre, who set on foot their trade on the Red Sea in the days of David or Solomon.

XLVIII. Tatian, in his book against the Greeks, relates, that amongst the Phœnicians flourished three ancient historians,

⁽¹⁾ Lib. 3. c. 6.

⁽²⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 15. c. 9. p. 462.

⁽³⁾ Contr. Ap. lib. 1. c. 18.

“Theodotus,

"Theodotus, Hysicrates and Mochus; who all of them delivered in their histories, translated into Greek by Lætus, under which of the kings happened the rapture of Europa; the voyage of Menelaus into Phœnicia; and the league and friendship between Solomon and Hiram, when Hiram gave his daughter to Solomon, and furnished him with timber for building the temple: and that the same is affirmed by Menander of Pergamus." Josephus^a lets us know, that the annals of the Tyrians, from the days of Abibalus and Hiram, kings of Tyre, were extant in his days; and that Menander of Pergamus⁽¹⁾ translated them into Greek; and that Hiram's friendship to Solomon, and assistance in building the temple, was mentioned in them; and that the temple was founded in the eleventh year of Hiram⁽²⁾: and by the testimony of Menander and the ancient Phœnician historians, the rapture of Europa, and by consequence the coming of her brother Cadmus into Greece, happened within the time of the reigns of the kings of Tyre delivered in these histories; and therefore not before the reign of Abibalus, the first of them, nor before the reign of king David his contemporary. The voyage of Menelaus might be after the destruction of Troy. Solomon therefore reigned in the times between the raptures of Europa and Helena; and Europa and her brother Cadmus flourished in the days of David. Minos, the son of Europa⁽³⁾, flourished in the reign of Solomon, and part of the reign of Rehoboam⁽⁴⁾: and the children of Minos, namely, Androgeus his eldest son, Deucalion his youngest son⁽⁵⁾ and one of the Argonauts⁽⁶⁾, Ariadne the mistress of Theseus and Bacchus, and Phædra the wife of Theseus; flourished in the latter end of Solomon, and in the reigns of Rehoboam, Abijah and Aha: and Idomeneus the grandson of Minos⁽⁷⁾, was at the war of Troy: and Hiram succeeded his father Abibalus, in the three

§ XLVIII.

⁽¹⁾ Of Ephesus. Contr. Ap. lib. 1. c. 18.⁽²⁾ In the 12th year of Hiram. Contr. Ap. lib. 1. c. 18.⁽³⁾ Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 1. § 1.⁽⁴⁾ Homer. Od. T. 178.⁽⁵⁾ Vide § XLIV.⁽⁶⁾ Hyginus. Fab. 14.⁽⁷⁾ HIRAM seems to have been reigning at Tyre, when David took Jerusalem from the Jebusites, or very soon after. See 2 Sam. v. 11, and 1 Chron. xiv. 1, and Joseph. lib. 7. c. 3. § II.

It

and twentieth year of David⁽¹⁾: and Abibalus might found the kingdom of Tyre about sixteen or eighteen years before, when Sidon was taken by the Philistines; and the Sidonians fled from thence, under the conduct of Cadmus and other commanders, to seek new seats. Thus by the annals of Tyre, and the ancient Phœnician historians who followed them, Abibalus, Alymnus, Cadmus, and Europa, fled from Sidon about the sixteenth year of David's reign: and the Argonautic expedition being later by about three generations, will be about three hundred years later than where the Greeks have placed it.

XLIX. After navigation in long ships with sails, and one order of oars, had been propagated from Egypt to Phœnicia and Greece, and thereby the Sidonians had extended their trade to Greece, and carried it on about an hundred and fifty years; and then the Tyrians being driven from the Red Sea by the Edomites, had begun a new trade on the Mediterranean with Spain, Africa, Britain, and other remote nations; they carried it on about an hundred and sixty years; and then the Corinthians began to improve navigation, by building bigger ships with three orders of oars, called Triremes. For^a Thucydides tells us, that the Corinthians were the first of the Greeks who built such ships, and that a ship-carpenter of Corinth went thence to Samos, about 300 years before the end of the Peloponnesian war, and built also four ships for the Samians; and that 260 years before the end of that war, that is, about the 29th olympiad, there was a fight at sea between the Corinthians and the Corcyreans, which was the oldest sea-fight mentioned in history. Thucydides tells us further, that the first colony which the Greeks sent into Sicily came from Chalcis in Eubœa, under the conduct of Thucles, and built Naxos⁽¹⁾; and the next year Archias came from Corinth with a colony, and built Syracuse⁽¹⁾; and that Lamis

It is difficult to reconcile with this what Josephus affirms, that the Temple was built in the 12th year of Hiram. The Temple was begun in the 4th, and finished in the 11th year of Solomon, 1 Kings vi. 1, and 37, 38. Go back eleven years from the earliest of these two dates; you will get no higher than the 32d of David.

§ XLIX.

⁽¹⁾ Thucyd. lib. 6. c. 3.

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N

came

came about the same time into Sicily, with a colony from Megara and Achaia, and lived first at Trotilum, and then at Leontini, and died at Thapfus near Syracuse; and that after his death this colony was invited by Hyblo to Megara in Sicily, and lived there 245 years, and was then expelled by Gelo king of Sicily⁽¹⁾. Now Gelo flourished about 78 years before the end of the Peloponnesian war⁽²⁾: count backwards the 78 and the 245 years, and about 12 years more for the reign of Lamis in Sicily, and the reckoning will place the building of Syracuse about 335 years before the end of the Peloponnesian war, or in the tenth olympiad; and about that time Eusebius and others place it: but it might be twenty or thirty years later, the antiquities of those days having been raised more or less by the Greeks. From the colonies henceforward sent into Italy and Sicily came the name of *Græcia magna*.

L. Thucydides tells us further, that the Greeks began to come into Sicily almost 300 years after the Siculi had invaded that island with an army out of Italy⁽³⁾: suppose it 280 years after, and the building of Syracuse 310 years before the end of the Peloponnesian war; and that invasion of Sicily by the Siculi will be 590 years before the end of that war, that is, in the 27th⁽⁴⁾ year of Solomon's reign, or thereabout. Hellanicus^a tells us, that it was in the third generation before the Trojan war; and in the 26th year of the priesthood of Alcinoë, priestess of Juno Argiva: and Philistius of Syracuse, that it was 80 years before the Trojan war⁽⁵⁾. Whence it follows, that the Trojan war and Argonautic expedition were later than the days of Solomon and Rehoboam, and could not be much earlier than where we have placed them.

L.I.

⁽¹⁾ Thucyd. l. 6. c. 4.⁽²⁾ For it is certain, that Gelo was reigning at Syracuse at the time of Xerxes's invasion of Greece. Herodot. lib. 7. c. 153—157. Pausanias, lib. 8. c. 42.

§ L.

⁽³⁾ Thucyd. lib. 6. c. 2.⁽⁴⁾ The 21st, if the death of Solomon be rightly placed by Petavius in the year of the Julian period 3739.⁽⁵⁾ Dionysius Halicarnassensis says, that Thucydides makes the settlement of the Siculi in Sicily many years later than the Trojan war. But Thucydides gives no such opinion, otherwise than

LI. The kingdom of Macedon^a was founded by Caranus and Perdiccas, who being of the race of Temenus king of Argos, fled from Argos in the reign of Phidon the brother of Caranus⁽¹⁾. Temenus was one of the three brothers who led the Heraclides into Peloponnesus, and shared the conquest among themselves: he obtained Argos; and after him, and his son Cissus, the kingdom of Argos became divided among the posterity of Temenus⁽²⁾, until Phidon reunited it⁽³⁾, expelling his kindred. Phidon grew potent, appointing weights and measures in Peloponnesus, and coined silver money⁽⁴⁾; and removing the Pisæans and Eleans, presided in the olympic games⁽⁵⁾; but was soon after subdued by the Eleans and Spartans⁽⁶⁾. Herodotus^b Herod. l. 8. c. 137. reckons that Perdiccas was the first king of Macedon; later writers, as Livy⁽⁷⁾, Pausanias, and Suidas, make Caranus the first king: Justin calls Perdiccas the successor of Caranus⁽⁸⁾; and Solinus saith that Perdiccas succeeded Caranus; and was the first that obtained the name of king. It is probable that Caranus and Perdiccas were contemporaries⁽⁹⁾, and fled about the same time from Phidon, and at first erected small principalities in Macedonia, which, after the death of Caranus, became one under Perdiccas. Herodotus^c tells us, that after Perdiccas reigned^d Herod. l. 8. c. 139. Aræus, or Argæus, Philip, Æropus, Alcetas, Amyntas, and Alexander, successively. Alexander was contemporary to Xerxes king of Persia, and died an. 4. olymp. 79⁽¹⁾, and was succeeded by Perdiccas⁽²⁾, and he by his son Archelaus⁽³⁾: and Thucydides^d tells us, that there were eight kings of Macedon before this Archelaus: now by reckoning above forty years a-piece to these kings, chronologers have made Phidon⁽⁴⁾ and Caranus older

than as it may seem to be implied, in his speaking of the settlement of the Elymi, fugitives from Troy, before he mentions that of the Siculi; and, as Dionysius would imagine, in his making this settlement only 300 years older than the first settlement of Greeks in Sicily; which, according to the old chronology, was above 400 years after the Trojan war. See Thucyd. lib. 6. c. 2.

§ LI.

⁽¹⁾ Euseb. Exc. Gr. p. 45.⁽²⁾ Pausan. lib. 2. c. 19 and 26.⁽³⁾ Ephorus apud Strabonem, lib. 8. p. 358.⁽⁴⁾ Lib. 45. c. 9.⁽⁵⁾ Lib. 7. c. 2.⁽⁶⁾ Eusebius (in Chron.) makes Perdiccas the fourth in succession from Caranus, and assigns long reigns to the preceding princes.⁽⁷⁾ Eusebius in Chron.⁽⁸⁾ Eusebius indeed makes Phidon, the inventor of weights and measures, older than the olympiads:

older than the olympiads; whereas if we should reckon their reigns at about 18 or 20 years a-piece one with another, the first seven reigns counted backwards from the death of this Alexander, will place the dominion of Phidon, and the beginning of the kingdom of Macedon under Perdiccas and Caranus, upon the 46th or 47th olympiad, or thereabout. It could scarce be earlier, because Leocedes the son of Phidon, and Megacles the son of Alcmaeon, at one and the same time courted Agarista, the daughter of Clifthenes king of Sicyon, as Herodotus ^a tells us; and the Amphictyons, by the advice of Solon, made Alcmaeon (⁹), and Clifthenes (¹⁰), and Eurolycus king of Theffaly, commanders of their army, in their war against Cirrha; and the Cirrheans were conquered an. 2. olymp. 47. according to the marbles. Phidon therefore and his brother Caranus were contemporary to Solon, Alcmaeon, Clifthenes, and Eurolycus, and flourished about the 48th and 49th olympiads. They were also contemporary in their later days to Croesus; for Solon conversed with Croesus, and Alcmaeon entertained and conducted the messengers whom Croesus sent to consult the oracle at Delphi (¹¹), an. 1. olymp. 56. according to the marbles, and was sent for by Croesus, and rewarded with much riches.

LII. But the times set down in the marbles before the Persian empire began, being collected by reckoning the reigns of kings equipollent to generations, and three generations to an hundred years or above; and the reigns of kings, one with another, being shorter in the proportion of about four to seven; the chronology set down in the marbles, until the conquest of Media by Cyrus, an. 4. olymp. 60. will approach the truth much nearer, by shortening the times before that conquest in the proportion of four to seven. So the Cirrheans were conquered an. 2. olymp.

olympiads: but this was not the opinion of Ephorus and Herodotus, who make this Phidon the same with him who usurped the management of the Olympic Games. Strabo, p. 358. Herodot. lib. 6. c. 127.

(⁹) Plutarch in Solone. Tom. I. p. 84.

(¹¹) Herodot. lib. 6. c. 125.

(¹⁰) Pausanias, lib. 10. c. 37.

§ LIII.

(¹) I know not what authority there is for this 'Tripoc'. The wild olive-crown was first used in

olymp. 47. according to the marbles, that is 54 years before the conquest of Media; and these years being shortened in the proportion of four to seven, become 31 years; which subducted from an. 4. olymp. 60. place the conquest of Cirrha upon an. 1. olymp. 53: and, by the like correction of the marbles, Alcmaeon entertained and conducted the messengers whom Croesus sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, an. 1. olymp. 58; that is, four years before the conquest of Sardes by Cyrus: and the tyranny of Pisistratus, which by the marbles began at Athens, an. 4. olymp. 54. by the like correction began an. 3. olymp. 57; and by consequence Solon died an. 4. olymp. 57. This method may be used alone, where other arguments are wanting; but where they are not wanting, the best arguments are to be preferred.

LIII. Iphitus ^a presided both in the temple of Jupiter Olympus, and in the olympic games, and so did his successors till the 26th olympiad; and so long the victors were rewarded with a Tripoc (¹): but then the Pisæans getting above the Eleans, began to preside, and rewarded the victors with a crown, and instituted the Cornea to Apollo (²); and continued to preside till Phidon interrupted them, that is, till about the time of the 49th olympiad: for ^b in the 48th olympiad the Eleans entered the country of the Pisæans, suspecting their designs, but were prevailed upon to return home quietly; afterwards the Pisæans confederated with several other Greek nations, and made war upon the Eleans, and in the end were beaten: in this war I conceive it was that Phidon presided, suppose in the 49th olympiad; for ^c in the 50th olympiad, for putting an end to the contentions between the kings about presiding, two men were chosen by lot out of the city Elis to preside, and their number in the 65th olympiad was increased to nine, and afterwards to ten; and

in the 7th olympiad by the injunction of the Delphic oracle, if the authority of Phlegon Trallianus may be relied on. Mr. West imagines that the prize before this was a lamb. (See his Dissertation on the Olympic Games, § XVI.) From the third olympic ode of Pindar it should seem, that the wild olive-crown was one of the original institutions of Hercules. And this is confirmed by Pausanias, lib. 5. c. 7.

(¹) The Cornea was a Spartan festival instituted in the 26th olympiad. Vide Meursii Grec. Feriat.

CHAPTER
FIRST.

these judges were called Hellenodicae, judges for or in the name of Greece⁽³⁾. Pausanias tells us, that the Eleans called in Phidon and together with him celebrated the 8th olympiad⁽⁴⁾; he should have said the 49th olympiad: but Herodotus tells us, that Phidon removed the Eleans⁽⁵⁾; and both might be true: the Eleans might call in Phidon against the Pisæans, and upon overcoming be refused presiding in the olympic games by Phidon, and confederate with the Spartans, and by their assistance overthrow the kingdom of Phidon, and recover their ancient right of presiding in the games.

* Strabo, l. 8.
p. 353.

LIV. Strabo^a tells us, that Phidon was the tenth from Temenus; not the tenth king, for between Cifus and Phidon they reigned not, but the tenth from father to son, including Temenus. If 27 years be reckoned to a generation by the eldest sons, the nine intervals will amount unto 243 years, which counted back from the 48th olympiad, in which Phidon flourished, will place the return of the Heraclides about fifty years before the beginning of the olympiads, as above. But chronologers reckon about 515 years from the return of the Heraclides to the 48th olympiad, and account Phidon the seventh from Temenus⁽¹⁾; which is after the rate of 85 years to a generation, and therefore not to be admitted.

LV. Cyrus took Babylon, according to Ptolemy's canon, nine years before his death, an. Nabonass. 206, an. 2. olymp. 60: and he took Sardes a little after, namely, an. 1. olymp. 59. as Scaliger collects from Socrates⁽¹⁾: Croesus was then king of

⁽³⁾ Πυθικοὶ δὲ ολυμπιαὶ ἀρχαὶ διο, ἐξ ἀπαλῶν λαχόντι Πάριον, ἐκδρατὴν ποιῶσαι τὰ ολυμπια· καὶ ἵτοι πλεονὶ ἀπ' ἑκῆς διεσπῶσι τὸν ἀρχιερέων ὁ ἀρχιερεὶς τὸν β. Περὶ τῆς δὲ ολυμπιαδὸς καὶ ἐκείνη ἡμετέρα ἑλλανόδικας καλεῖσθαι. Pausan. lib. 5. c. 6. Either by this 25th olympiad must be understood the 25th from the first institution of the two Hellenodices; in which sense Mr. West seems to have taken the expression; for he says, that in the 75th olympiad the number was increased to nine; or the passage must be corrupt, and for ἐκείνη we should read ἱερόνη; which seems to have been Sir Isaac Newton's opinion.

⁽⁴⁾ Lib. 6. c. 22.

⁽⁵⁾ Lib. 6. c. 127.

§ LIV.

⁽¹⁾ Euseb. Exc. Gr. p. 45.

§ LV.

^a As cited by Diogenes Laertius in Periander. lib. I. segm. 95. See Scaliger animadv. in Eusebii Chron. ad annum MCCCCLXIX.

Sardes.

Sardes, and reigned fourteen years⁽¹⁾, and therefore began to reign an. 3. olymp. 55. After Solon had made laws for the Athenians, he obliged them upon oath to observe those laws till he returned from his travels⁽²⁾; and then travelled ten years, going to Egypt and Cyprus⁽³⁾, and visiting Thales of Miletus: and upon his return to Athens, Pisistratus began to affect the tyranny of that city, which made Solon travel a second time⁽⁴⁾; and now⁽⁵⁾ he was invited⁽⁷⁾ by Croesus to Sardes; and Croesus, before Solon visited him, had subdued all Asia Minor, as far as to the river Halys⁽⁸⁾; and therefore he received that visit towards the latter part of his reign; and we may place it upon the ninth year thereof, an. 3. olymp. 57: and the legislature of Solon twelve years earlier, an. 3. olymp. 54: and that of Draco still ten years earlier⁽⁹⁾, an. 1. olymp. 52. After Solon had visited Croesus, he went into Cilicia and some other places⁽¹⁰⁾, and died^a in his travels⁽¹¹⁾: and this was in the second year of the tyranny of Pisistratus. Comias was archon when Solon returned from his first travels to Athens; and the next year Hegestratus was archon⁽¹²⁾, and Solon died before the end of the year, an. 3. olymp. 57. as above: and by this reckoning the objection of Plutarch above-mentioned is removed.

* Phanias
Eph. ap. Plut.
in vita
Solonis.

LVI. We have now shewed that the Phœnicians of Zidon, under the conduct of Cadmus and other captains, flying from their enemies, came into Greece, with letters and other arts, about the sixteenth year of king David's reign; that Europa the sister of Cadmus fled some days before him from Zidon and came to Crete, and there became the mother of Minos about the 18th

⁽¹⁾ Euseb. in Chron.

⁽²⁾ Plutarch in Solone, Tom. I. p. 92. Herodot. lib. 1. c. 29.

⁽³⁾ Plutarch, ibid. Herodot. ibid. et lib. 5. c. 113.

⁽⁴⁾ Diog. Laert. lib. 1. segm. 50. Meursius. Solon, c. 28.

⁽⁵⁾ Meursius, ibid.

⁽⁷⁾ Plutarch. in Solone, Tom. I. p. 93.

⁽⁸⁾ Herodot. lib. 1. c. 28.

⁽⁹⁾ Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. lib. 1. c. 16.) and Eusebius (in Chron.) place the legislation of Draco in the 39th olympiad. And Ulpian, in his commentary upon Demosthenes's oration against Timocrates, asserts, upon the authority of Diodorus, that Draco was earlier than Solon by 47 years. Vid. Demost. edit. Wolf. p. 828. Tzetzes (Chil. 5. 5.) reckons only seven years between Draco and Solon.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Diog. Laert. lib. 1. segm. 51. Vid. Meursium in Solon. c. 26.

⁽¹¹⁾ Diogenes Laertius (lib. 1. segm. 62.) says that he died in Cyprus. Plutarch (in Solone) and Ælian (Var. Hist. lib. 8. c. 16.) say that he died at Athens.

⁽¹²⁾ Plutarch in Solon. towards the end.

or 20th year of David's reign; that Sesostris and the great Bacchus, and by consequence also Osiris, were one and the same king of Egypt with Sefac, and came out of Egypt in the fifth year of Rehoboam to invade the nations, and died 25 years after Solomon; that the Argonautic expedition was about 43 years after the death of Solomon; that Troy was taken about 76 or 78 years after the death of Solomon; that the Phœnicians of Tyre were driven from the Red Sea by the Edomites, about 87 years after the death of Solomon, and within two or three years began to make long voyages upon the Mediterranean, sailing to Spain, and beyond, under a commander whom, for his industry, conduct, and discoveries, they honoured with the names of Melcartus and Hercules; that the return of the Heraclides into Peloponnesus was about 158 years after the death of Solomon; that Lycurgus the legislator reigned at Sparta, and gave the three discs to the olympic treasury, an. 1. olymp. 18. or 273 years after the death of Solomon, the *Quinquertium* being at that time added to the olympic games; that the Greeks began soon after to build Triremes, and to send colonies into Sicily and Italy, which gave the name of *Græcia magna* to those countries; that the first Messenian war ended about 350 years after the death of Solomon, an. 1. olymp. 37; that Phidon was contemporary to Solon, and presided in the olympic games in the 49th olympiad, that is, 397 years after the death of Solomon; that Draco was archon, and made his laws, an. 1. olymp. 52; and Solon, an. 3. olymp. 54; and that Solon visited Croesus an. 3. olymp. 57. or 433 years after the death of Solomon; and Sardes was taken by Cyrus 438 years, and Babylon by Cyrus 443 years, and Ecbatane by Cyrus 445 years after the death of Solomon: and these periods being settled, they become a foundation for building the chronology of the antient times upon them; and nothing more remains for settling such a chronology, than to make these periods a little exacter, if it can be, and to shew

(¹) See § XLIV.

(²) The archons for life were 13, of whom Medon was the first, and Alcmaeon the last. See Euseb. Exc. Gr. p. 134 and 151, and Meursius de Archont. Atheniensib., lib. 1. c. 1.

§ LVII.

(³) Euseb. in Chron.

how

how the rest of the antiquities of Greece, Egypt, Assyria, Chal-GREEKS. dæa, and Media, may suit therewith.

LVII. Whilst Bacchus made his expedition into India, Theseus left Ariadne in the island Naxos or Dia, as above, and succeeded his father Ægeus at Athens; and upon the return of Bacchus from India, Ariadne became his mistress, and accompanied him in his triumphs (¹); and this was about ten years after the death of Solomon: and from that time reigned eight kings in Athens, viz. Theseus, Menestheus, Demophoon, Oxyntes, Aphidas, Thy-mætēs, Melanthus, and Codrus (²); these kings, at 19 years a-piece one with another, might take up about 152 years, and end about 44 years before the olympiads. Then reigned twelve archons for life (³), which at 14 or 15 years a-piece, the state being unstable, might take up about 174 years, and end an. 2. olymp. 33. Then reigned seven (⁴) decennial archons, which are usually reckoned at seventy years; but some of them dying in their regency, they might not take up above forty years, and so end about an. 2. olymp. 43. about which time began the second Messenian war: these decennial archons were followed by the annual archons (⁵), amongst whom were the legislators Draco and Solon. Soon after the death of Codrus, his second son Ne-leus, not bearing the reign of his lame brother Medon at Athens, retired into Asia, and was followed by his younger brothers Androcles and Cyaretus, and many others (⁶). These had the name of Ionians, from Ion the son of Xuthus, who commanded the army of the Athenians at the death of Erechtheus (⁷), and gave the name of Ionia to the country which they invaded: and about 20 or 25 years after the death of Codrus, these new colonies, being now lords of Ionia, set up over themselves a common-council called Panionium, and composed of counsellors sent from twelve of their cities; Miletus, Myus, Priene, Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomenæ, Phocæa, Samos, Chios, and Erythræa (⁸): and this was the Ionic migration.

(¹) Euseb. Exc. Gr. p. 151.

(²) ——— p. 155.

(³) Pausanias, lib. 7. c. 2.

(⁴) Herodot. lib. 7. c. 94. and lib. 8. c. 44. and Pausanias, lib. 2. c. 14.

(⁵) Herodot. lib. 1. c. 143—149.

CHAPTER
FIRST.
Vid. Dionys.
Halicarnass.
L. i. p. 44, 45.

LVIII. When the Greeks and Latines were forming their technical chronology, there were great disputes about the antiquity of Rome: the Greeks made it much older than the olympiads: some of them said it was built by Æneas; others by Romus, the son or grandson of Æneas; others by Romus, the son or grandson of Latinus king of the Aborigines; others, by Romus the son of Ulysses, or of Ascanius, or of Italus: and some of the Latines at first fell in with the opinion of the Greeks, saying that it was built by Romulus, the son or grandson of Æneas. Timæus Siculus represented it built by Romulus, the grandson of Æneas, above an hundred years before the olympiads⁽¹⁾; and so did Nævius the poet, who was twenty years older than Ennius, and served in the first Punic war, and wrote the history of that war. Hitherto nothing certain was agreed upon; but about 140 or 150 years after the death of Alexander the Great, they began to say that Rome was built a second time by Romulus, in the fifteenth age after the destruction of Troy: by ages they meant reigns of the kings of the Latines at Alba, and reckoned the first fourteen reigns at about 432 years⁽²⁾, and the following reigns of the seven kings of Rome at 244 years⁽³⁾; both which numbers made up the time of about 676 years from the taking of Troy, according to these chronologers; but are much too long for the course of nature: and by this reckoning they placed the building of Rome upon the sixth or seventh olympiad. Varro placed it on the first year of the seventh olympiad, and was therein generally followed by the Romans. But this can scarce be reconciled to the course of nature: for I do not meet with any instance in all history, since chronology was certain, wherein seven kings, most of whom were slain, reigned 244 years in continual succession. The fourteen reigns of the

§ LVIII.

(1) In the 38th year before the olympiads. Dionys. Hal. lib. 1. c. 74, p. 60.

(2) Dionys. Hal. lib. 1. c. 71, p. 57.

(3) Dionys. Hal. lib. 1. c. 75, p. 61.
(4) The return of the Heraclidæ preceded the olympiads, according to our author's system, 46 years (see § X.) And upon this supposition the taking of Troy, which was still 80 years earlier than the return of the Heraclidæ, preceded the olympiads 126 years. Therefore 280 years counted from the taking of Troy, end in the 30th olympiad, upon our author's principles.

(5) For the Regifuge was in the 1st year of the 68th olymp. Dionys. Hal. lib. 1. c. 74, p. 61.

§ LIX.

(1) See § XIX. note 1.

(2) Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 1. § I.

kings

kings of the Latines, at twenty years a-piece one with another, amount unto 280 years; and these years, counted from the taking of Troy, end in the 38th olympiad⁽⁴⁾. And the seven reigns of the kings of Rome, four or five of them being slain and one deposed, may at a moderate reckoning amount to fifteen or sixteen years a-piece one with another: let them be reckoned at seventeen years a-piece, and they will amount unto 119 years; which being counted backwards from the Regifuge, end also in the 38th olympiad⁽⁵⁾: and by these two reckonings Rome was built in the 38th olympiad, or thereabout. The 280 years and the 119 years together make up 399 years; and the same number of years arises by counting the twenty and one reigns at nineteen years a-piece: and this being the whole time between the taking of Troy and the Regifuge, let these years be counted backward from the Regifuge, an. 1. olymp. 68. and they will place the taking of Troy about 74 years after the death of Solomon.

LIX. When Sesostris returned from Thrace into Egypt, he left Æetes with part of his army in Colchis, to guard that pass⁽⁶⁾; and Phryxus and his sister Helle fled from Ino⁽⁷⁾, the daughter of Cadmus⁽⁸⁾, to Æetes soon after, in a ship whose ensign was a golden ram⁽⁹⁾. Ino was therefore alive in the fourteenth year of Rehoboam, the year in which Sesostris returned into Egypt⁽⁵⁾; and by consequence her father Cadmus flourished in the reign of David, and not before. Cadmus was the father of Polydorus⁽⁶⁾, the father of Labdacus⁽⁷⁾, the father of Laius⁽⁸⁾, the father of Oedipus⁽⁹⁾, the father of Eteocles and Polyneices⁽⁹⁾ who slew one another in their youth, in the war of the seven captains at Thebes⁽¹⁰⁾, about ten or twelve years after the Argonautic expedition⁽¹¹⁾: and Therfander, the son of Polyneices, warred at Troy⁽¹²⁾. These generations being by the

(3) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 4. § II.

(4) Diod. Sic. lib. 4. 3. 47. p. 174.

(5) See § XIX.

(6) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 4. § II.

(7) ——— c. 5. § V.

(8) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 5. § VII.

(9) ——— § IX.

(10) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 6.

(11) That the interval of time, between the Argonautic expedition and this war, could not be long is evident. For Talæus and Oileus were Argonauts. (Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. lin. 118 and 74.) And their sons, Adrastus and Amphiaræus, were two of the seven captains. (Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 6. § VI.) And according to Apollodor, Amphiaræus himself was an Argonaut.

(12) Virgil. Æn. 2. 261. Servius upon that place. Hygin. Fab. 108. Dictys Cretensis, lib. 1. He is not in Homer's Catalogue.

eldest sons who married young, if they be reckoned at about twenty and four years to a generation, will place the birth of Polydorus upon the 18th year of David's reign, or thereabout⁽¹³⁾. And thus Cadmus might be a young man, not yet married, when he came first into Greece. At his first coming he failed to Rhodes; and thence to Samothrace, an island near Thrace on the north side of Lemnos; and there married Harmonia, the sister of Jasion and Dardanus⁽¹⁴⁾, which gave occasion to the Samothracian mysteries: and Polydorus might be their son⁽¹⁵⁾, born a year or two after their coming; and his sister Europa might be then a young woman, in the flower of her age. These generations cannot well be shorter; and therefore Cadmus, and his son Polydorus, were not younger than we have reckoned them: nor can they be much longer, without making Polydorus too old to be born in Europe, and to be the son of Harmonia the sister of Jasion. Labdacus was therefore born in the end of David's reign; Laius in the 24th year of Solomon's; and Oedipus in the seventh of Rehoboam's, or thereabout: unless you had rather say, that Polydorus was born at Zidon, before his father came into Europe; but his name Polydorus is in the language of Greece.

LX. Polydorus married Nyctëis, the daughter of Nyctëus^a a native of Greece; and dying young, left his kingdom and young son Labdacus under the administration of Nyctëus. Then Epopeus king of Ægialus, afterwards called Sicyon, stole Antiope the daughter of Nyctëus; ^a and Nyctëus thereupon made war upon

^a Paufan.
L. 2. c. 6.

⁽¹³⁾ At 24 years to a generation, the birth of Polydorus must have been 144 years earlier than the taking of Troy; therefore 270 years before the olympiads, according to our author's system. (§ LVIII. note 4.) The olympiads began in the year of the Julian period 3938. Therefore Polydorus was born in the year of the Julian period 3668; which, according to Petavius, was the 9th of David's reign the year in which he took Jerusalem.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 48. p. 223.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 4. § II.

§ LX.

⁽¹⁾ Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 5. § V.

⁽²⁾ Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 5. § VI.

⁽³⁾ Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. lin. 156, with the Scholiast on the place.

⁽⁴⁾ Pindar. Olymp. 1. lin. 144, with the Scholiast on the place.

⁽⁵⁾ EUSTATHIUS, upon Il. A. lin. 7, affirms, that Hesiod among others made Agamemnon the son of Pleisthenes. This Pleisthenes the scholiast on the Orestes of Euripides makes the son of Atreus; and says, that Pleisthenes dying young left his three children, Agamemnon, Menelaus,

upon him, and in a battle wherein Nyctëus overcame, both were ^{GREEKS.} wounded, and died soon after. Nyctëus left the tuition of Labdacus, and administration of the kingdom, to his brother Lycus; and Epopeus, or, as Hyginus ^a calls him, Epaphus the Sicyonian, left his kingdom to Lamedon, who presently ended ^{Hygin. Fab. 7 & 8.} the war, by sending home Antiope: and she, in returning home, brought forth Amphion and Zethus. Labdacus being grown up, received the kingdom from Lycus; and soon after dying, left it again to his administration, for his young son Laius⁽¹⁾. When Amphion and Zethus were about seventy years old, at the instigation of their mother Antiope, they killed Lycus⁽²⁾, and made Laius flee to Pelops⁽³⁾, and seized the city Thebes, and compassed it with a wall⁽⁴⁾; and Amphion married Niobe the sister of Pelops⁽⁵⁾, and by her had several children; amongst whom was Chloris⁽⁶⁾, the mother of Periclymenus the Argonaut⁽⁷⁾. Pelops was the father of Plifthenes, Atreus, and Thyestes⁽⁸⁾; and Agamemnon and Menelaus, the adopted sons of Atreus⁽⁹⁾, warred at Troy. Ægiffhus, the son of Thyestes⁽¹⁰⁾, slew Agamemnon the year after the taking of Troy; and Atreus died just before Paris stole Helena; which, according ^b to Homer, was ^{Homer. Iliad. II. lin. 765.} twenty years before the taking of Troy. Deucalion the son of Minos, ^c was an Argonaut; and Talus, another son of Minos⁽¹¹⁾, ^{Hygin. Fab. 14.} was slain by the Argonauts; and Idomeneus and Meriones, the grandsons of Minos, were at the Trojan war. All these things confirm the ages of Cadmus and Europa, and their posterity, above assigned, and place the death of Epopeus or Epaphus king of Sicyon, and birth of Amphion and Zethus, upon the tenth year of Solomon; and the taking of Thebes by Amphion and

laus, and Anaxibia, to his father. Apollodorus (lib. 3. c. 2. § II.) makes Agamemnon and Menelaus the sons of Pleisthenes by Ærope. And the scholiast on Sophocles Ajax, lin. 1314, agrees with Apollodorus in making Pleisthenes the husband of Agamemnon's mother. If the learned reader is inclined to enter more deeply into this dark question, he may consult Meziriac on the 8th of Ovid's Epistles.

⁽¹⁾ Euripides: *Argivobas*. Homer. Od. A. 518.

⁽²⁾ TALUS was a brazen man, according to Apollonius (lib. 4. lin. 1638) one that remained of the brazen age: according to Apollodorus (lib. 1. c. 9. § XXVI.) a present from Vulcan to Minos. But Lucian calls him the son of Minos (Philopseud. § XIX.) And Plato says, that Talus bore the same office under Minos in the rest of Crete, that Rhadamanthus bore in the Capitol. He was Minos's judge of Affize, and went a circuit through the towns of Crete three times in the year, carrying about with him the laws engraven on tables of brass. Hence the fable that he was a brazen man. Plato in Min. p. 568.

Zethus,

Zethus, and the flight of Laius to Pelops upon the thirtieth year of that king, or thereabout. Amphion might marry the sister of Pelops the same year, and Pelops come into Greece three or four years before that flight, or about the 26th year of Solomon.

LXI. In the days of Erechtheus king of Athens ⁽¹⁾, and Cecylus king of Eleufis ⁽²⁾, Ceres came into Attica; and educated Triptolemus the son of Celeus, and taught him to sow corn. She ^a lay with Jafion, or Jafius, the brother of Harmonia the wife of Cadmus; and presently after her death Erechtheus was slain, in a war between the Athenians and Eleufimians; and, for the benefaction of bringing tillage into Greece, the Eleufian Sacra were instituted to her ^b with Egyptian ceremonies, by Celeus and Eumolpus ⁽³⁾; and a sepulchre or temple was erected to her in Eleufine, and in this temple the families of Celeus and Eumolpus became her priests: and this temple, and that which Eurydice erected to her daughter Danæ, by the name of Juno Argiva, are the first instances that I meet with in Greece of deifying the dead, with temples, and sacred rites, and sacrifices, and initiations, and a fucceffion of priests to perform them. Now by this history it is manifest that Erechtheus, Celeus, Eumolpus, Ceres, Jafius, Cadmus, Harmonia, Afterius ⁽⁴⁾, and Dardanus the brother of Jafius, and one of the founders of the kingdom of Troy, were all contemporary to one another, and flourished in their youth, when Cadmus came first into Europe. Erechtheus could not be much older, because his daughter Procris conferred with Minos king of Crete ⁽⁵⁾; and his grandson Thefpis ⁽⁶⁾ had fifty daughters, who lay with Hercules; and his daughter

^a Homer. Odyf. E. lin. 125. Diodor. l. 5. p. 223 & 237^a.

^b Diodor. l. 1. p. 17.

§ LXL

⁽¹⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 29. p. 17.

⁽²⁾ Homer. Hymn. in Cerer. apud Pausan. lib. 2. c. 14.

⁽³⁾ The husband of Europa. Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 1. § II.

⁽⁴⁾ Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 14. § I.

⁽⁵⁾ Read Thefpis, or Thefpis. Diodorus calls him the son of Erechtheus. He was king of Thefpia. Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 29. p. 163. Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 4. § X. Pausan. lib. 9. c. 26 & 28.

⁽⁶⁾ Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 14. § I and II. Orph. Argonaut. lin. 216—220. Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. lin. 211—215.

⁽⁷⁾ PANDION is called by Eusebius the son of Erechtheus: but he was the grandson of Erechtheus and the son of Cecrops. Upon what authority Sir Isaac Newton affirms that he deposed Cecrops, I know

daughter Orithyia was the mother of Calais and Zetes ⁽⁷⁾, two GREEKS. of the Argonauts in their youth; and his son Orneus ^a was the ^b Pausan. father of Peteos, the father of Menestheus, who warred at Troy: nor much younger, because his second son ⁽⁸⁾ Pandion, who with the Metionidæ deposed his elder brother Cecrops, was the father of Ægeus, the father of Theseus; and Metion, another of his sons ⁽⁹⁾, was the father of Eupalamus, the father of Dædalus ⁽¹⁰⁾, who was older than Theseus; and his daughter Creüsa married Xuthus, the son of Hellen, and by him had two sons, Achæus and Ion ⁽¹¹⁾; and Ion commanded the army of the Athenians against the Eleufians, in the battle in which his grandfather Erechtheus was slain: and this was just before the institution of the Eleufinia Sacra, and before the reign of Pandion the father of Ægeus. Erechtheus being an Egyptian, procured corn from Egypt, and for that benefaction was made king of Athens ⁽¹²⁾; and near the beginning of his reign Ceres came into Attica from Sicily, in quest of her daughter Proferpina ⁽¹³⁾. We cannot err much, if we make Hellen contemporary to the reign of Saul, and to that of David at Hebron; and place the beginning of the reign of Erechtheus in the 25th year, the coming of Ceres into Attica in the 30th year, and the dispersion of corn by Triptolemus about the 40th year of David's reign; and the death of Ceres and Erechtheus, and institution of the Eleufinia Sacra, between the tenth and fifteenth year of Solomon.

LXII. Teucer, Dardanus, Erichthonius, Tros, Ilus, Laomedon, and Priamus, reigned fucceffively at Troy ⁽¹⁾; and their reigns, at about twenty years a-piece with one another, amount unto an hundred and forty years: which counted back from the taking of Troy, place the beginning of the reign of Teucer about the fifteenth year of the reign of king David; and that of Darda-

I know not. He was himself deposed by the Metionidæ, and fled to Megara, Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 14. § V. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 5. For fuller information, the learned reader may consult Meurlius *De Regibus Atheniensium*, lib. 2. c. 14 and 15.

⁽²⁾ Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 14. § I.

⁽³⁾ Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 7. § II. and lib. 3. c. 14. § I.

⁽⁴⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 29. p. 17.

^a Add Hesiod Theogon. lin. 969.

§ LXII.

⁽¹⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 75. p. 192.

nus, in the days of Ceres; who lay with Jasius the brother of Dardanus: whereas chronologers reckon that the last six of these kings reigned 296 years, which is after the rate of $49\frac{1}{3}$ years a-piece with one another; and that they began their reign in the days of Moses. Dardanus married the daughter of Teucer, the son of Scamander, and succeeded him⁽¹⁾: whence Teucer was of about the same age with David.

LXIII. Upon the return of Sesostris into Egypt, his brother Danaus not only attempted his life, as above, but also commanded his daughters, who were fifty in number, and had married the sons of Sesostris, to slay their husbands⁽²⁾; and then fled with his daughters from Egypt in a long ship of fifty oars⁽³⁾. This flight was in the fourteenth year of Rehoboam⁽⁴⁾. Danaus came first to Lindus, a town in Rhodes, and there built a temple, and erected a statue to Minerva⁽⁵⁾, and lost three of his daughters by a plague which raged there⁽⁶⁾; and then failed thence with the rest of his daughters to Argos. He came to Argos therefore in the fifteenth or sixteenth year of Rehoboam: and at length contending there with Gelanor⁽⁷⁾ the brother of Eurystheus for the crown of Argos, was chosen by the people, and reigned at Argos, while Eurystheus reigned at Mycenæ; and Eurystheus was born^a the same year with Hercules. Gelanor and Eurystheus were the sons of Sthenelus, by Nicippe the daughter of Pelops⁽⁸⁾; and Sthenelus was the son of Perseus, and reigned at Argos; and Danaus, who succeeded him at Argos, was succeeded

^a Apollodor. l. 2. sect. 5.

§ LXIII.

⁽¹⁾ Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 1. § IV and V. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 58. p. 227.

⁽²⁾ § XIX. ⁽³⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 58. p. 227.

⁽⁴⁾ Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 1. § IV and V. Pausan. lib. 2. c. 19. p. 152. Euseb. in Chron. lib. 1. p. 13. and lib. 2. p. 79. According to Castor (Euseb. Exc. Gr. p. 29) Sthenelus was the prince who was deposed by Danaus. That Gelanor was the brother of Eurystheus, and that the deposition of Gelanor happened during the reign of Eurystheus at Mycenæ, I take to be an error. See the next note.

⁽⁵⁾ EURYSTHEUS, king of Mycenæ, was indeed the son of Sthenelus, the son of Perseus by Nicippe the daughter of Pelops. Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 4. § V. Gelanor too was the son of a Sthenelus, Pausan. lib. 2. c. 16 and 19. p. 145 and 152. But this Sthenelus, the father of Gelanor, was quite a different person from the father of Eurystheus, being the son of Crotopus, the son of Agenor, the great-grandson of Argos. Pausan. p. 145. Euseb. Exc. Gr. p. 29. and Chron. lib. 2. If Sir Isaac Newton had any authority, which might outweigh that of Pausanias in this matter, and prove Gelanor of Argos and Eurystheus of Mycenæ to have been brothers, it is much to be regretted that he did not produce it. For this singular position, if it be a mistake,

succeeded there by his son-in-law Lynceus⁽⁶⁾, and he by his son GREEK. Abas⁽⁷⁾; that Abas who is commonly, but erroneously, reputed the father of Acrisius and Prætus⁽⁸⁾. In the time of the Argonautic expedition Castor and Pollux were beardless young men, and their sisters Helena and Clytemnestra were children, and their wives Phœbe and Ilaira⁽⁹⁾ were also very young. All these⁽¹⁰⁾, with the Argonauts Lynceus and Idas, were the grand-children of Gorgophone, the daughter of Perseus, the son of Danaë, the daughter of Acrisius and Eurydice⁽¹¹⁾; and Perieres and Oebalus, the husbands of Gorgophone, were the sons of Cynortes, the son of Amyclas, the brother of Eurydice⁽¹²⁾. Mestor or Mastor, the brother of Sthenelus, married Lyfidice, another of the daughters of Pelops⁽¹³⁾: and Pelops married Hippodamia, the daughter of Evarete, the daughter of Acrisius⁽¹⁴⁾. Alcmena, the mother of Hercules, was the daughter of Electryo⁽¹⁵⁾; and Sthenelus, Mestor and Electryo, were brothers of Gorgophone, and sons of Perseus and Andromeda⁽¹⁶⁾: and the Argonaut Æsculapius was the grandson of Leucippus and Phlegia⁽¹⁷⁾; and Leucippus was the son of Perieres, the grandson of Amyclas the brother of Eurydice; and Amyclas and Eurydice were the children of Lacedæmon and Sparta⁽¹⁸⁾: and Capaneus, one of the seven captains against Thebes, was the husband of Euadne the daughter of Iphis⁽¹⁹⁾, the son of Alector, the son of Anaxagoras, the son of Megapenthes, the son of Prætus the brother of Acrisius⁽²⁰⁾. Now from these

as I think it must be, makes great confusion in the chronology of the two antient kingdoms of Argos and Mycenæ.

⁽⁶⁾ Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 2. Pausan. lib. 2. c. 16. p. 145.

⁽⁷⁾ Euseb. in Chron.

⁽⁸⁾ An error however, if it be an error, countenanced by the great authorities of Pausanias and Apollodor. See Pausan. p. 145. Apollodor. p. 77.

⁽⁹⁾ Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 10. § III.

⁽¹⁰⁾ — c. 10. § III, VI, VII.

⁽¹¹⁾ Apollodor. p. 78 and 82.

⁽¹²⁾ The descent of Perieres is confirmed by Apollodorus, p. 179 and 39. Pausanias says, that Oebalus was a son of Cynortus, and the father of Tyndareus by Gorgophone (p. 204) and that Gorgophone bore children both to Perieres and Oebalus (p. 283.)

⁽¹³⁾ Apollodor. p. 89.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Hygin. Fab. 84.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Apollodor. p. 90.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Apollodor. p. 89.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Read, of *Leucippus* or *Phlegyas*. For Æsculapius was the son of Coronis the daughter of Phlegyas, according to some; according to others of Arsinœ the daughter of Leucippus. Pausan. p. 170, 171. Apollodor. p. 179.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Apollodor. p. 196, 197.

⁽¹⁹⁾ — p. 181.

⁽²⁰⁾ Pausan. p. 146 and 150. But between Anaxagoras and Megapenthes insert Argeus.

generations it may be gathered that Perseus, Perieres and Anaxagoras, were of about the same age with Minos, Peleus, Ægeus and Sefac; and that Acrisius, Prætus, Eurydice and Amyclas, being two little generations older, were of about the same age with king David and Erechtheus; and that the temple of Juno Argiva was built about the same time with the temple of Solomon; the same being built by Eurydice to her daughter Danaë, as above; or, as some say, by Piræus or Piranthus, the son or successor of Argus, and great grandson of Phoroneus. For the first priestess of that goddess was Callithyia the daughter of Piranthus⁽²¹⁾. Callithyia was succeeded by Akyone, about three generations before the taking of Troy, that is about the middle of Solomon's reign: in her priesthood the Siculi passed out of Italy into Sicily⁽²²⁾. Afterwards Hypermnestra, the daughter of Danaus, became priestess of this goddess; and she flourished in the times next before the Argonautic expedition⁽²³⁾: and Admæta⁽²⁴⁾, the daughter of Eurystheus, was priestess of this Juno about the times of the Trojan war. Andromeda the wife of Perseus, was the daughter of Cepheus an Egyptian, the son of Belus, according to^a Herodotus; and the Egyptian Belus was Ammon. Perseus took her from Joppa⁽²⁵⁾, where Cepheus, I think a kinsman of Solomon's queen, resided in the days of Solomon. Acrisius and Prætus were the sons of Abas⁽²⁶⁾: but this Abas was not the same man with Abas the grandson of Danaus, but a much older prince, who built Abæa in Phocis, and might be the prince from whom the island Eubœa^b was anciently

^a Herod. l. 7. c. 61 & 150.

^b Bochart. Canaan. part 2. c. 13.

⁽²¹⁾ Euseb. Chron.

⁽²²⁾ Dionys. Hal. p. 18.

⁽²³⁾ Euseb. Chron.

⁽²⁴⁾ Or Adamanta. Syncell. p. 172.

⁽²⁵⁾ Conon. Narrat. 40.

⁽²⁶⁾ Apollodor. p. 77.

⁽²⁷⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 58. p. 228.

⁽²⁸⁾ PAUSANIAS however says, that the tomb of Crotopus was in the Argive territory. Nor does he speak of this flight of Crotopus, though he mentions the story of his daughter Pliamthe, which, it is pretended, was the occasion of it. See Pausanias, p. 164 and 105.

(1) § LX.

§ LXIV.

⁽¹⁾ PAUSANIAS, in the place to which our author refers (lib. 5. c. 1.) seems to fix the arrival of Pelops rather to the time of Epeus the son of Endymion, than to that of Endymion. And in another place (lib. 5. c. 8. p. 393) he expressly makes Pelops a generation later than Endymion. Apollodoros has nothing, that I know, to mark the time of the arrival of Pelops. In the first book of Eusebius's Chronicle (p. 16) it is said, that the kingdom of the Argives ended in

ently called Abantis, and the people thereof Abantes: for Apollonius Rhodius^a tells us, that the Argonaut Canthus was the son of Canethus, and that Canethus was of the posterity of Abas; and the commentator upon Apollonius tells us further, that from this Abas the inhabitants of Eubœa were anciently called Abantes. This Abas therefore flourished three or four generations before the Argonautic expedition; and so might be the father of Acrisius. The ancestors of Acrisius were accounted Egyptians by the Greeks; and they might come from Egypt under Abas into Eubœa, and from thence into Peloponnesus. I do not reckon Phorbas and his son Triopas among the kings of Argos; because they fled from that kingdom to the island Rhodes⁽²⁷⁾: nor do I reckon Crotopus among them; because he went from Argos, and built a new city for himself in Megaris, as^b Conon relates⁽²⁸⁾.

LXIV. We said that Pelops came into Greece about the 26th year of Solomon⁽¹⁾. He came thither in the days of Acrisius, and in those of Endymion⁽²⁾, and of his sons, and took Ætolia from Ætolus. Endymion was the son of Aëthlius, the son of Protogenia, the sister of Hellen, the daughter of Deucalion⁽³⁾: Phrixus and Helle, the children of Athamas⁽⁴⁾, the brother of Sisyphus, and son of Æolus, the son of Hellen⁽⁵⁾, fled from their stepmother Ino, the daughter of Cadmus, to Æetes in Colchis, presently after the return of Sesostris into Egypt: and Jason the Argonaut was the son of Æson, the son of Cretheus, the son of Æolus, the son of Hellen⁽⁶⁾: and Calyce was the wife of Aëthlius, and mother of Endymion⁽⁷⁾, and daughter of Æolus⁽⁸⁾, and sister of Cretheus, Sisyphus and Athamas:

in Acrisius, having stood 544 years until Pelops, who reigned 58. This might induce our author to place the arrival of Pelops in the time of Acrisius. But in the corresponding passage in the Greek fragments, Sthenelus and Eurystheus intervene, as they certainly ought to do, between Acrisius and Pelops. The Argive kingdom was said to cease in Acrisius, because his son and successor Perseus fixed his residence at Mycenæ; which from that time became the royal seat. However, since we find the sons of Perseus marrying with the daughters of Pelops, it is evident that Perseus and Pelops must have been contemporaries; and there can be no great error, if any, in placing the coming of Pelops into Greece in the days of Acrisius.

⁽¹⁾ Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 7. § II and V. Pausan. lib. 5. c. 1.

⁽²⁾ ——— 9. § I.

⁽³⁾ ——— Ibid. & c. 7. § II.

⁽⁴⁾ Scholiast. in Pindar. Pyth. 4. l. 190. Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 9. § XVI. & c. 7. § II.

⁽⁵⁾ Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 7. § V.

⁽⁶⁾ ——— § II.

^a Pausan.
l. 7. 3. 1.

^b Pausan.
l. 1. c. 37.
& l. 10. c. 29.

^c Pausan.
l. 7. c. 1.

and by these circumstances Cretheus, Sisyphus and Athamas, flourished ⁽⁹⁾ in the latter part of the reign of Solomon, and in the reign of Rehoboam: Aethlius, Æolus, Xuthus, Dorus, Tantalus, and Danaë, were contemporary to Erechtheus ⁽¹⁰⁾, Jafius and Cadmus; and Hellen was about one, and Deucalion about two generations older than Erechtheus. They could not be much older; because Xuthus, the youngest son of Hellen ^a, married Cræusa the daughter of Erechtheus: nor could they be much younger; because Cephalus the son of Deioneus ⁽¹¹⁾, the son of Æolus ⁽¹²⁾, the eldest son of Hellen, ^b married Procris the daughter of Erechtheus ⁽¹³⁾; and Procris fled from her husband to Minos ⁽¹⁴⁾. Upon the death of Hellen, his youngest son Xuthus ^c was expelled Thessaly by his brothers Æolus and Dorus, and fled to Erechtheus, and married Cræusa the daughter of Erechtheus ⁽¹⁵⁾; by whom he had two sons, Achæus and Ion, the youngest of which grew up before the death of Erechtheus, and commanded the army of the Athenians, in the war in which Erechtheus was slain: and therefore Hellen died about one generation before Erechtheus.

LXV. Sisyphus therefore built Corinth about the latter end of the reign of Solomon, or the beginning of the reign of Rehoboam. Upon the flight of Phrixus and Helle, their father Athamas, a little king in Boeotia, went distracted and slew his son Learchus; and his wife Ino threw herself into the sea, together with her other son Melicertus ⁽¹⁾; and thereupon Sisyphus instituted

⁽⁹⁾ This conclusion seems erroneous, even upon our author's own principles. If Pelops came into Greece in the days of Endymion, and came thither in the 26th of Solomon; the 26th of Solomon must have fallen upon the days of Endymion, and Aethlius, the father of Endymion, cannot be put later than the beginning of Solomon. Therefore Calyce, the wife of Aethlius, her brothers Sisyphus, Athamas, and Cretheus, must have flourished in the beginning of Solomon. If the arrival of Pelops in Greece was, as Pausanias intimates, in the reign of Epeus the son of Endymion; then Endymion must have flourished in the beginning of Solomon's reign, and his father Aethlius and his mother Calyce, with her brothers, in the middle of David's.

⁽¹⁰⁾ See note 14.

⁽¹¹⁾ Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 7. § II.

⁽¹²⁾ Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 9. § IV.

⁽¹³⁾ See § LXI. note 5.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Hence Æolus, Xuthus, and Dorus, the children of Hellen, were nearly contemporary with Erechtheus. But these children of Hellen were grand-children of Deucalion: therefore contemporary with Aethlius, who also was a grandson of Deucalion. Therefore Aethlius was also contemporary with Erechtheus.

Again, Pelops and Perseus were contemporaries (note 2). And Pelops, according to Sir Isaac Newton, was contemporary with Endymion. Therefore upon this supposition, Tantalus the father of Pelops (Pind. Olymp. 1. v. 58) and Danaë the mother of Perseus will have been contemporary

instituted the Isthmia at Corinth to his nephew Melicertus ⁽²⁾. GREEKS. This was presently after Sesostris had left Æetes in Colchis, I think in the fifteenth or sixteenth year of Rehoboam: so that Athamas, the son of Æolus and grandson of Hellen, and Ino the daughter of Cadmus, flourished till about the sixteenth year of Rehoboam. Sisyphus and his successors Ornytion, Thoas, Demophon, Propodas, Doridas, and Hyanthidas, reigned successively at Corinth, till the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus ⁽³⁾: then reigned the Heraclidæ, Aletes, Ixion, Agelas, Prumnis, Bacchis, Agelas II. Eudemus, Aristodemus ⁽⁴⁾, and Telestes, successively about 170 years ⁽⁵⁾, and then Corinth was governed by *Prytanes*, or annual archons, about 42 years, and after them by Cypselus and Periander about 48 years more ⁽⁶⁾.

LXVI. Celeus king of Eleusis, who was contemporary to Erechtheus, ^a was the son of Rharus ⁽¹⁾, the son of Cranæus, ^a Hesych. in Κραναιος. the successor of Cecrops; and in the reign of Cranæus, Deucalion fled with his sons Hellen and Amphictyon from the flood which then overflowed Thessaly, and was called Deucalion's flood: they fled into Attica; and there Deucalion died soon after; and Pausanias tells us, that his sepulchre was to be seen near Athens ⁽²⁾. His eldest son Hellen succeeded him in Thessaly; and his other son Amphictyon married the daughter of Cranæus ⁽³⁾, and reigning at Thermopylæ, erected there the Am-

temporary with Aethlius the father of Endymion. But the truth rather seems to be, that Tantalus and Danaë were contemporary with Endymion himself.

§ LXV.

⁽¹⁾ Apollodor. lib. c. 9. § I & II. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 44. p. 108.

⁽²⁾ Pausan. lib. 2. c. 1. p. 111.

⁽³⁾ ——— c. 4.

⁽⁴⁾ Between Aristodemus and Telestes were two usurpers, Agemon and Alexander. Euseb. in Chron.

⁽⁵⁾ Diodorus Siculus, as quoted by Eusebius (in Chron. lib. 1) reckons 447 years from the return of the Heraclidæ to the beginning of the reign of Cypselus; 90 of which he assigns to the annual archons. Euseb. Exc. Gr. p. 35. Concerning the integrity of these numbers, consult Petavius Doct. Temp. lib. 9. c. 33; and the notes of Wesselingius upon this fragment, in his edition of Diodorus Siculus.

⁽⁶⁾ By Cypselus 30 years, according to Herodotus (lib. 5. c. 92. § 6.) By Periander 40 years; according to Eusebius (in Chron.) who gives but 28 years to the reign of Cypselus.

§ LXVI.

⁽¹⁾ Suidas under the word Ραρις. Others made Rharus the father of Triptolemus. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 14. p. 34.

⁽²⁾ Pausan. lib. 1. c. 18. p. 43.

⁽³⁾ ——— c. 2. p. 7.

phictyonic

phictyonic council; and Acrisius soon after erected the like council at Delphi (*). This I conceive was done when Amphictyon and Acrisius were aged, and fit to be counsellors; suppose in the latter half of the reign of David, and beginning of the reign of Solomon; and soon after, suppose about the middle of the reign of Solomon, did Phe-monoe (†) become the first priestess of Apollo at Delphi, and gave oracles in hexameter verse: and then was Acrisius slain accidentally by his grandson Perseus (‡). The council of Thermopylæ included twelve nations of the Greeks, without Attica, and therefore Amphictyon did not then reign at Athens: he might endeavour to succeed Cranæus, his wife's father (¶), and be prevented by Erechtheus.

LXVII. Between the reigns of Cranæus and Erechtheus, chronologers place also Erichthonius, and his son Pandion; but I take this Erichthonius and this his son Pandion, to be the same with Erechtheus and his son and successor Pandion, the names being only repeated with a little variation in the list of the kings of Attica. For Erichthonius, he that was the son of the Earth, nursed up by Minerva, is by Homer (¶) called Erechtheus; and Themistius^a tells us, that it was Erechtheus that first joined a chariot to horses; and Plato,^b alluding to the story of Erichthonius in a basket (¶), saith, "The people of magnanimous Erechtheus is beautiful, but it behoves us to behold him taken out (¶):" Erechtheus therefore immediately succeeded Cranæus, while Amphictyon reigned at Thermopylæ. In the reign of Cranæus

^a Themist.
Orat. 19.
^b Plato in
Alcib. I.
p. 418.

(*) See Sir J. Martham, § IX. Tit. *Concilia Amphictyonica*.

(†) Pausan. lib. 10. c. 5. p. 809. Clemens Alex. Strom. lib. 1. c. 21. p. 139.

(‡) Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 4. § IV.

(¶) That he deposed Cranæus is asserted by Pausanias and Apollodorus, and was the opinion of Meursius.

§ LXVII.

(¶) H. B. lin. 547.

(¶) Εὐσεβίου: γὰρ ὁ τοῦ μεγαλήτορος θεοῦ Ἐρεχθίδης· ἀλλ' ἀποδοῦναι χεῖρ αὐτοῦ δεῖσθαι. The people of the magnanimous Erechtheus carry a fair outside; but it is necessary to examine them strictly. Αὐτοῦ relates to θεῖος, not to Ερεχθίδης. Here is no sort of allusion to the story of Erichthonius in the basket.

(¶) Varro placed it in the reign of Cranaus. (Augustin. de Civ. Dei, lib. 18. c. 10.) Eusebius in that of Cecrops.

§ LXVIII.

(¶) Arcas had three sons; Azan, Apeidas, Elatus: among whom he shared his kingdom: and

Cranæus the poets place the flood of Deucalion (*); and therefore the death of Deucalion, and the reign of his sons Hellen and Amphictyon, in Theffaly and Thermopylæ, was but a few years, suppose eight or ten, before the reign of Erechtheus.

LXVIII. The first kings of Arcadia were successively^a Pelasgus, Lycaon, Nyctimus, Arcas (†), Clitor, Æpytus, Aleus, Lycurgus, Echemus, Agapenor, Hippothous, Æpytus II. Cypselus, Olæas, &c. Under Cypselus the Heraclidæ returned into Peloponnesus, as above. Agapenor was one of those who courted Helena; he courted her before he reigned, and afterwards he went to the war at Troy, and thence to Cyprus, and there built Paphos (‡). Echemus flew Hyllus the son of Hercules. Lycurgus, Cepheus, and Auge, were^b the children of Aleus, the son of Aphidas, the son of Arcas (¶), the son of Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon (¶): Auge lay with Hercules (¶), and Ancæus the son of Lycurgus was an Argonaut (¶), and his uncle Cepheus was his governour in that expedition; and Lycurgus staid at home to look after his aged father Aleus, who might be born about 75 years before that expedition (¶); and his grandfather Arcas might be born about the end of the reign of Saul, and Lycaon the grandfather of Arcas might be then alive, and die before the middle of David's reign; and his youngest son Oenotrus (¶), the Janus of the Latines, might grow up, and lead a colony into Italy (¶) before the reign of Solomon. Arcas received^c bread-corn from Triptolemus, and taught his people to make bread of it; and so did Eumelus (¶), the first king of a

and the share of each of these princes went to their children after them. That of Azas to his son Clitor; that of Apeidas to his son Aleus; that of Elatus among his five sons. Clitor in his life-time was the most considerable of these grand-children of Arcas. But after his death the kingdom seems to have been re-united under his cousin Æpytus, one of the sons of Elatus, from whom again it passed to Aleus the son of Apeidas. Pausan. lib. 8. c. 4. p. 604—606. Between Arcas and Clitor therefore one succession is to be inserted; and the three reigns of Clitor, Æpytus, and Aleus, are not to be reckoned successive, but contemporary with survivorship to Aleus.

(*) Pausan. lib. 8. c. 5. p. 607. Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 9. § VIII.

(†) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 9. § I. Pausan. lib. 8. c. 4. p. 606.

(‡) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 4. § II. Pausan. lib. 8. c. 3. p. 603, & c. 4. p. 604.

(¶) Pausan. lib. 8. c. 4. p. 606.

(¶) Pausan. lib. 8. c. 3. p. 603.

(¶) Pausan. lib. 7. c. 18. p. 568.

(¶) Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. lin. 161—166.

(¶) Pausan. ibid. Dionys. Hal. lib. 1. c. 10. p. 9.

region afterwards called Achaia⁽¹⁰⁾: and therefore Arcas and Eumeles were contemporary to Triptolemus, and to his old father Celeus, and to Erechtheus king of Athens; and Callisto to Rharus, and her father Lycaon to Cranaus⁽¹¹⁾: but Lycaon died before Cranaus, so as to leave room for Deucalion's flood between their deaths⁽¹²⁾. The eleven⁽¹³⁾ kings of Arcadia, between this flood and the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, that is, between the reigns of Lycaon and Cypselus, after the rate of about twenty years to a reign one with another, took up about 220 years; and these years counted back from the return of the Heraclides, place the flood of Deucalion upon the fourteenth year of David's reign⁽¹⁴⁾, or thereabout.

^a Herod. l. 5. c. 58.

LXIX. Herodotus^a tells us, that the Phœnicians who came with Cadmus brought many doctrines into Greece: for amongst those Phœnicians were a sort of men called *Curetes*, who were skilled in the arts and sciences of Phœnicia, above other men; and^b settled some in Phrygia, where they were called *Corybantes*⁽¹⁾; some in Crete, where they were called *Idæi Dactyli*⁽²⁾; some in Rhodes, where they were called *Telchines*⁽³⁾; some in Samothrace, where they were called *Cabiri*; some in Eubœa, where, before the invention of iron, they wrought in copper, in a city thence called Chalcis; some in Lemnos, where they assisted Vulcan; and some in Imbrus, and other places: and a considerable number of them settled in Ætolia, which was thence called the country of the Curetes; until Ætolus the son of Endymion, having slain Apis king of Sicyon, fled thither, and by the assistance of his father invaded it, and from his own name called it Ætolia⁽⁴⁾: and by the assistance of these artificers, Cad-

^b Strabo, l. 10. p. 462—474.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Read, "king of a small district in Achaia, and founder of the city afterwards called Patra." Pausan. *ibid.*

⁽¹¹⁾ Pausanias differs little, if at all, from our author in the age of Lycaon; making him contemporary with Cecrops the predecessor of Cranaus, lib. 8. c. 2. p. 600.

⁽¹²⁾ For Deucalion's flood was in the reign of Nyctimus the successor of Lycaon. Apollodorus, lib. 3. c. 8. § II.

⁽¹³⁾ They should be reckoned but nine. See note 1.

⁽¹⁴⁾ But reckoning only nine successive reigns of Arcadian kings, between Lycaon and Cypselus; these nine reigns, at 20 years each, will amount to 180 years. And Deucalion's flood will fall 180 years before the return of the Heraclidæ: therefore 226 before the first olympiad: that is, about the year of the Julian period 3712, which, according to Petavius, was the fourteenth of Solomon.

mus

mus found out gold in the mountain Pangæus in Thrace⁽⁵⁾, and GREEKS. copper at Thebes⁽⁶⁾; whence copper ore is still called Cadmia. Where they settled they wrought first in copper, till iron was invented; and then in iron: and when they had made themselves armour, they danced in it at the sacrifices with tumult and clamour, and bells, and pipes, and drums, and swords, with which they struck upon one another's armour, in musical times, appearing seized with a divine fury; and this is reckoned the original of music in Greece. So Solinus, ^a "*Studium musicum inde* Solin. Po-
caëptum, cum Idæi Dactyli modulos, crepitu & tinnitu æris depre- lyhist. c. 11.
hensos, in versificum ordinem transulissent." and Isidorus, ^b "*Stu-* Isidor. ori-
dium musicum ab Idæis Dactylis caëptum" Apollo and the Mu- ginum. lib.
xes were two generations later. Clemens^c calls the *Idæi Dactyli* Clem. xi. c. 6.
barbarous, that is strangers; and saith, that they were reputed the Strom. l. 1.
first wise men, to whom both the letters which they call Ephesian, c. 15. p. 132.
and the invention of musical rhythms are referred. It seems that when the Phœnician letters, ascribed to Cadmus, were brought into Greece, they were at the same time brought into Phrygia and Crete by the Curetes; who settled in those countries, and called them Ephesian, from the city Ephesus⁽⁷⁾, where they were first taught. The Curetes, by their manufacturing copper and iron, and making swords, and armour, and edged tools for hewing and carving of wood, brought into Europe a new way of fighting; and gave Minos an opportunity of building a fleet, and gaining the dominion of the seas; and set on foot the trades of smiths and carpenters in Greece, which are the foundation of manual trades. The^d fleet of Minos was without sails; and Dæ-^e Pausan.
dalus fled from him by adding sails to his vessel: and therefore l. 9. c. 11.
ships with sails were not used by the Greeks before the flight of

§ LXIX.

⁽¹⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 49. p. 222.

⁽²⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 55. p. 226.

⁽³⁾ Apollodorus, lib. 1. c. 7. § VI. Conop. Narrat. 14. Pausan. lib. 5. c. 1. p. 375, 376.

⁽⁴⁾ Plin. lib. 7. c. 57.

⁽⁵⁾ Hygin. Fab. 274.

⁽⁷⁾ The *Ἐφεσια γράμματα*, mentioned by Clemens, were not letters of the alphabet, as our author imagines, but certain magical words written on the feet, crown, and girdle of the Ephesian Diana. Eustath. in Hóm. p. 1864, lin. 10—20. edit. Rom. These words, with the interpretation of them, are to be found in Hesychius and Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 242. Wonderful virtues were ascribed to them; but whether they operated by being uttered, or by being worn about the person, seems not agreed among the ancient writers.

VOL. V.

Q

Dædalus,

Dædalus, and death of Minos, who was slain in pursuing him to Sicily⁽⁸⁾, in the reign of Rehoboam. Dædalus and his nephew Talus, in the latter part of the reign of Solomon, invented the⁽⁹⁾ chip-ax, and saw, and wimble, and perpendicular, and compass, and turning-lath, and glew, and the potter's wheel; and his father Eupalamus invented the anchor⁽⁹⁾: and these things gave a beginning to manual arts and trades in Europe.

^a Strabo, l. 10. p. 472, 473. Diodor. l. 5. c. 64. p. 231.

LXX. The ^a Curetes, who thus introduced letters, and music, and poetry, and dancing, and arts, and attended on the sacrifices, were no less active about religious institutions; and for their skill and knowledge and mystical practices, were accounted wise men and conjurers by the vulgar. In Phrygia their mysteries were about Rhea, called *Magna Mater*, and from the places where she was worshipped, Cybele, Berecynthia, Pessinuntia, Dindymene, Mygdonia, and Idæa Phrygia: and in Crete, and the *Terra Curetum*, they were about Jupiter Olympius, the son of the Cretan Rhea. They represented, ^b that when Jupiter was born in Crete, his mother Rhea caused him to be educated in a cave in mount Ida, under their care and tuition; and ^c that they danced about him in armour with great noise, that his father Saturn might not hear him cry; and when he was grown up, assisted him in conquering his father, and his father's friends; and in memory of these things instituted their mysteries. Bochart ^d brings them from Palestine, and thinks that they had the name of Curetes from the people among the Philistims called Crethim, or Cerethites: Ezek. xxv. 16. Zeph. ii. 5. 1 Sam. xxx. 14. for the Philistims conquered Zidon, and mixed with the Zidonians.

^b Strabo, l. 10. p. 468, 472. Diodor. l. 5. c. 64. p. 231.

^c Lucian de sacrificiis. Apollod. l. 1. c. 1. sect. 3. & c. 2. sect. 1.

^d Boch. in Canaan. l. 1. c. 15.

LXXI. The two first kings of Crete, who reigned after the coming of the Curetes, were Asterius and Minos; and Europa was

(⁸) Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 79. p. 194, and lib. 5. c. 78. p. 238, and Herodot. lib. 7. c. 170.
(⁹) Plin. lib. 7. c. 57. Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 76. p. 192.

§ LXXI.

(¹) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 1. § II. (²) — § I. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 78. p. 238.
(³) Eustath in Il. p. 1205. lin. 10—20. edit. Rom.
(⁴) Read, *Minos and Sarpedon*. See Herodotus, lib. 1. c. 173,

§ LXXII.

(¹) LUCIAN, in his discourse about the Syrian goddess, says, that there was a temple in Phrygia dedicated,

was the queen of Asterius⁽¹⁾, and mother of Minos⁽²⁾; and the Idæan Curetes were her countrymen, and came with her and her brother Alymnus into Crete, and dwelt in the Idæan cave in her reign, and there educated Jupiter, and found out iron, and made armour: and therefore these three, Asterius, Europa, and Minos, must be the Saturn, Rhea and Jupiter of the Cretans. Minos is usually called the son of Jupiter; but this is in relation to the fable, that Jupiter in the shape of a bull, the ensign of the ship, carried away Europa from Zidon: for the Phœnicians, upon their first coming into Greece, gave the name of Jao-pater, Jupiter, to every king: and thus both Minos and his father were Jupiters. Echemenes, an ancient author cited by Athenæus^a, said that Minos was that Jupiter who committed the rape upon Ganymede; though others said more truly that it was Tantalus⁽³⁾. Minos alone was that Jupiter who was most famous among the Greeks for dominion and justice, being the greatest king in all Greece in those days, and the only legislator. Plutarch^b tells us, that the people of Naxus, contrary to what others write, pretended that there were two Minos's, and two Ariadnes; and that the first Ariadne married Bacchus, and the last was carried away by Theseus. But ^c Homer, Hesiod, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Strabo, knew but of one Minos; and Homer describes him to be the son of Jupiter and Europa; and the brother of Rhadamanthus and Sarpedon; and the father of Deucalion the Argonaut; and grandfather of Idomeneus who warred at Troy; and that he was the legislator of Hell. Herodotus^d makes Minos and Rhadamanthus⁽⁴⁾ the sons of Europa, contemporary to Ægeus: and ^e Apollodorus and Hyginus say, that Minos, the father of Androgeus, Ariadne and Phædra, was the son of Jupiter and Europa, and brother of Rhadamanthus and Sarpedon.

^a Athen. l. 13. p. 601.

^b Plutarch. in Thelco, p. 9.

^c Homer. Il. N. 450. & 321. & Odyf. A. 567. & T. 178.

^d Herod. l. 1. c. 173. Apollod.

^e Hygin. Fab. 40, 41, 42, 43, 178.

LXXII. Lucian^f lets us know, that Europa the mother of Minos was worshipped by the name of Rhea⁽¹⁾, in the form of a woman

woman

dedicated, as some imagined, to Europa. And in another part of the same tract, he says of the famous temple at Hierapolis, that, among many different opinions concerning the founder of it, and the divinity to which it was consecrated, one was, that Attis had been the founder, and that the goddess was Rhea. And in confirmation of this, he alleges, that the idol of this temple had some of the peculiar attributes of Rhea: namely, the Car drawn by lions, the drum, and

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^a Diodor.
l. 5. c. 4.
p. 231.
^b Argonaut.
l. 2. v. 1236.

^c Lucian.
de sacrificiis,
§ 10.

^d Porphyr. in
vita Pythag.
^e Cicero de
Nat. Deor.
l. 3. c. 21.

^f Callimach.
Hymn. 1.
v. 8.

^g Cypri. de
Idolorum
vanitate.

woman sitting in a chariot drawn by lions, with a drum in her hand, and a *Corona turrata* on her head, like Astarte and Isis. And the Cretans ^a anciently shewed the house where this Rhea lived: and ^b Apollonius Rhodius tells us, that Saturn, while he reigned over the Titans in Olympus, a mountain in Crete, and Jupiter was educated by the Curetes in the Cretan cave, deceived Rhea, and of Philyra begot Chiron. And therefore the Cretan Saturn and Rhea, were but one generation older than Chiron, and by consequence not older than Asterius and Europa, the parents of Minos. For Chiron lived till after the Argonautic expedition, and had two grandsons in that expedition (¹); and Europa came into Crete above an hundred years before that expedition. Lucian ^c tells us, that the Cretans did not only relate, that Jupiter was born and buried among them, but also shewed his sepulchre: and Porphyry ^d tells us, that Pythagoras went down into the Idæan cave to see his sepulchre: and Cicero, ^e in numbering three Jupiters, saith, that the third was the Cretan Jupiter, Saturn's son, whose sepulchre was shewed in Crete: and the scholiast upon Callimachus ^f lets us know, that this was the sepulchre of Minos: his words are, "Εν Κρητη επι τῷ ταφῷ τῆ Μινῶς ἐπεγεγραπτο, ΜΙΝΩΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΤΑΦΟΣ. τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ τῆ Μινῶς ἀπληροῦν, ὥστε περιλειφθῆναι, ΔΙΟΣ ΤΑΦΟΣ. ἐκ τούτων ἔχεν λεγέσθαι Κρητες τὸν τάφον τῆ Διός. In Crete upon the sepulchre of Minos was written, *Minois Jovis sepulchrum*: but in time *Minois* wore out, so that there remained only *Jovis sepulchrum*, and thence the Cretans called it the sepulchre of Jupiter." By Saturn, Cicero, who was a Latine, understood the Saturn so called by the Latines: for when Saturn was expelled his kingdom, he fled from Crete by sea to Italy (²); and this the poets expressed by saying, that Jupiter cast him down to Tartarus, that is, into the sea: and because he lay hid in Italy, the Latines (³) called him Saturn; and Italy, *Saturnia* and *Latium*; and themselves Latines. So ^g Cyprian; "*Antrum Jovis in Cre-*

"τά

and the towered head. But I cannot find that he says Europa was Rhea. For this temple at Hierapolis, which some supposed to be Rhea's, was quite different from the Phrygian temple, which some supposed to be Europa's. See Lucian de Dea Syria, § IV, XI, XV.

(¹) These and Telamon. (Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 5. § XVI. Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. 90—94.) They were

"τά visitur, & sepulchrum ejus ostenditur: & ab eo Saturnum ^{GREEK.}
"fugatum esse manifestum est: unde Latium de latebrâ ejus nomen
"accepit: hic literas imprimere, hic signare nummos in Italiâ pri-
"mus instituit, unde ærarium Saturni vocatur; & rusticitatis hic
"cultor fuit, inde falcem ferens senex pingitur." and Minutius Fe-
lix; "*Saturnus Cretâ profugus, Italiam metu filii sævientis acces-*
"*serat, & Jani susceptus hospitio, rudes illos homines & agrestes*
"*multa docuit, ut Græculus & politus; literas imprimere, num-*
"*mos signare, instrumenta conficere: itaque latebram suam, quod*
"*tudè latuisset, vocari maluit Latium, & urbem Saturniam de*
"*suo nomine. * * Ejus filius Jupiter Cretæ excluso parente regna-*
"*vit; illic obiit; illic filios habuit; adhuc antrum Jovis visitur, &*
"*sepulchrum ejus ostenditur, & ipsis sacris suis humanitatis argui-*
"*tur.*" And Tertullian: "^a *Quantum rerum argumenta docent,*" Tert. Apo-
"*nusquam invenio fideliora quàm apud ipsam Italiam; in quâ Sa-* loget. c. 10.
"*turnus post multas expeditiones, postque Attica hospitia consedit,*
"*exceptus ab Jano, vel Jano, ut Salii volunt. Mons, quem inco-*
"*luerat, Saturnius dictus: civitas, quam depalaverat, Saturnia usque*
"*nunc est. Tota denique Italia post Oenotriam Saturnia cognomi-*
"*nabatur. Ab ipso primum tabule, & imagine signatus nummus,*
"*& inde æraria præsidet.*" By Saturn's carrying letters into Ita-
ly, and coining money, and teaching agriculture, and making
instruments, and building a town, you may know that he fled
from Crete, after letters, and the coining of money, and ma-
nual arts were brought into Europe by the Phœnicians; and from
Attica, after agriculture was brought into Greece by *Ceres*; and
so could not be older than Asterius, and Europa, and her brother
Cadmus: and by Italy's being called *Oenotria*, before it was called
Saturnia, you may know that he came into Italy after *Oenotrus*,
and so was not older than the sons of *Lycaon*. *Oenotrus* carried
the first colony of the Greeks into Italy (³), Saturn the second,
and *Evander* the third; and the Latines knew nothing older in
Italy than *Janus* and *Saturn*: and therefore *Oenotrus* was the Ja-

were the sons of *Æacus* by *Eudeides* the daughter of *Chiron*. Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 11 § VI. In the Orphic Argonautics they are made the sons of *Æacus* by *Ægina*. V. 128, and 182—184.

(²) Virgil. *Æn.* 8. lin. 319—323. Servius upon the place. Ovid. *Fast.* lib. 1. lin. 235.

(³) Read, the Latines called Italy *Saturnia*, and *Latinus* and themselves *Latins*.

(⁴) Dionys. Hal. lib. 1. c. 10. p. 9.

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nus of the Latines, and Saturn was contemporary to the sons of Lycaon, and by consequence also to Celeus, Erechtheus, Ceres, and Afterius. For Ceres educated Triptolemus the son of Celeus, in the reign of Erechtheus, and then taught him to plow and sow corn. Arcas the son of Callisto, and grandson of Lycaon, received corn from Triptolemus, and taught his people to make bread of it; and Procris, the daughter of Erechtheus, fled to Minos the son of Afterius. In memory of Saturn's coming into Italy by sea, the Latines coined their first money with his head on one side, and a ship on the other⁽⁶⁾. Macrobius^a tells us, that when Saturn was dead, Janus erected an altar to him, with sacred rites as to a God, and instituted the Saturnalia, and that human sacrifices were offered to him; till Hercules, driving the cattle of Geryon through Italy, abolished that custom. By the human sacrifices, you may know that Janus was of the race of Lycaon⁽⁷⁾; which character agrees to Oenotrus. Dionysius Halicarnassensis tells us further, that Oenotrus having found in the western parts of Italy a large region fit for pasturage and tillage, but yet for the most part uninhabited, and where it was inhabited, peopled but thinly; in a certain part of it, purged from the Barbarians, he built towns little and numerous, in the mountains; which manner of building was familiar to the ancients⁽⁸⁾: and this was the original of towns in Italy.

^b Pausan. l. 5. c. 7. p. 391, 392. vid. et. c. 13, 14. & l. 8. c. 2. LXXIII. Pausanias^b tells us, that "the people of Elis, who were best skilled in antiquities, related this to have been the original of the Olympic Games: that Saturn reigned first, and had a temple built to him in Olympia by the men of the Golden Age; and that when Jupiter was newly born, his mother Rhea recommended him to the care of the Idæi Dactyli, who were also called Curetes: that afterwards five of them, called Hercules, Pæonius, Epimedes, Jasius, and Ida, came from Ida, a mountain in Crete, into Elis; and Hercules, called also Her-

⁽⁶⁾ Macrobi. Saturn. lib. 1. c. 7.

⁽⁷⁾ Pausan. lib. 8. c. 2. p. 600. Apollodorus. lib. 3. c. 8. § 1.

⁽⁸⁾ Dionys. Hal. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 10.

⁽¹⁾ With Æolians and Pelasgians, saith Diodorus.

§ LXXIII.

"cules

"cules Idæus, being the oldest of them in memory of the war^{GREEKS.} between Saturn and Jupiter instituted the game of racing, and "that the victor should be rewarded with a crown of olive;" and there erected an altar to Jupiter Olympius, and called these games Olympic: and that some of the Eleans said, "that Jupiter contented here with Saturn for the kingdom; others that Hercules Idæus instituted these games in memory of their victory over the Titans." For the people of Arcadia^a had a tradition, that the giants fought with the gods in the valley of Baethos, near the river Alpheus and the fountain Olympias. ^b Before the reign of Afterius, his father Teutamius came into Crete with a colony from Olympia⁽¹⁾; and upon the flight of Afterius, some of his friends might retire with him into their own country, and be pursued and beaten there by the Idæan Hercules. The Eleans said also that Clymenus the grandson⁽²⁾ of the Idæan Hercules, about fifty years after Deucalion's flood, coming from Crete, celebrated these games again in Olympia⁽³⁾, and erected there an altar to Juno Olympia⁽⁴⁾, that is, to Europa, and another to this Hercules and the rest of the Curetes⁽⁵⁾; and reigned in Elis till he was expelled by Endymion, ^c who thereupon celebrated these games again⁽⁶⁾: and so did Pelops⁽⁷⁾, who expelled Ætolus the son of Endymion⁽⁸⁾; and so also did Hercules the son of Alcmena⁽⁹⁾, and Atreus the son of Pelops⁽¹⁰⁾, and Oxylus⁽¹¹⁾. They might be celebrated originally in triumph for victories, first by Hercules Idæus, upon the conquest of Saturn and the Titans; and then by Clymenus, upon his coming to reign in the *Terra Curetum*; then by Endymion, upon his conquering Clymenus; and afterwards by Pelops, upon his conquering Ætolus; and by Hercules, upon his killing Augeus; and by Atreus, upon his repelling the Heraclidæ⁽¹²⁾; and by Oxylus, upon the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus. This Jupiter, to whom they were instituted, had a tem-

⁽¹⁾ A descendant.

⁽²⁾ Pausan. lib. 7. c. 8. p. 393.

⁽³⁾ — c. 14. p. 412.

⁽⁴⁾ According to Pausanias, Ætolus fled for having killed Apis, the son of Jason of Pallantium in Arcadia, lib. 5. c. 1. p. 376.

⁽⁵⁾ Velleius Paterculus, lib. 1. c. 8.

⁽⁶⁾ Paterculus says, that they were celebrated by Atreus as funeral games, in honour of his father Pelops.

ple

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ple and altar erected to him in Olympia, where the games were celebrated, and from the place was called Jupiter Olympius. Olympia was a place upon the confines of Pisa, near the river Alpheus.

^a Herod. l. 2.
c. 44.

^b Cic. de na-
tura Deo-
rum, lib. 3.

^c Diodor.
lib. 5. c. 48,
49. p. 223.

^d Dionys. Hal.
lib. 1. c. 61.
p. 49, 50. &
c. 68. p. 55.

^e Lucian. de
saltatione.

LXXIV. In the ^b island Thafus, where Cadmus left his brother Thafus (¹), the Phœnicians built a temple to Hercules Olympius (²); that Hercules, whom Cicero ^b calls *ex Idæis Daëtylis, cui inferias afferunt* (³). When the mysteries of Ceres were instituted in Eleusis, there were other mysteries instituted to her and her daughter and daughter's husband, in the island Samothrace, by the Phœnician names of *Dii Cabiri Axieros, Axiokersa, and Axiokerses* (⁴), that is, the great gods Ceres, Proserpina and Pluto: for ^c Jafius a Samothracian, whose sister married Cadmus, was familiar with Ceres; and Cadmus and Jafius were both of them instituted in these mysteries. Jafius was the brother of Dardanus, and married Cybele the daughter of Meones king of Phrygia, and by her had Corybas; and after his death, Dardanus, Cybele, and Corybas, went into Phrygia, and carried thither the mysteries of the mother of the gods, and Cybele called the goddess after her own name, and Corybas called her priests Corybantes. Thus Diodorus; but Dionysius saith, ^d that Dardanus instituted the Samothracian mysteries; and that his wife Chryses learned them in Arcadia; and that Idæus the son of Dardanus instituted afterwards the mysteries of the mother of the gods in Phrygia. This Phrygian goddess was drawn in a chariot by lions, and had a *corona turrita* on her head, and a drum in her hand, like the Phœnician goddess Astarte, and the Corybantes danced in armour at her sacrifices in a furious manner, like the Idæi Daëtyli (⁵); and Lucian ^e tells us, that she was the Cretan Rhea (⁶), that is, Europa the mother of Minos. And thus the Phœnicians introduced the practice of deifying dead men and women among the Greeks and Phrygians; for I meet with

§ LXXIV.

(¹) Conon. Narrat. 37. Apollodorus calls Thafus a son of Neptune, lib. 3. c. 1. § I.

(²) To Hercules Thafus, who was the Hercules Olympius of the Greeks. For Hercules the son of Alcmena lived in a later age: Herodotus says five generations later: according to our author's system, three.

(³) Ex Idæis Digitis, cui inferias afferunt. De Nat. Deor. lib. 3. c. 16.

no

no instance of deifying dead men and women in Greece, before the coming of Cadmus and Europa from Zidon.

LXXV. From these originals it came into fashion among the Greeks, *ἡεπιζειν, parentare*, to celebrate the funerals of dead parents with festivals and invocations and sacrifices offered to their ghosts, and to erect magnificent sepulchres in the form of temples, with altars and statues, to persons of renown; and there to honour them publicly with sacrifices and invocations. Every man might do it to his ancestors; and the cities of Greece did it to all the eminent Greeks: as to Europa the sister, to Alymnus the brother, and to Minos and Rhadamanthus the nephews of Cadmus; to his daughter Ino, and her son Melicertus; to Bacchus, the son of his daughter Semele; Aristarchus, the husband of his daughter Autonoe; and Jafius, the brother of his wife Harmonia; to Hercules a Theban, and his mother Alcmena; to Danaë, the daughter of Acrisius; to Æsculapius and Polemocrates the son of Machaon; to Pandion and Theseus kings of Athens; Hippolytus, the son of Theseus; Pan, the son of Penelope; Proserpina, Triptolemus, Celeus, Trophonius, Castor, Pollux, Helena, Menelaus, Agamemnon, Amphiaræus, and his son Anaphilochus, Hector and Alexandra the son and daughter of Priam, Phoroneus, Orpheus, Protefilæus, Achilles and his mother Thetis, Ajax, Arcas, Idomeneus, Meriones, Æacus, Melampus, Britomartis, Adrastus, Iolæus, and divers others. They deified their dead in divers manners, according to their abilities and circumstances, and the merits of the person; some only in private families, as household Gods or *Dii Penates*; others by erecting grave-stones to them in publick, to be used as altars for annual sacrifices; others, by building also to them sepulchres in the form of houses or temples; and some by appointing mysteries, and ceremonies, and set sacrifices, and festivals, and initiations, and a succession

(¹) Scholiast. in Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. lin. 917. Bochart Phaleg. lib. 1. c. 12.

(²) Lucetius, lib. 2. 598—623.

(³) Lucian tells us, that Rhea first instituted the dances of the Corybantes in Phrygia, and of the Curetes in Crete. (De Salt. § VIII.) Hence perhaps it may be probably concluded, that Rhea and the Phrygian goddess were the same. But I cannot find that this is any where expressly said by Lucian.

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of priests for performing those institutions in the temples, and handing them down to posterity. Altars might begin to be erected in Europe a little before the days of Cadmus, for sacrificing to the old god or gods of the colonies; but temples began in the days of Solomon. For ^a Æacus the son of Ægina, who was two generations older than the Trojan war (¹), is by some reputed one of the first who built a temple in Greece. Oracles came first from Egypt into Greece about the same time; as also did the custom of forming the images of the gods with their legs bound up in the shape of the Egyptian mummies (²): for idolatry began in Chaldæa and Egypt, and spread thence into Phœnicia and the neighbouring countries, long before it came into Europe; and the Pelasgians propagated it in Greece, by the dictates of the oracles (³). The countries upon the Tigris and the Nile being exceeding fertile, were first frequented by mankind, and grew first into kingdoms; and therefore began first to adore their dead kings and queens. Hence came the gods of Laban, the gods and goddesses called Baalim and Ashtaroth by the Canaanites, the dæmons or ghosts to whom they sacrificed, and the Moloch to whom they offered their children in the days of Moses (⁴) and the judges. Every city set up the worship of its own founder and kings, and by alliances and conquests they spread this worship, and at length the Phœnicians and Egyptians brought into Europe the practice of deifying the dead. The kingdom of the lower Egypt began to worship their kings before the days of Moses; and to this worship the second commandment is opposed. When the shepherds invaded the lower Egypt, they checked this worship of the old Egyptians, and spread that of their own

§ LXXV.

(¹) Being the father of Peleus, who was the father of Achilles. Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 11. § VI. c. 12. § V & VI.

(²) Heliodor. Æthiop. lib. 3. c. 8. Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. lib. 6. c. 4. Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 76. p. 192. There is a passage at the latter end of the first book of Diodorus, where the very reverse seems to be affirmed of the ancient statues of the Egyptians; that they were made with a separation of the legs. But the contrary is so evident from Heliodorus; who, to apologize for this awkward practice, alleges, that it was not owing to the imperfection of the art among them, but was intended to express the peculiar *gait* of the gods [*smooth gliding without step*] that I have no doubt but the text of Diodorus in that passage is corrupt; and that for *δυσκίνητοι* we should read *εὐκίνητοι*; which better agrees with what he says of the hands of the same statue, that they hang straight down,

kings:

kings: and at length the Egyptians of Coptos and Thebais, under Misphragmuthosis and Amosis, expelling the shepherds, checked the worship of the gods of the shepherds, and deifying their own kings and princes, propagated the worship of twelve of them into their conquests; and made them more universal than the false gods of any other nation had been before, so as to be called *Dii magni majorum gentium*. Sesostris conquered Thrace (⁵), and Amphictyon the son of Prometheus (⁶) brought the twelve gods from Thrace into Greece: Herodotus ^a tells us, that they came from Egypt; and by the names of the cities of Egypt dedicated to many of these gods, you may know that they were of an Egyptian original: and the Egyptians, according to Diodorus ^b, usually represented, that after their Saturn and Rhea, reigned Jupiter and Juno, the parents of Osiris and Isis, the parents of Orus and Bubaste.

LXXVI. By all this it may be understood, that as the Egyptians, who deified their kings, began their monarchy with the reign of the gods and heroes, reckoning Menes the first man who reigned after their gods; so the Cretans had the ages of their gods and heroes, calling the first four ages of their deified kings and princes, the Golden, Silver, Brazen, and Iron Ages. Hesiod ^c, describing these four ages of the gods and demi-gods of Greece, represents them to be four generations of men; each of which ended, when the men then living grew old and dropt into the grave; and tells us, that the fourth ended with the wars of Thebes and Troy: and so many generations there were, from the coming of the Phœnicians and Curetes with Cadmus and Europa into Greece, unto the destruction of Troy. Apollonius Rhodius saith, that when the Argonauts came to Crete, they flew

(⁵) Of the progress of idolatry from Egypt, by the Phœnicians into Greece, see Herodot. lib. 2. c. 43—64, and Diodorus in his first book.

(⁶) Leviticus xviii. 21. xx. 2.

(⁷) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 103.

(⁸) Read, *the grandson of Prometheus*. For he was the son of Deucalion, who was the son of Prometheus. Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 13. § VI. & lib. 1. c. 7. § II. Pliny says, that Amphictyon invented the interpretation of prodigies and dreams, lib. 7. c. 57. Pausanias speaks of a chapel near the temple of Bacchus at Athens, where were several images of earthen ware, representing Amphictyon giving a banquet to Bacchus and the other gods. What express authority there may be, that he brought the twelve gods from Thrace, I know not.

CHAPTER
FIRST.
* Apollon.
Argonaut.
L. 4. v. 1643.

Talus, a brazen man, who remained of those that were of the Brazen Age, and guarded that pass^a. Talus was reputed the son of Minos⁽¹⁾; and therefore the sons of Minos lived in the Brazen Age, and Minos reigned in the Silver Age. It was the Silver Age of the Greeks in which they began to plow and sow corn; and Ceres, that taught them to do it, flourished in the reign of Celeus and Erechtheus and Minos. Mythologists tell us, that the last woman with whom Jupiter lay was Alcmena⁽²⁾; and thereby they seem to put an end to the reign of Jupiter among mortals, that is to the Silver Age, when Alcmena was with child of Hercules; who therefore was born about the eighth or tenth year of Rehoboam's reign, and was about 34 years old at the time of the Argonautic expedition. Chiron was begot by Saturn of Philyra in the Golden Age, when Jupiter was a child in the Cretan cave⁽³⁾, as above; and this was in the reign of Asterius king of Crete: and therefore Asterius reigned in Crete in the Golden Age; and the Silver Age began when Chiron was a child. If Chiron was born about the 35th year of David's reign, he will be born in the reign of Asterius, when Jupiter was a child in the Cretan cave, and be about 88 years old in the time of the Argonautic expedition, when he invented the asterisks; and this is within the reach of nature. The Golden Age therefore falls in with the reign of Asterius, and the Silver Age with that of Minos; and to make these ages much longer than ordinary generations, is to make Chiron live much longer than according to the course of nature. This fable of the four ages seems to have been made by the Curetes in the fourth age, in memory of the first four ages of their coming into Europe, as into a new world; and in honour of their country-woman Europa, and her husband Asterius, the Saturn of the Latines; and of her son Minos, the Cretan Jupiter; and grandson Deucalion, who reigned till the Argonautic expedition, and is sometimes reckoned among the Argonauts; and of their great grandson Idomeneus, who warred

⁽¹⁾ See § LX. note 7.

⁽²⁾ Apoll. Rhod. lib. 2. lin. 1235—1245.

⁽³⁾ Id. lib. 1. 74.

§ LXXVI.

⁽²⁾ Diocl. Sic. lib. 4. c. 14. p. 154.

at

at Troy. Hesiod tells us, that he himself lived in the fifth ^{GREEK.} age⁽¹⁾, the age next after the taking of Troy; and therefore he flourished within 30 or 35 years after it. And Homer was of about the same age; for he^a lived some time with Mentor in^a Ithaca, and there learnt of him many things concerning Ulysses, ^{Vita Ho-meri Hero-doto adscr.} with whom Mentor had been personally acquainted. Now Herodotus, the oldest historian of the Greeks now extant, ^b tells us, ^{Herod. l. 2. c. 53.} that Hesiod and Homer were not above 400 years older than himself; and therefore they flourished within 110 or 120 years after the death of Solomon: and according to my reckoning the taking of Troy was but one generation earlier.

LXXVII. Mythologists tell us, that Niobe, the daughter of Phoroneus, was the first woman with whom Jupiter lay⁽¹⁾; and that of her he begat Argus, who succeeded Phoroneus in the kingdom of Argos, and gave his name to that city; and therefore Argus was born in the beginning of the Silver Age. Unless you had rather say, that by Jupiter they might here mean Asterius; for the Phœnicians gave the name of Jupiter to every king, from the time of their first coming into Greece with Cadmus and Europa, until the invasion of Greece by Sesostris, and the birth of Hercules; and particularly to the fathers of Minos, Pelops, Lacedæmon, Æacus, and Perseus.

LXXVIII. The four first ages succeeded the flood of Deucalion; and some tell us, that Deucalion was the son of Prometheus, the son of Japetus⁽¹⁾, and brother of Atlas. But this was another Deucalion; for Japetus, the father of Prometheus, Epimetheus and Atlas, was an Egyptian, the brother of Osiris, and flourished two generations after the flood of Deucalion.

LXXIX. I have now carried up the chronology of the Greeks as high as to the first use of letters; the first plowing and sowing of corn; the first manufacturing of copper and iron; the beginning of the trades of smiths, carpenters, joiners, turners, brick-makers, stone-cutters, and potters, in Europe; the first

§ LXXVII.

⁽¹⁾ Diocl. Sic. lib. 4. c. 14. p. 155. Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 1. § L.

§ LXXVIII.

⁽¹⁾ Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 7. § II. & c. 2. § III.

walling

walling of cities, about; the first building of temples; and the original of oracles in Greece; the beginning of navigation by the stars in long ships with sails; the erecting of the Amphictyonic council; the first ages of Greece, called the Golden, Silver, Brazen, and Iron Ages, and the flood of Deucalion, which immediately preceded them. Those ages could not be earlier than the invention and use of the four metals in Greece, from whence they had their names; and the flood of Ogyges could not be much above two or three ages earlier than that of Deucalion. For among such wandering people as were then in Europe, there could be no memory of things done above three or four ages before the first use of letters. And the exit of the shepherds out of Egypt, which gave the first occasion to the coming of people from Egypt into Greece, and to the building of houses and villages in Greece, was scarce earlier than the days of Eli and Samuel: for Manetho⁽¹⁾ tells us, that when they were forced to quit Abaris and retire out of Egypt, they went through the wilderness into Judæa, and built Jerusalem. I do not think, with Manetho, that they were the Israelites under Moses, but rather believe that they were Canaanites; and upon leaving Abaris mingled with the Philistims, their next neighbours: though some of them might assist David and Solomon in building Jerusalem and the temple.

¹ 1 Sam. ix.
16. & xiii.
5, 19, 20.

LXXX. Saul was made king^a, that he might rescue Israel out of the hand of the Philistims, who oppressed them; and in the second year of his reign the Philistims brought into the field against him 'thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horsemen, and people as the sand which is on the sea shore for multitude.' The Canaanites had their horses from Egypt; and yet in the days of Moses all the chariots of Egypt, with which Pharaoh pursued Israel, were but six hundred⁽¹⁾, Exod. xiv. 7. From the great army of the Philistims against Saul, and the great num-

§ LXXIX.

(1) Apud Joseph. contr. Ap. lib. i. c. 14. p. 1338.

§ LXXX.

(1) The chosen chariots, the king's guard, were but 600. Besides these, an indefinite number went on the pursuit. See Warburton Divine Leg. book IV. § V.

ber

ber of their horses, I seem to gather, that the shepherds had ^{GREEKS.} newly relinquished Egypt, and joined them. The shepherds might be beaten and driven out of the greatest part of Egypt, and shut up in Abaris by Misphragmuthosis in the latter end of the days of Eli; and some of them fly to the Philistims, and strengthen them against Israel, in the last year of Eli; and from the Philistims some of the shepherds might go to Zidon; and from Zidon by sea to Asia Minor and Greece: and afterwards, in the beginning of the reign of Saul, the shepherds who still remained in Egypt might be forced by Tethmosis or Amosis, the son of Misphragmuthosis, to leave Abaris, and retire in very great numbers to the Philistims; and upon these occasions several of them, as Pelagus, Inachus, Lelex, Cecrops, and Abas, might come with their people by sea from Egypt to Zidon and Cyprus, and thence to Asia Minor and Greece, in the days of Eli, Samuel, and Saul; and thereby begin to open a commerce by sea between Zidon and Greece, before the revolt of Edom from Judæa, and the final coming of the Phœnicians from the Red Sea.

LXXXI. Pelagus reigned in Arcadia, and was the father of Lycaon, according to Pherecydes Atheniensis; and Lycaon died just before the flood of Deucalion⁽¹⁾; and therefore his father Pelagus might come into Greece about two generations before Cadmus, or in the latter end of the days of Eli. Lycaon sacrificed children⁽²⁾; and therefore his father might come with his people from the shepherds in Egypt, and perhaps from the regions of Heliopolis, where they sacrificed men, till Amosis abolished that custom⁽³⁾. Misphragmuthosis, the father of Amosis, drove the shepherds out of a great part of Egypt, and shut the remainder up in Abaris⁽⁴⁾: and then great numbers might escape to Greece; some from the regions of Heliopolis under Pelagus; and others from Memphis and other places, under other captains. And hence it might come to pass, that the Pelasgians were at the first very numerous in Greece, and spake a different language.

§ LXXXI.

(2) Paulan. lib. 8. c. 2.

(1) See § LXVIII.

(3) Manetho apud Porphyrium. Euseb. Præp. lib. 4. p. 93.

(4) Manetho apud Joseph. contr. Ap. lib. i. c. 14. p. 1338.

from

from the Greek, and were the ringleaders in bringing into Greece the worship of the dead.

LXXXII. Inachus is called the son of Oceanus (¹), perhaps because he came to Greece by sea. He might come with his people to Argos from Egypt in the days of Eli, and seat himself upon the river Inachus, so named from him (¹), and leave his territories to his sons Phoroneus (¹), Ægialeus (¹), and Phegeus (¹), in the days of Samuel. For Car, the son of Phoroneus, built a temple to Ceres in Megara (²), and therefore was contemporary to Erechtheus. Phoroneus reigned at Argos (³), and Ægialeus at Sicyon (⁴), and founded those kingdoms; and yet Ægialeus is made above five hundred years older than Phoroneus by some

chronologers. But ^a Acusilæus, ^b Anticlides, and ^c Plato, accounted Phoroneus the oldest king in Greece; and ^d Apollodorus tells us, Ægialeus was the brother of Phoroneus (⁶). Ægialeus died without issue, and after him reigned Europ, Telchin, Apis, Lamedon, Sicyon, Polybus, Adrastus, and Agamemnon, &c. and Sicyon gave his name to the kingdom. Herodotus ^e saith, that Apis in the Greek tongue is Epaphus; and Hyginus, ^f that Epaphus the Sicyonian got Antiopa with child. But the later Greeks have made two men of the two names Apis and Epaphus, or Epopeus, and between them inserted twelve feigned kings of Sicyon, who made no wars, nor did any thing memorable; and yet reigned five hundred and twenty years, which is, one with another, above forty and three years a-piece (⁷). If these feigned kings be rejected, and the two kings Apis and Epopeus be reunited, Ægialeus will become contemporary to his brother Phoroneus, as he ought to be. For Apis or Epopeus, and Nycteus the guardian

§ LXXXII.

(¹) Apollodorus lib. 2. c. 1. § I.

(²) Stephanus Byzantinus, under the word *φηνειν*, produces a passage from Charax, in which Phegeus is called the brother of Phoroneus.

(³) Pausan. lib. 1. c. 40. p. 97. compare c. 39. p. 95.

(⁴) — Lib. 2. c. 5. p. 123. The old chronologers did not take Ægialeus, the first king of Sicyon, for the same person with the brother of Phoroneus. For they made the first king of Sicyon much older than Inachus, the father of Phoroneus. See Euseb. in Chron.

(⁶) And Clemens says expressly, that the kingdom of Sicyon, where Ægialeus was the first king, in the time of Phoroneus the successor of Inachus, p. 138.

(⁷) Euseb. in Chron.

of Labdacus, were slain in battle about the tenth year of Solo-Greeks.

mon, as above; and the first four kings of Sicyon, Ægialeus, Europ, Telchin, Apis, after the rate of about twenty years to a reign, take up about eighty years; and these years counted upwards from the tenth year of Solomon, place the beginning of the reign of Ægialeus upon the twelfth year of Samuel, or thereabout: and about that time began the reign of Phoroneus at Argos. Apollodorus ^a calls Adrastus king of Argos; but Homer ^b tells us, that he reigned first at Sicyon: he was in the first war against Thebes. Some place Janiscus and Phæstus between Polybus and Adrastus, but without any certainty.

LXXXIII. Lelex might come with his people into Laconia in the days of Eli, and leave his territories to his sons Myles (¹), Eurotas (²), Clefon (³), and Polycæon (⁴), in the days of Samuel. Myles set up a quern (⁵), or hand-mill to grind corn, and is reputed the first among the Greeks who did so: but he flourished before Triptolemus, and seems to have had his corn and artificers from Egypt. Eurotas the brother, or as some say the son of Myles, built Sparta, and called it after the name of his daughter Sparta, the wife of Lacedæmon, and mother of Eurydicæ. Clefon was the father of Pylas, the father of Sciron, who married the daughter of Pandion the son of Erechtheus, and contended with Nifus the son of Pandion and brother of Ægeus, for the kingdom; and Æacus adjudged it to Nifus (⁶). Polycæon invaded Messene, then peopled only by villages, called it Messene after the name of his wife, and built cities therein (⁶).

LXXXIV. Cecrops (¹) came from Sais in Egypt to Cyprus, and thence into Attica: and he might do this in the days of Samuel,

§ LXXXIII.

(¹) Pausan. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 204.

(²) Eurotas was the son of Myles, and the grandson of Lelex, Pausan. *ibid.* Scholiast. in Orest. Euripid.

(³) Pausan. lib. 1. c. 39. p. 95.

(⁴) — Lib. 3. c. 20. p. 260.

(⁵) According to Pausanias, Lacedæmon was the builder of Sparta, p. 204.

(⁶) Pausan. lib. 4. c. 1. p. 280.

§ LXXXIV.

(¹) Vid. Sir John Marsham, Chron. sect. VIII. *Tit. Cecrops*. That he was an Ægyptian, is affirmed by the Scholiast on Aristoph. Plut. lin. 773: A Saite, by John Tzetzes in Chil. 5. Hist. 18.

and marry Agraule the daughter of Actæus, and succeed him in Attica soon after; and leave his kingdom to Cranæus in the reign of Saul, or in the beginning of the reign of David: for the flood of Deucalion happened in the reign of Cranæus (²).

LXXXV. Of about the same age with Pelafgus, Inachus, Lelex, and Actæus, was Ogyges (¹). He reigned in Bœotia, and some of his people were Leleges: and either he or his son Eleufis built the city Eleufis in Attica; that is, they built a few houses of clay, which in time grew into a city. Acufilæus wrote, that Phoroneus was older than Ogyges; and that Ogyges flourished 1020 years before the first olympiad (³), as above. But Acufilæus was an Argive, and feigned these things in honour of his country. To call things Ogygian has been a phrase among the ancient Greeks, to signify that they are as old as the first memory of things; and so high we have now carried up the chronology of the Greeks. Inachus might be as old as Ogyges; but Acufilæus and his followers made them 700 years older than the truth; and chronologers, to make out this reckoning, have lengthened the races of the kings of Argos and Sicyon, and changed several contemporary princes of Argos into successive kings, and inserted many feigned kings into the race of the kings of Sicyon.

LXXXVI. Inachus had several sons, who reigned in several parts of Peloponnesus, and there built towns; as Phoroneus, who built Phoronicum, afterwards called Argos, from Argus his grandson (¹); Ægialeus, who built Ægialea, afterwards called Sicyon (²), from Sicyon the grandson of Erechtheus; Phegeus, who built Phegea, afterwards called Psophis (³), from Psophis the daughter of Lycaon: and these were the oldest towns in Peloponnesus. Then Sisyphus, the son of Æolus and grandson of Hellen, built Ephyra, afterwards called Corinth (⁴); and Aeth-

(²) See § LXVII. note 4.

§ LXXXV.

(¹) Euseb. Exc. Gr. p. 27.

(²) Apud African. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 10. p. 287.

§ LXXXVI.

(¹) Pausan. lib. 2. c. 15. p. 145.

(²) ——— Lib. 2. c. 5. p. 123. and c. 6. p. 125.

(³) Stephanus in the word *ψοφία*. Compare Pausan. lib. 8. c. 24.

lius,

lius, the son of Æolus, built Elis (¹): and before them Cecrops GREEKS. built Cecropia, the citadel of Athens; and Lycaon built Lycosura (²), reckoned by some the oldest town in Arcadia (³); and his sons, who were at least four and twenty in number (⁴), built each of them a town (⁵); except the youngest, called Oenotrus, who grew up after his father's death, and sailed into Italy with his people, and there set on foot the building of towns, and became the Janus of the Latines. Phoroneus had also several children and grand-children, who reigned in several places, and built new towns, as Car, Apis, &c. And Hæmon, the son of Pelafgus, reigned in Hæmonia (⁶), afterwards called Theffaly, and built towns there. This division and subdivision has made great confusion in the history of the first kingdoms of Peloponnesus, and thereby give occasion to the vain-glorious Greeks to make those kingdoms much older than they really were. But by all the reckonings above-mentioned, the first civilizing of the Greeks, and teaching them to dwell in houses and towns, and the oldest towns in Europe, could scarce be above two or three generations older than the coming of Cadmus from Zidon into Greece; and might most probably be occasioned by the expulsion of the shepherds out of Egypt in the days of Eli and Samuel, and their flying into Greece in considerable numbers. But it is difficult to set right the genealogies and chronology of the fabulous ages of the Greeks; and I leave these things to be further examined.

LXXXVII. Before the Phœnicians introduced the deifying of dead men, the Greeks had a council of elders in every town for the government thereof, and a place where the elders and people worshipped their god with sacrifices. And when many of those towns, for their common safety, united under a common council, they erected a Prytaneum, or court, in one of the towns, where the council and people met at certain times to consult their

(¹) Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 9. § III.

(²) Pausan. lib. 5. c. 1. p. 375. Aethlius was commonly said to be the son of Protegenia by Jupiter. But the Eleans themselves affirmed, that this Jupiter, the father of Aethlius, was Æolus. Pausan. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 393.

(³) Pausan. lib. 8. c. 2. p. 600.

(⁴) Apollodorus says fifty, lib. 3. c. 8. § I.

(⁵) See the Scholiast on Apoll. Rhod. lib. 3. l. 1089. Stephanus calls Hæmon the grandson of Pelafgus.

(⁶) ——— c. 38. p. 678.

(⁷) Pausan. lib. 8. c. 3.

common safety, and worship their common god with sacrifices, and to buy and sell. The towns where these councils met, the Greeks called *δημοι*, people or communities, or corporation towns: and at length, when many of these *δημοι* for their common safety united by consent under one common council; they erected a Prytaneum in one of the *δημοι* for the common council and people to meet in, and to consult and worship in, and feast, and buy, and sell; and this *δημος* they walled about for its safety, and called *την πολιν* the city. And this I take to have been the original of villages, market-towns, cities, common-councils, vestal temples, feasts, and fairs, in Europe. The Prytaneum, *πυρος ταμειον*, was a court with a place of worship, and a perpetual fire kept therein upon an altar for sacrificing. From the word *Εστια*, fire, came the name Vesta; which at length the people turned into a goddess, and so became fire-worshippers like the ancient Persians. And when these councils made war upon their neighbours, they had a general commander to lead their armies, and he became their king.

LXXXVIII. So Thucydides ^a tells us, that “under Cecrops and the ancient kings, until Theseus, Attica was always inhabited city by city, each having magistrates and Prytanea: neither did they consult the king when there was no fear of danger; but each apart administered their own common-wealth, and had their own council, and even sometimes made war, as the Eleusinians with Eumoipus did against Erechtheus. But when Theseus, a prudent and potent man, obtained the kingdom, he took away the courts and magistrates of the other cities, and made them all meet in one council and Prytaneum at Athens.”

Polemon, as he is cited by ^b Strabo, tells us, that “in this body of Attica, there were 170 * *δημοι*, one of which was Eleufis.”

And Philochorus ^c relates, that “when Attica was infested by sea and land by the Cares and Bœoti; Cecrops, the first of any man, reduced the multitude,” that is the 170 towns, “into twelve cities, whose names were Cecropia, Tetrapolis, Epacria, Decelia, Eleufis, Aphydna, Thoricus, Brauron, Cytherus, Sphectus, Cephissia, and Phalerus; and that Theseus contracted those twelve cities into one, which was Athens.”

^a Thucyd. l. 2. c. 15. p. 93. & Plutarch in Theseo, p. 10.

^b Strabo, l. 9. p. 396.

^c Apud Strabonem, l. 9. p. 397.

LXXXIX.

LXXXIX. The original of the kingdom of the Argives was ^{GREEKS.} much after the same manner: for Pausanias ^a tells us, “that Phoroneus, the son of Inachus, was the first who gathered into one community the Argives, who till then were scattered, and lived every where apart; and the place where they were first assembled was called Phoronicum, the city of Phoroneus.” And Strabo ^b observes, that “Homer calls all the places which he reckons up in Peloponnesus, a few excepted, not cities, but regions; because each of them consisted of a convention of many *δημοι*, free towns, out of which afterward noble cities were built and frequented: so the Argives composed Mantinæa in Arcadia out of five towns, and Tegea out of nine; and out of so many was Heræa built by Cleombrotus, or by Cleonymus: so also Ægium was built out of seven or eight towns, Patræ out of seven, and Dyme out of eight; and so Elis was erected by the conflux of many towns into one city.”

XC. Pausanias ^c tells us, that the Arcadians accounted Pelasgus the first man, and that he was their first king; and “taught the ignorant people to build houses, for defending themselves from heat, and cold, and rain; and to make them garments of skins; and instead of herbs and roots, which were sometimes noxious, to eat the acorns of the beech tree;” and that his son Lycaon built the oldest city in all Greece. He tells us also, that in the days of Lelex the Spartans lived in villages apart. The Greeks therefore began to build houses and villages in the days of Pelasgus the father of Lycaon, and in the days of Lelex the father of Myles; and by consequence about two or three generations before the flood of Deucalion, and the coming of Cadmus. Till then ^d they lived in woods and caves of the earth. The first houses were of clay; till the brothers Euryalus and Hyperbius taught them to harden the clay into bricks, and to build therewith. In the days of Ogyges, Pelasgus, Æzeus, Inachus, and Lelex, they began to build houses and villages of clay, Doxius the son of Coelus teaching them to do it (‘); and in the days of Lycaon, Phoroneus, Ægiæus, Phegeus, Eurotas, Myles, Po-

^a Pausan. l. 2. c. 15. p. 145.

^b Strabo, l. 8. p. 337.

^c Pausan. l. 8. c. 1. 2. p. 598, 599.

^d Plin. l. 7. c. 56.

(‘) Plin. lib. 7. c. 57.

§ XC.

Lycaon,

CHAPTER FIRST. Ilycaon, and Cecrops, and their sons, to assemble the villages into *δημοι*, and the *δημοι* into cities.

XCI. When Oenotrus the son of Ilycaon carried a colony into Italy, "he^a found that country for the most part uninhabited; and where it was inhabited, peopled but thinly: and seizing a part of it, he built towns in the mountains, little and numerous," as above. These towns were without walls; but after this colony grew numerous, and began to want room, "they expelled the Siculi, compassed many cities with walls, and became possessed of all the territory between the two rivers Liris and Tibre (')." And it is to be understood, that those cities had their councils and Prytanea after the manner of the Greeks. For Dionysius^b tells us, that the new kingdom of Rome, as Romulus left it, consisted of thirty courts or councils ('), in thirty towns, each with the sacred fire kept in the Prytaneum of the court, for the senators who met there to perform sacred rites, after the manner of the Greeks ('). "But when Numa the successor of Romulus reigned, he leaving the several fires in their own courts, instituted one common to them all at Rome ('):" whence Rome was not a complete city before the days of Numa.

XCII. When navigation was so far improved that the Phœnicians began to leave the sea-shore, and sail through the Mediterranean by the help of the stars, it may be presumed, that they began to discover the islands of the Mediterranean, and for the sake of traffic to sail as far as Greece: and this was not long before they carried away Io, the daughter of Inachus, from Argos. The Cares (') first infested the Greek seas with piracy; and then Minos the son of Europa got up a potent fleet, and sent out colonies. For Diodorus^c tells us, that the Cyclades islands, those near Crete, were at first desolate and uninhabited; but Minos, having a potent fleet, sent many colonies out of Crete, and peopled many of them; and particularly, that the island Carpa-

⁽¹⁾ Dionys. Hal. lib. 1. c. 9. p. 8.

⁽²⁾ ——— c. 13. p. 93.

§ XCI.

⁽²⁾ ——— lib. 2. c. 7. p. 82.

⁽⁴⁾ ——— c. 66. p. 126.

XCII.

⁽¹⁾ Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 8. p. 5. Herodotus says, that the Carians manned the fleets of Minos, lib. 1. c. 171.

thus

thus^a was first seized by the soldiers of Minos. Syme lay waste^{GREEKS.} and desolate till Triops came thither with a colony under Chthonius^b. Strongyle, or Naxos, was first inhabited by the Thracians in the days of Boreas^c, a little before the Argonautic expedition. Samos was at first desert, and inhabited only by a great multitude of terrible wild beasts, till Macareus peopled it, as he did also the islands Chios and Cos ('). Lesbos lay waste and desolate till Xanthus sailed thither with a colony ('). Tenedos lay desolate till Tennes, a little before the Trojan war, sailed thither from Troas ('). Aristæus, who married Autonoe the daughter of Cadmus, carried a colony from Thebes into Cæa, an island not inhabited before ('). The island Rhodes was at first called Ophiussa ('), being full of serpents before Phorbas, a prince of Argos, went thither, and made it habitable by destroying the serpents ('), which was about the end of Solomon's reign; in memory of which he is delineated in the heavens in the constellation of Ophiuchus ('). The discovery of this and some other islands made a report, that they rose out of the sea. "In Asia^d *Delos emerfit, Hiera, Anaphe, Rhodus,*" saith Ammianus^e. And Pliny; "*Claræ jampridem insule, Delos Rhodus, dos memorie produntur enata; postea minores; ultra Melon, Anaphe; inter Lemnum Hellespontum, Nea; inter Lebedum Teon, Halone, &c.*"

XCIII. Diodorus^f tells us also, that the seven islands called Æolides, between Italy and Sicily, were desert and uninhabited till Lipparus and Æolus, a little before the Trojan war, went thither from Italy, and peopled them. And that Malta and Gaulus, or Gaudus, on the other side of Sicily, were first peopled by Phœnicians. And so was Madera without the Straits. And Homer writes, that Ulysses found the island Ogygia covered with wood, and uninhabited, except by Calypso and her maids ('), who lived in a cave without houses ('). And it is not likely that

⁽¹⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 81. p. 239.

⁽⁴⁾ ——— lib. 4. c. 81, 82. p. 195.

⁽⁶⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 58. p. 228. Compare Euseb. Chron.

⁽⁷⁾ Polyzeus Rhodius apud Hygin. Poet. Astr. lib. 2. c. 14.

⁽³⁾ ——— c. 83. p. 240.

⁽⁵⁾ Strabo, lib. 14 p. 653.

⁽⁸⁾ Diodor. l. 5. c. 12. p. 204.

⁽¹⁾ Od. H. 245—248. E. 63—69 & 199.

⁽²⁾ Od. E. 57 & 194.

Great

Great Britain and Ireland could be peopled before navigation was propagated beyond the Straits.

XCIV. The Sicaneans were reputed the first inhabitants of Sicily. They built little villages or towns upon hills, and every town had its own king; and by this means they spread over the country, before they formed themselves into larger governments with a common king. Philistus^a saith, that "they were transplanted into Sicily from the river Sicanus in Spain;" and Dionysius,^b that "they were a Spanish people who fled from the Ligures in Italy." He means the Ligures^c who opposed Hercules when he returned from his expedition against Geryon in Spain, and endeavoured to pass the Alps out of Gaul into Italy. Hercules that year got into Italy, and made some conquests there, and founded the city Croton⁽¹⁾; and^d after winter, upon the arrival of the fleet from Erythra in Spain, sailed to Sicily, and there left the Sicani: for "it was his custom to recruit his army with conquered people, and after they had assisted him in making new conquests, to reward them with new feats." This was the Egyptian Hercules, who had a potent fleet, and in the days of Solomon sailed to the Straits, and according to his custom set up pillars there, and conquered Geryon, and returned back by Italy and Sicily to Egypt, and was by the ancient Gauls called *Ogmios*⁽²⁾, and by the Egyptians^e *Nilus*: for Erythra and the country of Geryon were without the Straits. Dionysius^f represents this Hercules contemporary to Evander.

XC. The first inhabitants of Crete, according to Diodorus, were called Eteocretans^g; but whence they were, and how they came thither, is not said in history. Then sailed thither a colony of Pelasgians from Greece; and soon after Teutamus, the grandfather of Minos, carried thither a colony of Dorians from Laconia, and from the territory of Olympia in Peloponnesus⁽¹⁾. And these several colonies spake several languages⁽²⁾, and fed on the spontaneous fruits of the earth, and lived quietly in caves

§ XCIV.

⁽¹⁾ That Hercules founded Croton, seems to be a conjecture of our author's taken from the fable of Mycelus's dream. See Ovid *Metamorph.* lib. 15. lin. 1—59. Dionysius Halicarnassensis (lib. 2. c. 59 p. 121) and Strabo (p. 262) mention Mycelus as the founder of Croton.

⁽²⁾ Dionys. Hal. lib. 1. c. 42. p. 34.

⁽³⁾ Bochart. Chanaan. lib. 1. c. 42.

and

and huts, till the invention of iron tools in the days of Asterius^h the son of Teutamus; and at length were reduced into one kingdom, and one people, by Minos⁽³⁾, who was their first law-giver, and built many towns and ships, and introduced plowing and sowing, and in whose days the Curetes conquered his father's friends in Crete and Peloponnesus. The Curetes^a sacrificedⁱ children to Saturn; and, according to Bochart^b, were Philistines. And Eusebius saith⁽⁴⁾ that Crete had its name from Cres, one of the Curetes who nursed up Jupiter. But whatever was the original of the island, it seems to have been peopled by colonies which spake different languages, till the days of Asterius and Minos, and might come thither two or three generations before, and not above, for want of navigation in those seas.

XCVI. The island Cyprus was discovered by the Phœnicians not long before: for Eratosthenes^c tells us, "that Cyprus was at first so overgrown with wood, that it could not be tilled; and that they first cut down the wood for the melting of copper and silver; and afterwards, when they began to sail safely upon the Mediterranean," that is, presently after the Trojan war, "they built ships and even navies of it: and when they could not thus destroy the wood, they gave every man leave to cut down what wood he pleased, and to possess all the ground which he cleared of wood." So also Europe at first abounded very much with woods; one of which, called the Hercinian, took up a great part of Germany, being full nine days journey broad, and above forty long, in Julius Cæsar's days: and yet the Europeans had been cutting down their woods, to make room for mankind, ever since the invention of iron tools in the days of Asterius and Minos.

XCVII. All these footsteps there are of the first peopling of Europe, and its islands, by sea. Before those days it seems to have been thinly peopled, from the northern coast of the Euxine Sea, by Scythians descended from Japhet; who wandered without

§ XCV.

⁽¹⁾ Dionys. Sic. lib. 5. c. 80. p. 238. And all these nations, with the Eteocretans and some Achæans, who are likewise mentioned by Diodorus, inhabited Crete in the days of Ulysses. Homer. Od. T. lin. 172—178.

⁽²⁾ Homer. *ibid.*

⁽³⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 80. p. 238.

⁽⁴⁾ In Chron.

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T

houses,

^a Strabo,
l. 17. p. 828.

houses, and sheltered themselves from rain and wild beasts in thickets and caves of the earth; such as were the caves in mount Ida in Crete, in which Minos was educated and buried; the cave of Cacus, and the Catacombs in Italy, near Rome and Naples, afterwards turned into burying-places; the Syringes, and many other caves in the sides of the mountains of Egypt; the caves of the Troglodytes between Egypt and the Red Sea; and those of the Phaurusii in Africa, mentioned by ^a Strabo; and the caves, and thickets, and rocks, and high places, and pits, in which the Israelites hid themselves from the Philistines in the days of Saul, 1 Sam. xiii. 6. But of the state of mankind in Europe in those days, there is now no history remaining.

XCVIII. The antiquities of Libya were not much older than those of Europe. For Diodorus ^b tells us, that Uranus the father of Hyperion, and grandfather of Helius and Selene, that is, Ammon the father of Sefac, "was their first common king, and caused the people, who till then wandered up and down, to

^c Herod. l. 1. c. 96—98. dwell in towns." And Herodotus ^c tells us, that all Media was peopled by *δημοι*, towns without walls, till they revolted from the Assyrians; which was about 267 years after the death of Solomon. And that after that revolt they set up a king over them, and built Ecbatane with walls for his seat; the first town which they walled about. And about 72 years after the death of So-

^d 1 Kings xx. 16. lomon, Benhadad king of Syria ^d had two and thirty kings in his army against Ahab. And when Joshuah conquered the land of Canaan, every city of the Canaanites had its own king, like the cities of Europe, before they conquered one another; and one of those kings, Adonibezek, the king of Bezek, had conquered seventy other kings a little before, Judg. i. 7. And therefore towns began to be built in that land not many ages before the days of Joshuah. For the patriarchs wandered there in tents, and fed their flocks wherever they pleased; the fields of Phoenicia not being yet fully appropriated for want of people. The countries first inhabited by mankind were in those days so thinly

peopled, that ^e four kings from the coasts of Shinar and Elam

§ XCVIII.

(ⁱ) This seems to be a mistake. The 318 men were Abraham's own servants and dependants. invaded

invaded and spoiled the Rephaims, and the inhabitants of the ^{Greeks.} countries of Moab, Ammon, Edom, and the kingdoms of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboim; and yet were pursued and beaten by Abraham with an armed force of only 318 men, the whole force which Abraham and the princes with him (ⁱ) could raise. And Egypt was so thinly peopled before the birth of Moses, that Pharaoh said of the Israelites; "Behold the people of ^{Exod. i. 9.} ^{22.} the children of Israel are more and mightier than we." And to prevent their multiplying and growing too strong, he caused their male children to be drowned.

XCIX. These footsteps there are of the first peopling of the earth by mankind, not long before the days of Abraham; and of the overspreading it with villages, towns, and cities, and their growing into kingdoms, first smaller and then greater, until the rise of the monarchies of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Media, Persia, Greece, and Rome, the first great empires on this side India. Abraham was the fifth from Peleg (ⁱ); and all mankind (ⁱ) lived together in Chaldea under the government of Noah and his sons, until the days of Peleg. So long they were of one language, one society, and one religion. And then they divided the earth, being perhaps disturbed by the rebellion of Nimrod, and forced to leave off building the Tower of Babel. And from thence they spread themselves into the several countries, which fell to their shares; carrying along with them the laws, customs, and religion, under which they had till those days been educated and governed by Noah, and his sons and grand-sons. And these laws were handed down to Abraham, Melchizedek, and Job, and their contemporaries; and for some time were observed by the judges of the eastern countries. So Job ^b tells us, that adultery was ^{Job xxxi.} "an heinous crime, yea an iniquity to be punished by the judges." And of idolatry ^c he saith, "If I beheld the sun ^{Job xxxi.} ^{26—28.} when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly inticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand, this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge:

§ XCIX.

(ⁱ) Genesis xi. 18—26. Luke iii. 34, 35.

(ⁱ) Genesis x. 25. xi. 1, 2.

"for I should have denied the God that is above." And there being no dispute between Job and his friends about these matters, it may be presumed, that they also with their countrymen were of the same religion. Melchizedek was a priest of the most high God, and Abraham voluntarily paid tythes to him⁽¹⁾; which he would scarce have done, had they not been of one and the same religion. The first inhabitants of the land of Canaan seem also to have been originally of the same religion; and to have continued in it till the death of Noah, and the days of Abraham. For Jerusalem was anciently^a called Jebus, and its people Jebusites, and Melchizedek was their priest and king. These nations revolted therefore after the days of Melchizedek to the worship of false gods; as did also the posterity of Ismael, Esau, Moab, Ammon, and that of Abraham by Keturah: and the Israelites themselves were very apt to revolt. And one reason why Terah went from Ur of the Chaldees, to Haran in his way to the land of Canaan; and why Abraham afterward left Haran, and went into the land of Canaan; might be to avoid the worship of false gods, which in their days began in Chaldea, and spread every way from thence; but did not yet reach into the land of Canaan. Several of the laws and precepts in which this primitive religion consisted, are mentioned in the book of Job, chap. i. ver. 5, and chap. xxxi. viz. "Not to blaspheme God; nor to worship the sun or moon; nor to kill; nor steal; nor to commit adultery; nor trust in riches; nor oppress the poor or fatherless; nor curse your enemies; nor rejoice at their misfortunes: but to be friendly, and hospitable, and merciful; and to relieve the poor and needy; and to set up judges." This was the morality and religion of the first ages, still called by the Jews, "The precepts of the sons of Noah." This was the religion of Moses and the prophets, comprehended in the two great commandments, of "loving the Lord our God with all our heart and soul and mind, and our neighbour as ourselves." This was the religion enjoined by Moses to the uncircumcised stranger within the gates of Israel, as well as to the Israelites: and this is the primitive religion of both Jews and Christians, and ought to

⁽¹⁾ Genesis xiv. 18—20

be

be the standing religion of all nations, it being for the honour GREEKS. of God, and good of mankind. And Moses adds the precept of "being merciful even to brute beasts, so as not to suck out their blood; nor to cut off their flesh alive with the blood in it; nor to kill them for the sake of their blood, nor to strangle them; but in killing them for food, to let out their blood, and spill it upon the ground," Gen. ix. 4, and Levit. xvii. 12, 13. This law was ancienter than the days of Moses, being given to Noah and his sons long before the days of Abraham: and therefore when the apostles and elders in the council at Jerusalem declared, that the Gentiles were not obliged to be circumcised and keep the law of Moses, they excepted this law of "abstaining from blood, and things strangled," as being an earlier law of God, imposed not on the sons of Abraham only, but on all nations, while they lived together in Shinar under the dominion of Noah: and of the same kind is the law of "abstaining from meats offered to idols or false gods, and from fornication." So then, "the believing that the world was framed by one supreme God, and is governed by him; and the loving and worshipping him, and honouring our parents; and loving our neighbour as ourselves; and being merciful even to brute beasts;" is the oldest of all religions. And the original of letters, agriculture, navigation, music, arts and sciences, metals, smiths, and carpenters, towns and houses, was not older in Europe than the days of Eli, Samuel, and David; and before those days the earth was so thinly peopled, and so overgrown with woods, that mankind could not be much older than is represented in Scripture.

C H A P.

C H A P. II.

OF THE EMPIRE OF EGYPT.

CHAPTER
SECOND.

THE Egyptians anciently boasted of a very great and lasting empire under their kings Ammon, Osiris, Bacchus, Sesostris, Hercules, Memnon, &c. reaching eastward to the Indies, and westward to the Atlantic Ocean; and out of vanity have made this monarchy some thousands of years older than the world. Let us now try to rectify the chronology of Egypt, by comparing the affairs of Egypt with the synchronizing affairs of the Greeks and Hebrews⁽¹⁾.

II. Bacchus the conqueror loved two women, Venus⁽²⁾ and Ariadne⁽³⁾. Venus was the mistress of Anchises⁽⁴⁾ and Cinyras⁽⁵⁾, and mother of Æneas, who all lived till the destruction of Troy; and the sons of Bacchus and Ariadne were Argonauts; as above: and therefore the great Bacchus flourished but one generation before the Argonautic expedition. This Bacchus^a was potent at sea; conquered eastward as far as India⁽⁶⁾; returned in triumph⁽⁷⁾; brought his army over the Hellespont⁽⁸⁾; conquered Thrace⁽⁹⁾; left music, dancing and poetry there; killed Ly-

^a Vide Her-
mippum apud
Athenæum,
l. 1. c. 21.
p. 27.

C H A P. II. § I.

⁽¹⁾ The conclusions from the supposed synchronisms of the Greek and the Egyptian story, are in many instances unsound, and perhaps in all precarious. For this reason: that our author takes these synchronisms from Greek chronologers; who have probably for the most part misrepresented them, magnifying the antiquity of their own country, and under-rating that of the Egyptians: and then he applies to every Egyptian personage that date, which his own system assigns to the contemporaneous Greeks.

§ II.

⁽²⁾ Alexand. Aphrodis. apud Anonym. de Incredib. c. 16. Scholiast. in Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. lin. 932. Pausan. lib. 9. c. 31. p. 771. Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 6. p. 149.

⁽³⁾ Hesiod. Theogon. lin. 947.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid. lin. 1008.

Lycurgus king of Thrace, and Pentheus the grandson of Cadmus⁽¹⁾; gave the kingdom of Lycurgus to Tharops⁽²⁾; and one of his mistresses, called by the Greeks Calliope, to Oeagrus the son of Tharops; and of Oeagrus and Calliope was born Orpheus, who sailed with the Argonauts. This Bacchus was therefore contemporary to Sesostris⁽³⁾; and both being kings of Egypt, and potent at sea, and great conquerors, and carrying on their conquests into India and Thrace, they must be one and the same man.

III. The ancient Greeks, who made the fables of the gods, related that Io, the daughter of Inachus, was carried into Egypt, and there became the Egyptian Isis⁽⁴⁾; and that Apis, the son of Phoroneus, after death became the god Serapis⁽⁵⁾; and some said that Epaphus was the son of Io⁽⁶⁾. Serapis and Epaphus are Osiris⁽⁷⁾; and therefore Isis and Osiris, in the opinion of the ancient Greeks who made the fables of the gods, were not above two or three generations older than the Argonautic expedition. Dicaearchus, as he is cited by the Scholiast upon Apollonius, ^a represents them two generations older than Sesostris; saying, that after Orus the son of Osiris and Isis, reigned Sesonchosis. He seems to have followed the opinion of the people of Naxos, who made Bacchus two generations older than Theseus, and for that end feigned two Minos's and two Ariadnes: for by the consent of all antiquity, Osiris and Bacchus were one and the same king of Egypt. This is affirmed by the Egyptians, as well as by the Greeks; and some of the ancient mythologists, as Eumolpus and Orpheus, ^b called Osiris by the names of Dionysus and Sirius: Osiris was king of all Egypt, and a great conqueror, and came

⁽¹⁾ Julius Firmicus de Err. prof. relig. Clemens Alex. Protrept. c. 5. p. 12 & 13.

⁽²⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 2. c. 38. p. 87. lib. 4. c. 3. p. 147. Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 5. § I.

⁽³⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 3. c. 64. p. 139.

⁽⁴⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 3. c. 64. p. 139.

⁽⁵⁾ Admitting, what has not yet been proved, that Sesostris lived but one generation before the Argonautic expedition. All the proof that we have of this, in the preceding chapter, rests on the ill-founded supposition, that Sesostris was the same person with the Sefac of holy writ.

§ III.

⁽¹⁾ Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 1. § III. Euseb. Exc. Gr. p. 27.

⁽²⁾ ——— § I.

⁽³⁾ See Plutarch de Is. et Os. T. II. p. 362. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 25. p. 15.

over the Hellespont in the days of Triptolemus, and subdued Thrace, and there killed Lycurgus (*); and therefore his expedition falls in with that of the great Bacchus. Osiris, Bacchus, and Sesostris lived about the same time; and by the relation of historians, were all of them kings of Egypt; and reigned at Thebes (°), and adorned that city; and were very potent by land and sea. All three were great conquerors; and carried on their conquests by land through Asia, as far as India. All three came over the Hellespont (°); and were there in danger of losing their army. All three conquered Thrace (°); and there put a stop to their victories, and returned back from thence into Egypt. All three left pillars with inscriptions in their conquests (°). And therefore all three must be one and the same king of Egypt (°); and this king can be no other than Sefac. All Egypt, including Thebais, Ethiopia, and Libya, had no common king before the expulsion of the shepherds who reigned in the lower Egypt: no conqueror of Syria, India, Asia Minor, and Thrace, before Sefac (°): and the sacred history admits of no Egyptian conqueror of Palestine before this king (°).

^a Apud Diodorum, l. 3. p. 140.

^b Diodor. l. 3. p. 131, 132.

IV. Thymætes ^a, who was contemporary to Orpheus, and wrote a poesy, called Phrygia, of the actions of Bacchus in very old language and character, said, that Bacchus had Libyan women in his army (°); amongst whom was Minerva, a woman born in Libya, near the river Triton (°); and that Bacchus commanded the men, and Minerva the women (°). Diodorus ^b calls her Myrina; and saith, that she was queen of the Amazons in Libya; and there conquered the Atlantides and Gorgons; and then made a league with Orus the son of Isis, sent to her by his father

(*) Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 20. p. 12.

(°) ————— c. 15. p. 91.

(°) ————— c. 20. p. 12. c. 55. p. 35. Herodot. lib. 2. c. 103.

(°) Provided the assumption be true, that all three lived at one and the same time.

(°) From what history does it appear that Sefac conquered India, Asia Minor, and Thrace? Not from Josephus. For admitting that he speaks upon good information, when he says, that Herodotus ascribes to Sesostris the actions of Sefac; he is not necessarily to be understood of any other of the actions ascribed to Sesostris by Herodotus, but the exploits in Syria-palestine.

(°) The Chafins in the sacred history, in the period of the judges, admit of any thing.

§ IV.

(°) Diod. Sic. lib. 3. c. 70. p. 142. Diodorus, however, does not relate this after Thymætes; but after one Dionysius, a compiler of mythology, who from the works of the antients, both

father Osiris or Bacchus for that purpose, and passing through Egypt subdued the Arabians, and Syria, and Cilicia, and came through Phrygia; viz. in the army of Bacchus, to the Mediterranean; but passing over into Europe, was slain with many of her women by the Thracians and Scythians, under the conduct of Sipylus, a Scythian, and Mopfus, a Thracian, whom Lycurgus king of Thrace had banished. This was that Lycurgus who opposed the passage of Bacchus over the Hellespont; and was soon after conquered by him, and slain. But afterwards Bacchus met with a repulse from the Greeks, under the conduct of Perseus; who slew many of his women, as Pausanias ^a relates, and was ^b assisted by the Scythians and Thracians under the conduct of Sipylus and Mopfus. Which repulses, together with a revolt of his brother Danaus in Egypt, put a stop to his victories. And in returning home he left part of his men in Colchis and at Mount Caucasus, under Æetes and Prometheus; and his women upon the river Thermodon near Colchis, under their new queens Marthesia and Lampeto. For Diodorus ^b, speaking of the Amazons who were seated at Thermodon, saith, that they dwelt originally in Libya, and there reigned over the Atlantides, and invading their neighbours, conquered as far as Europe: and Ammianus ^c, that the ancient Amazons, breaking through many nations, attacked the Athenians, and there receiving a great slaughter (°), retired to Thermodon: and Justin ^d, that these Amazons had at first, he means at their first coming to Thermodon, two queens who called themselves daughters of Mars; and that they conquered part of Europe, and some cities of Asia, viz. in the reign of Minerva; and then sent back part of their

^a Pausan. l. 2. c. 20. p. 155.

^b Diodor. l. 3. p. 130. & Schol. A. p. 110. l. 2. v. 977.

^c Ammian. l. 22. c. 8.

^d Justin. l. 2. c. 4.

both mythologers and poets, had collected a history of Bacchus and the Amazons, the Argonauts, the Trojan war, and various other things, Diod. lib. 3. c. 65. p. 140. The learned Westfeling takes this Dionysius to be the Milesian, who is mentioned in Suidas as the author of a Cyclos Historicus, and other works in history and mythology. It is from this Dionysius that Diodorus takes the account, which he gives, of Thymætes and his writings. It does not appear, that Diodorus had himself ever seen the poems of Thymætes, or that they were extant in his time.

(°) Diod. Sic. lib. 3. c. 69. p. 142.

(°) The unsuccessful expedition of the Amazons, in times before the Trojan war, was famous in antiquity, and it was a favourite topic with the orators. It is mentioned by Plato in the Menexenus; by Isocrates, in his Panegyric; and more circumstantially described by Lyfias, in his Epitaphian. Lyfias agrees with Isocrates, that not one of this female army returned home. And he represents the unprosperous event of the expedition as the ruin of the nation.

army, with a great booty, under their said new queens; and that Marpesia being afterwards slain, was succeeded by her daughter Orithyia, and she by Penthesilæa; and that Theseus captivated and married Hippolyte the sister of Antiopa. Hercules made war upon the Amazons; and in the reign of Orithyia and Penthesilæa they came to the Trojan war. Whence the first wars of the Amazons in Europe and Asia, and their settling at Thermodon, were but one generation before those actions of Hercules and Theseus; and but two, before the Trojan war; and so fell in with the expedition of Sesostris. And since they warred in the days of Isis and her son Orus, and were a part of the army of Bacchus or Osiris; we have here a further argument for making Osiris and Bacchus contemporary to Sesostris, and all three one and the same king with Sefac.

V. The Greeks reckon Osiris and Bacchus to be sons of Jupiter; and the Egyptian name of Jupiter is Ammon. Manetho, in his 11th and 12th Dynasties, as he is cited by Africanus and Eusebius (*), names these four kings of Egypt as reigning in order; Ammenemes; Gefongefes or Sefonchoris, the son of Ammenemes; Ammenemes, who was slain by his eunuchs; and Sesostris, who subdued all Asia and part of Europe. Gefongefes and Sefonchoris are corruptly written for Sefonchosis; and the two first of these four kings, Ammenemes and Sefonchosis, are the same with the two last, Ammenemes and Sesostris; that is, with Ammon and Sefac. For Diodorus saith^a, that Osiris built in Thebes a magnificent temple to his parents Jupiter and Juno; and two other temples (†) to Jupiter, a larger to Jupiter Uranius, and a less to his father Jupiter Ammon, who reigned in that city: and^b Thymætes above-mentioned, who was contemporary to Orpheus,

^a Diodor.
l. 1 p. 9.

^b Apud Diodor.
l. 3.
p. 141.

§ V.

(*) Euseb. Exc. Gr. p. 15. (†) Not two other temples, but two shrines. (‡) See § IV. not. 1.
(§) That is, if Sesostris be the same with Osiris. For Osiris was the founder of Thebes.
(Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 15. p. 9.) No ancient writer mentions Sesostris as the founder of this city.
(§) Ammon.

§ VI.

(§) THE worship of the calf in Egypt was certainly as old as the departure of the Israelites. And Egypt was a great corn country in the time of Jacob. The king therefore who taught the Egyptians agriculture, and, for that benefaction, was worshipped by them in the ox or calf; was older

Orpheus, wrote expressly, that the father of Bacchus was Ammon, a king reigning over part of Libya (‡); that is, a king of Egypt reigning over all that part of Libya anciently called Ammonia. Stephanus^a saith, “Πασα ἡ Λιβυη ἕως ἐκαλεῖτο ἀπὸ Ἀμμωνος” “All Libya was anciently called Ammonia from Ammon.” This is that king of Egypt from whom Thebes was called No-Ammon, and Ammon-No, the city of Ammon, and by the Greeks *Diospolis*, the city of Jupiter Ammon. Sesostris built it sumptuously, and called it by his father's name (†); and from the same king the^b river called Ammon (‡), the people^c called *Ammonii*, and the^d promontory *Ammonium* in Arabia Felix had their names.

^a Step. in
Ἀμμωνια

^b Plin. l. 6.
^c 28.
^d Ptol. l. 6.
c. 7.

VI. The lower part of Egypt being yearly overflowed by the Nile, was scarce inhabited before the invention of corn, which made it useful: and the king, who by this invention first peopled it and reigned over it, perhaps the king of the city Mesir, where Memphis was afterwards built, seems to have been worshipped by his subjects after death in the ox or calf (†), for this benefaction. For this city stood in the most convenient place to people the lower Egypt (‡); and from its being composed of two parts, seated on each side of the river Nile, might give the name of Mizraim to its founder and people: unless you had rather refer the word to the double people, those above the Delta, and those within it. And this I take to be the state of the lower Egypt, till the shepherds or Phœnicians, who fled from Joshua, conquered it, and being afterwards conquered by the Ethiopians, fled into Afric and other places. For there was a tradition, that some of them fled into Afric; and St. Austin^d confirms this, by telling us, that the common people of Afric being asked who they were, replied *Canaaniti*; that is, Canaanites. “*Interrogati rustici nostri,*” saith he, “*quid sint, Punice respondentes Chananii, corruptâ scilicet voce sicut in talibus solet, quid aliud respon-*

^d D. Augustin. in exposit. epist. ad Rom. sub initio.
R. Steph.

older than Jacob, and was so worshipped before the departure of the Israelites. This argument, against our author's notion of the identity of Osiris and Sefac, is unanswerable. It is urged with great force by bishop Warburton in his Divine Legation, book IV. sect. V.

(†) It stood at a very small distance to the south of the head of the Delta. The streams, which form the delta, branch off from the main river at different places: of which, that where the Agathodæmon separated, was the southernmost, and was called the great Delta. This Ptolemy places in 30° of north latitude, and Memphis in 29° 50'.

CHAPTER
SECOND.
* Procop. de
bello Van-
dal. l. 2.
c. 10.
† Chron. l. 1.
p. 11.
‡ Gemar. ad
tit. Shebijh.
cap. 6.

"*dent quàm Chanaanai?*" Procopius also ^a tells us of two pillars in the west of Afric, with inscriptions signifying, that the people were Canaanites who fled from Joshua: and Eusebius ^b tells us, that these Canaanites, flying from the sons of Israel, built Tripolis in Afric; and the Jerusalem Gemara, ^c that the Gergesites fled from Joshua, going into Afric. And Procopius relates their flight in this manner. "Επει δε ἡμας ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας λογος ἐνταυθ' ἡγάγεν· ἐπαναλκας ἐπειν ἀνωθεν, ἔθεν τε τὰ Μαυρεσιων ἔθνη ἐς Λιβυην ἡλθε, καὶ ὅπως φησάντο. Επειδὴ Ἑβραῖοι ἐξ Αἰγυπτῆς ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ αἰχί των Παλαιστίνης ὄριων ἐγενοντο· Μωσῆς μὲν σοφός ἀνὴρ, ὃς αὐτοῦ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἡγήσατο, ὁδησκει· διαδεχέσθαι δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἰησὺς ὁ τῆς Ναυῆ παῖς· ὃς ἐς τὴν Παλαιστίνην τὸν λεων τῶν ἐπιστηγῶν· καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐν τῇ πολέμῳ κρείσσων ἢ καλὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν· ἐπιδειξάμενος, τὴν χώραν ἐσχέ· καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἀπαύλα καταστρεψάμενος, τὰς πόλεις εὐπετὰς παρέρησεν· ἀνικητὸς τε πανάπασιν ἐδόξεν εἶναι. τότε δὲ ἡ ἐπιβαλίσσια χώρα, ἐκ Σιδωνος μέχρι των Αἰγυπτῆς ὄριων, Φοινικὴ ζυμπάσα ὠνομαζέτο. βασιλεὺς δὲ εἰς τὰ παλαιὰ ἐφειρήκει· ὥσπερ ἅπανσιν ὠμολογῆται, οἱ Φοινικῶν τὰ ἀρχαιοτάτα ἀνεγράψαντο. ἐνταυθ' ὡκητο ἔθνη πολυανθρώποτα, Γερρεῖοι τε καὶ Ἰεβρῆες, καὶ ἀλλὰ αἷα ὀνομαῖα ἐχούσα, οἷς δὴ αὐτὰ ἡ των Ἑβραίων ἱστορία καλεῖται· ὅτος ὁ λαὸς ἐπεὶ ἀμαχὸν τι χρεῖμα των ἐπηλυτὴν στρατηγὸν εἶδον· ἐξ ἡθῶν των πατρίων ἐξαναστάντες, ἐπ' Αἰγυπτὸν ὁμοῦς βασις ἐχώρησαν. ἐνθα χώραν ὡδενα σφισιν ἱκανὸν ἐνοικήσασθαι εὐροντες, ἐπεὶ ἐν Αἰγυπτῇ πολυανθρώπια ἐκ παλαιὰ ἦν· ἐς Λιβυην μέχρι σήλων των Ἑρακλεῶς ἐσχον· ἐνταυθα τε καὶ ἐς ἐμε τῇ Φοινικῶν φωνῇ χρωμένοι ὡκῆνται." *Quando ad Mauros nos historia deduxit; congruens nos exponere, unde orta gens in Africā sedes fixerit. Quo tempore egressi Aegypti to Hebraei jam prope Palestinae fines venerant, mortuus ibi Moses, vir sapiens, dux itineris. Successor imperii factus Jesus Nave, filius intra Palestinam duxit popularium agmen; virtute usus, supra humanum modum, terram occupavit; gentibusque excisis, urbes ditionis suae fecit, invicti famam tulit. Maritima ora, quae à Sidone ad Aegypti limitem extenditur, nomen habet Phoenices. Rex unus [Hebraeus] imperabat, ut omnes qui res Phoenicias scripsere consentiunt. In eo tractatu numerosae gentes erant,*

(*) Of which Memphis was the capitol.

"Ger-

"*Gergesæi, Jebusæi, quosque aliis nominibus Hebraeorum annales Egypti memorant. Hi homines, ut impares se venienti imperatori videre, derelicto patriæ solo ad finitimam primum venerunt Aegyptum; sed ibi capacem tantæ multitudinis locum non reperientes, erat enim Aegyptus ab antiquo sæcunda populis, in Africam profecti, multis conditis urbibus, omnem eam Herculis columnas usque, obtinuerunt: ubi ad meam ætatem sermone Phœnicio utentes habitant.*"

By the language and extreme poverty of the Moors, described also by Procopius, and by their being acquainted with merchandise and sea affairs, you may know that they were Canaanites originally, and peopled Afric before the Tyrian merchants came thither. These Canaanites coming from the east, pitched their tents in great numbers in the lower Egypt, in the reign of Timæus, ^a as Manetho writes; and easily seized the country, and fortifying Pelusium, then called Abaris, they erected a kingdom there ⁽³⁾, and reigned long under their own kings, Salatis, Bæon, Apachnas, Apophis, Janias, Assis, and others successively. And in the mean time the upper part of Egypt, called Thebais, and according to ^b Herodotus, Aegyptus, and in Scripture the land of Pathros, was under other kings; reigning perhaps at Coptos, and Thebes, and This, and Syene, and ^c Pathros, and Elephantis, and Heracleopolis, and Mesir, and other great cities, till they conquered one another, or were conquered by the Ethiopians. For ^d cities grew great in those days, by being the seats of kingdoms. But at length one of these kingdoms conquered the rest, and made a lasting war upon the shepherds; and in the reign of its king Misphegmothosis, and his son Amosis, called also Tethmosis, Tuthmosis, and Thomosis ⁽⁴⁾, drove them out of Egypt, and made them fly into Afric and Syria, and other places, and united all Egypt into one monarchy; and under their next kings, Ammon and Sefac, enlarged it into a great empire. This conquering people worshipped not the kings of the shepherds whom they conquered and expelled, but ^d abolished their religion of sacrificing men; and after the manner of those days deified their own kings, who founded their new dominion, beginning the history of their empire with the reign and great acts of their

(*) Manetho apud Joseph. contr. Ap. lib. 1. c. 14. p. 1338.

gods

^a Diodor.
l. 3. c. 3.
p. 101.

gods and heroes. Whence their gods Ammon and Rhea, or Uranus and Titæa; Osiris and Isis; Orus and Bubaste; and their secretary Thoth: and generals, Hercules and Pan; and admiral Japetus, Neptune, or Typhon; were all of them Thebans, and flourished after the expulsion of the shepherds. Homer places Thebes in Ethiopia; and the Ethiopians reported, that ^a the Egyptians were a colony drawn out of them by Osiris, and that thence it came to pass that most of the laws of Egypt were the same with those of Ethiopia; and that the Egyptians learnt from the Ethiopians the custom of deifying their kings.

VII. When Joseph entertained his brethren in Egypt, they did eat at a table by themselves, and he did eat at another table by himself; and the Egyptians who did eat with him were at another table, "because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews; for that was an abomination to the Egyptians," Gen. xliii. 32. These Egyptians, who did eat with Joseph, were of the court of Pharaoh; and therefore Pharaoh and his court were at this time not shepherds but genuine Egyptians; and these Egyptians abominated eating bread with the Hebrews at one and the same table: and of these Egyptians and their fellow-subjects, it is said a little after, that "every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians (')." Egypt at this time was therefore under the government of the genuine Egyptians, and not under that of the shepherds.

VIII. After the descent of Jacob and his sons into Egypt, Joseph lived 70 (') years, and so long continued in favour with the kings of Egypt: and 64 years (') after his death Moses was born: and between the death of Joseph and the birth of Moses, "there
" arose

(') Gen. xlv. 34.

§ VII.

§ VIII.

(') JOSEPH was thirty years of age, when he stood before Pharaoh, and interpreted his dream, Gen. xli. 46. Then followed seven fruitful years; and Jacob settled in Egypt in the third year of the famine, which ensued, Gen. xlv. 6. Joseph therefore was 40 years of age when his father came into Egypt; and he lived to be 110, Gen. l. 26. Therefore he survived his father's coming into Egypt 70 years.

(^a) Or 66; according to the reckoning which our author follows, which is founded upon Exodus xii. 40, 41. as it stands in the Samaritan copy, and the Greek of the Septuagint. "For the sojourning of the children of Israel, which they sojourned in the land of Egypt and in the land of Canaan, they and their fathers, was 430 years. And after the 430 years, the whole host of the Lord went out of the land of Egypt in the night." These 430 years Newton counts from the promise given

"arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph," ^{EGYPT.} Exod. i. 8. But this king of Egypt was not one of the shepherds; for he is called Pharaoh, Exod. i. 11, 22. And Moses told his successor, that if the people of Israel should sacrifice in the land of Egypt, "they should sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and the Egyptians would stone them," Exod. viii. 26: that is, they should sacrifice sheep or oxen, contrary to the religion of Egypt. The shepherds therefore did not reign over Egypt, while Israel was there; but either were driven out of Egypt, before Israel went down thither; or did not enter into Egypt, till after Moses had brought Israel from thence: and the latter must be true, if they were driven out of Egypt a little before the building of the Temple of Solomon, as Manetho affirms.

IX. Diodorus ^a faith in his 40th book, "that in Egypt there were formerly multitudes of strangers of several nations, who used foreign rites and ceremonies in worshipping the Gods, for which they were expelled Egypt; and under Danaus, Cadmus, and other skilful commanders, after great hardships, came in to Greece, and other places; but the greatest part of them came into Judæa, not far from Egypt, a country then uninhabited and desert, being conducted thither by one Moses, a wise and valiant man, who, after he had possessed himself of the country, among other things built Jerusalem, and the Temple." Diodorus here mistakes the original of the Israelites, as Manetho had done before; confounding their flight into the wilderness under the conduct of Moses, with the flight of the shepherds from Misphragmuthosis, and his son Amosis, into Phœ-

given to Abraham, that in him should all the families of the earth be blessed. Which way of reckoning some think justified by St. Paul, Gal. iii. 8 and 17. Abraham was 75 years old when he received this promise, and settled in Canaan in consequence of it, Gen. xii. 4. Therefore from the promise to the birth of Isaac, when Abraham was 100 years of age, the interval was

	24 years.
From the birth of Isaac to the birth of Jacob, Gen. xx. 26.	60
From the birth of Jacob to his settlement in Egypt, Gen. xlvii. 9.	130
From that time to Joseph's death,	70
Whole interval from the promise to Joseph's death,	281.

There remains, of the 430 years of sojournment, 146, for the whole interval between Joseph's death and the Exodus. Eighty of these 146 intervened between the birth of Moses and the Exodus: for Moses died at the age of 120, Deut. xxxiv. 7: and the Israelites had wandered in the wilderness 40 years before his death. Therefore there will remain 66 years for the interval between the death of Joseph and the birth of Moses.

nicia and Afric; and not knowing that Judæa was inhabited by Canaanites, before the Israelites under Moses came thither. But however he lets us know, that the shepherds were expelled Egypt by Amosis a little before the building of Jerusalem and the Temple; and that after several hardships several of them came into Greece, and other places, under the conduct of Cadmus, and other captains, but the most of them settled in Phœnicia next Egypt. We may reckon therefore that the expulsion of the shepherds, by the kings of Thebais, was the occasion that the Philistims were so numerous in the days of Saul; and that so many men came in those times with colonies out of Egypt and Phœnicia into Greece; as Lelex, Inachus, Pelasgus, Æzeus, Cecrops, Ægialeus, Cadmus, Phœnix, Memblarius, Alumnus, Abas, Erechtheus, Peteos, Phorbas, in the days of Eli, Samuel, Saul, and David. Some of them fled in the days of Eli from Mithramuthosis, who conquered part of the lower Egypt. Others retired from his successor Amosis into Phœnicia, and Arabia Petrea, and there mixed with the old inhabitants. Who not long after being conquered by David, fled from him and the Philistims by sea, under the conduct of Cadmus, and other captains, into Asia Minor, Greece, and Libya, to seek new seats; and there built towns, erected kingdoms, and set on foot the worship of the dead: and some of those who remained in Judæa might assist David and Solomon in building Jerusalem and the Temple. Among the foreign rites used by the strangers in Egypt, in worshipping the Gods, was the sacrificing of men; for Amosis abolished that custom at Heliopolis (*). And therefore those strangers were Canaanites, such as fled from Joshua; for the Canaanites gave their seed, that is, their children to Moloch, "and burnt their sons and their daughters in the fire to their gods," Deut. xii. 31 (*). Manetho calls them Phœnician strangers.

X. After Amosis had expelled the shepherds, and extended his dominion over all Egypt, his son and successor Ammenemes, or Ammon, by much greater conquests laid the foundation of the Egyptian empire. For by the assistance of his young son Seso-

(*) Vid. § VI.

§ IX.

(*) And Levit. xviii. 21.

tris, whom he brought up to hunting and other laborious exercises, he conquered Arabia, Troglodytica, and Libya (*): and from him all Libya was anciently called Ammonia: and after his death, in the temples erected to him at Thebes, and in Ammonia, and at Meroe (†) in Ethiopia, they set up oracles to him, and made the people worship him as the god that acted in them: and these are the oldest oracles mentioned in history; the Greeks therein imitating the Egyptians: for the ^a oracle at Dodona was ^a Herod. l. 2. the oldest in Greece, and was set up by an Egyptian woman, after the example of the oracle of Jupiter Ammon at Thebes.

XI. In the days of Ammon a body of the Edomites fled from David into Egypt, with their young king Hadad, as above (*); and carried thither their skill in navigation: and this seems to have given occasion to the Egyptians to build a fleet on the Red Sea near Coptos, and might ingratiate Hadad with Pharaoh. For the Midianites and Ishmaelites, who bordered upon the Red Sea, near Mount Horeb on the south side of Edom, were merchants from the days of Jacob the Patriarch, Gen. xxxvii. 28, 36; and by their merchandise the Midianites abounded with gold in the days of Moses, Numb. xxxi. 50, 51, 52; and in the days of the judges of Israel, "because they were Ishmaelites," Judg. viii. 24. The Ishmaelites therefore in those days grew rich by merchandise. They carried their merchandise on camels through Petra to Rhinocolura, and thence to Egypt. And this traffic at length came into the hands of David, by his conquering the Edomites, and gaining the ports of the Red Sea called Eloth and Ezion-Geber; as may be understood by the 3000 talents of gold of Ophir, which David gave to the temple, 1 Chron. xxix. 4. The Egyptians having the art of making linen-cloth (*); they began about this time to build long ships with sails, in their port on those seas near Coptos: and having learnt the skill of the Edomites; they began now to observe the positions of the stars, and the length of the solar year, for enabling them to know the position of the

(*) Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 53. p. 34.

§ X.

(*) See Strabo, lib. 17. p. 822.

(*) Chap. i. § XLII.

§ XI.

(*) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 37.

stars at any time, and to sail by them at all times, without sight of the shore: and this gave a beginning to astronomy and navigation. For hitherto they had gone only by the shore with oars, in round vessels of burden, first invented on that shallow sea by the posterity of Abraham; and in passing from island to island, guided themselves by the sight of the islands in the day-time, or by the sight of some of the stars in the night. Their old year was the lunifolar year, derived from Noah to all his posterity, till those days; and consisted of twelve months, each of thirty days, according to their calendar: and to the end of this calendar-year they now added five days, and thereby made up the solar year of twelve months and five days, or 365 days.

* Plutarch.
de Iside.
p. 355.
Diodor. l. 1.
p. 9.

XII. The ancient Egyptians feigned^a, that Rhea lay secretly with Saturn; and Sol prayed that she might bring forth neither in any month, nor in the year; and that Mercury played at dice with Luna, overcame, and took from the lunar year the 72d part of every day, and thereof composed five days, and added them to the year of 360 days, that she might bring forth in them; and that the Egyptians celebrated those days as the birth-days of Rhea's five children, Osiris, Orus senior, Typhon, Isis, and Nephthe, the wife of Typhon. And therefore, according to the opinion of the ancient Egyptians, the five days were added to the lunifolar calendar-year, in the reign of Saturn and Rhea, the parents of Osiris, Isis, and Typhon; that is, in the reign of Ammon and Titæa, the parents of the Titans; or in the latter half

§ XIII.

(*) SEE Plato in the Phædrus (p. 1240), and in the Philebus (p. 374). Plato, the most ancient, and perhaps the best informed, of the Greek writers now extant who mention this Thoth, or as he calls him Theuth, says, that he flourished when Thamoun, the same whom the Greeks call Ammon, was king of all Egypt residing at Thebes. Philo Byblius, as he is quoted by Eusebius (Præp. Evang. p. 231) says, that Thoth was he whom the Greeks called Hermes; and Diodorus makes Hermes the secretary of Osiris, lib. 1. c. 15, 16. p. 10. Plato's assertion however is confirmed by the authority of Sanchoniathon; who, as he is quoted by Eusebius (Præp. Evang. lib. p. 24) makes Hermes the secretary of Saturn; that is, of Ammon, the father of Osiris. And the title which Hermes bore among the Eleans, of *Parammon* (Pausan. lib. 5. c. 15. p. 416) seems also to make for this tradition. Manetho, according to Syncellus, speaks of two Hermes; the elder he calls Thoth; the second the son of Agathodæmon and the father of Tat (Syncell. p. 40). Tully (De Nat. Deor. lib. 3. c. 21) says, that the Thoth of the Egyptians, who taught them letters, was that Mercury who killed Argus; and that he fled into Egypt for that murder. This may seem somewhat in favour of our author's system; since it appears, that it was Tully's opinion as well as his, that the Thoth, who taught the Egyptians the use of letters, was no native Egyptian;

half of the reign of David, when those Titans were born; and ^{EGYPT.} by consequence soon after the flight of the Edomites from David into Egypt. But the solstices not being yet settled, the beginning of this new year might not be fixed to the vernal equinox before the reign of Amenophis, the successor of Orus junior, the son of Osiris and Isis.

XIII. When the Edomites fled from David with their young king Hadad into Egypt, it is probable that they carried thither also the use of letters. For letters were then in use among the posterity of Abraham in Arabia Petræa, and upon the borders of the Red Sea; the Law being written there by Moses in a book, and in tables of stone, long before. For Moses marrying the daughter of the prince of Midian, and dwelling with him forty years, learnt them among the Midianites. And Job, who lived^a among their neighbours the Edomites, mentions the writing down of words, as there in use in his days, Job xix. 23, 24; and there is no instance of letters for writing down sounds, being in use before the days of David, in any other nation besides the posterity of Abraham. The Egyptians ascribed this invention to Thoth (*), the secretary of Osiris; and therefore letters began to be in use in Egypt in the days of Thoth; that is, a little after the flight of the Edomites from David, or about the time that Cadmus brought them into Europe.

XIV. Helladius^b tells us, that a man called Oes, who appeared in the Red Sea with the tail of a fish, so they painted a sea-man, taught astronomy and letters: and Hyginus,^c that Euhad-

^a Augustin.
de Civ. Dei,
l. 18. c. 47.

^b Apud Photium, c. 279.

^c Fab. 274.

Egyptian; and that Tully reckoned him little older than our author does. Porphyry also speaks of Thoth as a Phœnician (Euseb. Præp. p. 26). If this Hermes was the Trifnegistus, he was the younger, not the first, Hermes. For Trifnegistus was the father of Tat; and Tat, according to Eusebius (in Chron.) was about the time of Cadmus. Trifnegistus therefore himself should be of the generation before Cadmus; i. e. in our author's system, one generation younger than Inachus the father of Io: which agrees well with Tully's opinion, that Thoth was the Argiphontes, and may seem to be a further confirmation of our author's opinion. Which however is too improbable in itself to be established by this specious collection of authorities. Tully and Eusebius unquestionably follow the old Greek chronologers, in what they deliver of the Egyptian Thoth. The Greek chronologers, it seems, have made their Inachus as old as the Egyptian Thoth. It is but a lame conclusion, that the Egyptian Thoth was therefore as young as Newton's system makes the Greek Inachus. Plato, Sanchoniathon, Manetho, and Porphyry, had they said anything explicit on the question, might deserve a hearing. But all we learn from them is, that there were two, if not three, great men among the Egyptians, whom the Greeks were apt to confound, when they spoke of Thoth or Hermes: that one of these taught the Egyptians letters, and lived in the unknown age of Ammon.

nes, who came out of the sea in Chaldæa, taught the Chaldæans astrology the first of any man; he means astronomy. And Alexander Polyhistor ^a tells us from Berofus, that Oannes (') taught the Chaldæans letters, mathematicks, arts, agriculture, cohabitation in cities, and the construction of temples; and that several such men came thither successively. Oes, Euhadnes, and Oannes, seem to be the same name a little varied by corruption; and this name seems to have been given in common to several seamen, who came thither from time to time, and by consequence were merchants, and frequented those seas with their merchandise, or else fled from their enemies. So that letters, astronomy, architecture and agriculture, came into Chaldæa by sea; and were carried thither by seamen, who frequented the Persian Gulph, and came thither from time to time, after all those things were practised in other countries whence they came; and by consequence in the days of Ammon and Sefac, David and Solomon, and their successors, or not long before. The Chaldæans indeed made Oannes older than the flood of Xifuthrus; but the Egyptians made Osiris as old; and I make them contemporary.

^b Plin. l. 6.
c. 23, 28. &
l. 7. c. 56.

XV. The Red Sea had its name not from its colour, but from Edom and Erythra, the names of Esau, which signify that colour. And some ^b tell us, that king Erythra, meaning Esau, invented the vessels, *rates*, in which they navigated that sea, and was buried in an island thereof near the Persian Gulph. Whence it follows, that the Edomites navigated that sea from the days of Esau; and there is no need that the oldest Oannes should be older. There were boats upon rivers before; such as were the boats which carried the patriarchs over Euphrates and Jordan, and the first nations over many other rivers, for peopling the earth, seeking new seas, and invading one another's territories. And after the example of such vessels, Ishmael and Midian, the sons of Abraham, and Esau his grandson, might build larger vessels to go to the islands upon the Red Sea, in searching for new seas; and by degrees learn to navigate that sea as far as to the Persian Gulph: for ships were as old, even upon the Medi-

§ XIV.

(^a) A monster compounded of man and fish, which rose out of the Red Sea.

terranean,

terranean, as the days of Jacob, Gen. xlix. 13. Judg. v. 17. But ^{EGYPT.} it is probable, that the merchants of that sea were not forward to discover their arts and sciences, upon which their trade depended. It seems therefore that letters and astronomy, and the trade of carpenters, were invented by the merchants of the Red Sea for writing down their merchandise, and keeping their accounts, and guiding their ships in the night by the stars, and building ships; and that they were propagated from Arabia Petraea into Egypt, Chaldæa, Syria, Asia Minor, and Europe, much about one and the same time; the time in which David conquered and dispersed those merchants. For we hear nothing of letters before the days of David, except among the posterity of Abraham; nothing of astronomy, before the Egyptians under Ammon and Sefac applied themselves to that study, except the constellations mentioned by Job, who lived in Arabia Petraea among the merchants; nothing of the trade of carpenters, or good architecture, before Solomon sent to Hiram king of Tyre, to supply him with such artificers, saying, that "there were not in Israel, who could skill to hew timber like the Zidonians."

XVI. Diodorus ^a tells us, "that the Egyptians sent many colonies out of Egypt into other countries; and that Belus, the son of Neptune and Libya, carried colonies thence into Baby-^blonia; and seating himself on Euphrates, instituted priests free from taxes and publick expences, after the manner of Egypt, who were called Chaldæans, and who after the manner of Egypt might observe the stars." And Pausanias ^b tells us, "that the Belus of the Babylonians had his name from Belus an Egyptian, the son of Libya." And Apollodorus; ^c "that Belus, the son of Neptune and Libya, and king of Egypt, was the father of Ægyptus and Danaus, that is, Ammon." He tells us also, "that Busiris, the son of Neptune and Lissanassa [Libyanassa] the daughter of Epaphus, was king of Egypt ('): and Eusebius calls this king, "Busiris the son of Neptune, and of Libya the daughter of Epaphus (')." By

§ XVI.

(^a) Lib. 2. c. 4. § II.

(^b) In Chron. Hierocrates also says, that the father of Busiris was Neptune; his mother, Libya the daughter of Epaphus the son of Jupiter. Encom. Busirid.

these

these things the later Egyptians seem to have made two Bélus's; the one the father of Osiris, Isis, and Neptune; the other, the son of Neptune, and father of Ægyptus and Danäus: and hence came the opinion of the people of Naxos, that there were two Minos's and two Ariadnes, the one two generations older than the other; which we have confuted. The father of Ægyptus and Danäus was the father of Osiris, Isis, and Typhon; and Typhon was not the grandfather of Neptune, but Neptune himself.

XVII. Sesostris being brought up to hard labour by his father Ammon (*), warred first under his father, being the hero of Hercules of the Egyptians (†) during his father's reign, and afterwards their king. Under his father, whilst he was very young, he invaded and conquered Troglodytica (‡), and thereby secured the harbour of the Red Sea, near Coptos in Egypt. And then he invaded Ethiopia; and carried on his conquest southward, as far as to the region bearing cinnamon (§): and his father, by the assistance of the Edomites, having built a fleet on the Red Sea, he put to sea, and coasted Arabia Fælix; going to the Persian Gulph and beyond, and in those countries set up columns with inscriptions denoting his conquests (¶); and particularly he set up a pillar at Dira (¶), a promontory in the straits of the Red Sea, next Ethiopia; and two pillars in India, on the mountains near the mouth of the river Ganges; so † Dionysius:

* Dionys. in Perie. v. 623.

“Εἰθα τε καὶ σήλαι Θηβαιγενεῖ Διόνυσῳ
“Ἐσασιν, πυρκαϊοῖο παρὰ ῥέον Ὠκεανοῖο,
“Ἰνδῶν ἱσατιοκτίν εν βρεσίν· εἰθα τε Γαλγῆς
“Λευκὸν ὕδωρ Νυσσαίων ἐπὶ πλαταμῶνα κυλινδεῖ.”

“Ubi etiamnum columnæ Thebis geniti Bacchi
“Stant, extremi juxta fluxum Oceani,
“Indorum ultimis in montibus: ubi ☿ Ganges
“Claram aquam Nyssæam ad planitiem devolvit.”

§ XVII.

(*) Died Sic. lib. 1. c. 53. p. 34. by hard labour, understand manly exercises.

(†) I can find no authority for this. It appears indeed that, in the Orphic Theology, Bacchus and Hercules were not different personages, but different titles only of the sun. (see Macrobi. Saturn. lib. 1. c. 18—21.) And, with our author, Bacchus and Sesostris are the same.

(‡) Died. Sic. lib. 1. c. 53. p. 34. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 769.

After

After these things he invaded Libya (*), and fought the Afri-Egyptians with clubs; and thence is painted with a club in his hand. So † Hyginus; “Afri ☿ Egyptii primum fustibus dimicaverunt;” † Fab. 274. “postea Belus Neptuni filius gladio belligeratus est; unde bellum dictum est.” And after the conquest of Libya, by which Egypt was furnished with horses (§), and furnished Solomon and his friends; he prepared a fleet on the Mediterranean, and went on westward upon the coast of Afric, to search those countries, as far as to the ocean and island Erythra or Gades in Spain; as Macrobius † informs us from Panyasis and Pherecydes (¶): and there † Saturnal. 1. 5. c. 21. he conquered Geryon, and at the mouth of the Straits set up the famous pillars.

“c Venit ad occasum mundique extrema Sesostris.”

† Lucan. l. 10.

Then he returned through Spain and the southern coasts of France and Italy, with the cattle of Geryon, his fleet attending him by sea; and left in Sicily the Sicani, a people which he had brought from Spain: and after his father's death he built temples to him in his conquests; whence it came to pass, that Jupiter Ammon was worshipped in Ammonia, and Ethiopia, and Arabia, and as far as India, according to the † poet:

† Lucan. l. 9.

“Quamvis Æthiopum populis, Arabumque beatis
“Gentibus, atque Indis unus sit Jupiter Ammon.”

The Arabians worshipped only two gods; Coelus, otherwise called Ouranus, or Jupiter Uranus; and Bacchus (†); and these were Jupiter Ammon and Sefac, as above: and so also the people of Meroë above Egypt † worshipped no other gods but Jupiter and † Herod. 1. 2. c. 29. Bacchus, and had an oracle of Jupiter; and these two gods were Jupiter Ammon and Osiris, according to the language of Egypt.

(*) Strabo, lib. 17. p. 79. The conquest of Ethiopia, according to Diodorus, was after his father's death. Strabo speaks only of the extent, not of the time of it.

(†) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 102. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 55. p. 35.

(*) Strabo, lib. 16. p. 769.

(¶) Of the great antiquity of the Egyptian cavalry, see bishop Warburton's Divine Legation, book IV. sect. V.

(*) That is to say, Macrobius relates this of Hercules, whom our author takes to be Sesostris.

(†) According to Herodotus, Bacchus and Urania under the names of Urotal and Alilat, ib. 3. c. 8.

XVIII. At length Sesostris, in the fifth year of Rehoboam, came out of Egypt with a great army of Libyans, Troglodytes, and Ethiopians, and spoiled the temple, and reduced Judæa into servitude; and went on conquering, first eastward toward India, which he invaded; and then westward, as far as Thrace: for "God had given him the kingdoms of the countries," 2 Chron.

^a Diodor. l. i. xii. 2, 3, 8. In ^a this expedition he spent nine years, setting up pillars with inscriptions in all his conquests, some of which remained in Syria till the days of Herodotus. He was accompanied with his son Orus, or Apollo (¹); and with some singing women, called "the Muses (²)"; one of which, called Calliope, was the mother of Orpheus, an Argonaut: and the two tops of the mountain Parnassus, which were very high, were dedicated ^b the one to this Bacchus, and the other to his son Apollo: whence Lucan ^c;

^b Pausan. l. x. c. 32. p. 878.
^c Suidas in Παρνασσος.
^d Lucan. l. 5. v. 72.

"Parnassus gemino petit æthera colle,
Mons Phæbo, Bromioque sacer."

In the fourteenth year of Rehoboam he returned back into Egypt, leaving Æetes in Colchis (³), and his nephew Prometheus at mount Caucasus, with part of his army, to defend his conquests from the Scythians. Apollonius ^d Rhodius and his scholiast tell us, that Sesonchosis, king of all Egypt, that is Sefac, invading all Asia, and a great part of Europe, peopled many cities which he took; and that Æa, the metropolis of Colchis, "remained stable ever since his days with the posterity of those Egyptians which he placed there; and that they preserved pillars or tables in which all the journies and the bounds of sea and land were described, for the use of them that were to go any whither." These tables therefore gave a beginning to geography.

XIX. Sesostris, upon his returning home, ^e divided Egypt by measure amongst the Egyptians; and this gave a beginning to surveying and geometry: and ^f Jamblichus derives this division of

§ XVIII.

(¹) Diodorus calls Apollo the brother of Osiris, lib. i. c. 17. Apollo was the Horus of the Egyptians (Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. c. 21) and accompanied Osiris, that is, according to our author,

of Egypt, and beginning of geometry, from the age of the Egypt. gods of Egypt. Sesostris also ^a divided Egypt into 36 *Nomes* or ^a Diodor. l. i. c. 54. counties; and dug a canal from the Nile to the head city of every Nome; and with the earth dug out of it he caused the ground of the city to be raised higher; and built a temple in every city for the worship of the Nome, and in the temples set up oracles, some of which remained till the days of Herodotus. And by this means the Egyptians of every Nome were induced to worship the great men of the kingdom, to whom the Nome, the city, and the temple or sepulchre of the god, was dedicated: for every temple had its proper god, and modes of worship, and annual festivals; at which the council and people of the Nome met at certain times to sacrifice, and regulate the affairs of the Nome, and administer justice, and buy and sell. But Sefac and his queen, by the names of Osiris and Isis, were worshipped in all Egypt: and because Sefac, to render the Nile more useful, dug channels from it to all the capital cities of Egypt; that river was consecrated to him, and he was called by its names Ægyptus, Siris, Nilus. Dionysius ^b tells us, that the Nile was called Siris by the Ethiopians, and Nilus by the people of Syene. From the word Nahal, which signifies a torrent, that river was called Nilus; and Diodorus ^c tells us, that Nilus was that king, who cut Egypt into canals, to make the river useful. In Scripture the river is called Schichor, or Sihor; and thence the Greeks formed the words Siris, Sirius, Ser-Apis, O-Siris; but Plutarch ^d tells us, that the syllable O, put before the word Siris by the Greeks, made it scarce intelligible to the Egyptians. ^d Plutarch. de Isis & Osiride, Tom. II. p. 372.

XX. I have now told you the original of the Nomes of Egypt; and of the religions and temples of the Nomes; and of the cities built there by the gods, and called by their names: whence Diodorus ^e tells us, that "of all the provinces of the world, there were in Egypt only many cities built by the ancient gods; as by Jupiter, Sol, Hermes, Apollo, Pan, Eilithyia, and many others." And Lucian ^f, an Assyrian, who had travelled into Phœnicia and

thor, Sesostris or Sefac, in his great expedition, Diod. Sic. lib. i. c. 17. p. 10.

(²) Diod. Sic. lib. i. c. 18. p. 11.

(³) See chap. i. § XIX. note 1.

• See the Scholiast on Lucan, lib. 3. lin. 173.

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Egypt,

Egypt, tells us, that "the temples of Egypt were very old; those in Phœnicia built by Cinyras as old; and those in Assyria almost as old as the former, but not altogether so old." Which shews that the monarchy of Assyria rose up after the monarchy of Egypt, as is represented in Scripture; and that the temples of Egypt, then standing, were those built by Sesostris about the same time that the temples of Phœnicia and Cyprus were built by Cinyras, Benhadad, and Hiram. This was not the first original of idolatry, but only the erecting of much more sumptuous temples than formerly to the founders of new kingdoms. For temples at first were very small:

Jupiter angustâ vix totus stabat in æde.

Ovid. Fast. l. i.

Altars were at first erected without temples; and this custom continued in Persia till after the days of Herodotus⁽¹⁾. In Phœnicia they had altars with little houses for eating the sacrifices much earlier, and these they called High Places. Such was the High Place where Samuel entertained Saul⁽²⁾; such was the house of Dagon at Ashdod⁽³⁾, into which the Philistines brought the ark; and the house of Baal, in which Jehu slew the prophets of Baal⁽⁴⁾; and such were the High Places of the Canaanites, which Moses commanded Israel to destroy. He^a commanded Israel to destroy the altars, images, high places and groves of the Canaanites; but made no mention of their temples; as he would have done, had there been any in those days. I meet with no mention of sumptuous temples before the days of Solomon. New

^a Exod. xxxiv. 13. Num. xxxiii. 52. Deut. vii. 5. & xii. 3.

§ XX.

⁽¹⁾ The Persians, in the days of Herodotus, had neither statues, temples, nor altars. Herodot. lib. i. c. 131.

⁽²⁾ 1 Sam. ix. 11—14, and 25.

⁽³⁾ 1 Sam. v. 1, 2.

⁽⁴⁾ 2 Kings x. 18—28.

§ XXI.

⁽¹⁾ 1 Kings xv. 18.

⁽²⁾ 2 Kings viii. 7.

⁽³⁾ 2 Kings viii. 28. x. 32. xii. 17.

⁽⁴⁾ 2 Kings xiii. 3 and 24.

⁽⁵⁾ 2 Kings xv. 37. and xvi. 5—9.

⁽⁶⁾ If. vii. 6.

⁽⁷⁾ BENHADAD, the son of Tabrimon, was contemporary with Asa the grandson of Rehoboam, 1 Kings xv. The reign of Abijam, the father of Asa, was very short: not four years. Therefore Tabrimon must have lived in the reign of Rehoboam; therefore in that of Sefac. Therefore if Sefac was Sesostris; Syria, which was one of the countries conquered by Sesostris, must have become subject to the Egyptian in the reign of Tabrimon.

⁽⁸⁾ By the event of Sefac's death, and the conquest of Egypt by the Ethiopians. See chap. i. § XLII.

kingdoms

kingdoms begun then to build sepulchres to their founders in the Egyptian form of sumptuous temples; and such temples Hiram built in Tyre; Sefac in all Egypt; and Benhadad in Damascus.

XXI. For when David^a smote Hadad-Ezer king of Zobah,^{1 Sam. viii. 3—5. & 1 King. xi.} and slew the Syrians of Damascus, who came to assist him; "Rezon, the son of Eliadah, fled from his lord Hadad-Ezer, and²³ gathered men unto him; and became captain over a band, and reigned in Damascus over Syria." He is called Hezion, 1 King. xv. 18. and his successors mentioned in history were Tabrimon⁽¹⁾, Hadad or Benhadad⁽²⁾, Benhadad II⁽³⁾, Hazael⁽⁴⁾, Benhadad III⁽⁵⁾, * * and Rezin⁽⁶⁾ the son of Tabeah⁽⁶⁾. Syria became subject to Egypt in the days of Tabrimon⁽⁷⁾, and recovered her liberty⁽⁸⁾ under Benhadad I; and in the days of Benhadad III⁽⁹⁾, until the reign of the last Rezin⁽¹⁰⁾, they became subject to Israel: and in the ninth year of Hoshea king of Judah, Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria captivated the Syrians⁽¹¹⁾, and put an end to their kingdom. Now Josephus^b tells us, that "the Syrians till his days worshipped both Adar, that is Hadad or Benhadad, and his successor Hazael, as gods, for their benefactions, and for building temples by which they adorned the city of Damascus: for, saith he, they daily celebrate solemnities in honour of these kings, and boast their antiquity, not knowing that they are novel, and lived not above eleven hundred years ago." It seems these kings built sumptuous sepulchres for themselves, and were worshipped therein. Justin^c calls the first of these two kings Damascus; saying, that "the city had its name from him, and that the Syrians in honour of him worshipped his wife Arathes as a goddess, using her sepulchre for a temple." ^{Antiq. l. 9. c. 4. p. 404.} ^{Justin. l. 36. c. 2.}

⁽²⁾ 2 Kings xiii. 25. xiv. 21—28. In 2 Kings xiii. 2. it is said, "that the Lord delivered Israel into the hand of Hazael king of Syria, and into the hand of Benhadad the son of Hazael all days." Our translation has *all their days*; as if it were meant, that the Israelites were oppressed by the Syrians, during the whole reigns of Hazael and Benhadad. But from the 22d verse of the same chapter, and from the sequel of the Jewish story, it appears that *all days* are to be understood of all the days of the wicked king Jehoahaz. In his time God delivered Israel into the hand of Hazael king of Syria, and into the hand of Hazael's son Benhadad, probably as the general of his father's forces. In the reign of Joash, the son of Jehoahaz, and his successor in the kingdom of Israel, probably therefore in the reign of Benhadad, the son of Hazael, and his successor in the kingdom of Syria, the deliverance of Israel and the subjection of the Syrians began. 2 Kings xiii. 25.

⁽¹⁰⁾ 2 Kings xvi. 6.

⁽¹¹⁾ 2 Kings xvi. 9. Compare xvii. 6.

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Diodor. l. 5.
c. 79. p. 238.

Suidas in
Σαφεία.
παλ. Θ.
c. Apollod.
l. 3. c. 13.
§ III.
d. Argonaut.
l. 4. v. 424. &
l. 7. v. 621.
e. Homer.
Odys. Θ.
v. 268, 292.
& Hymn. 1.
2. in Vene-
rem. & He-
fiod. Theo-
gor. v. 192.

XXII. Another instance we have in the kingdom of Byblus. In the ^a reign of Minos king of Crete, when Rhadamanthus, the brother of Minos, carried colonies from Crete to the Greek islands, and gave the islands to his captains; he gave Lemnos to Thoas, or Theias, or Thoantes, the father of Hypsipyle (¹), a Cretan worker in metals (²), and by consequence a disciple of the *Idæi Daëtyli*, and perhaps a Phœnician: for the *Idæi Daëtyli*, and Telchines, and Corybantes, brought their arts and sciences from Phœnicia. And ^b Suidas saith, that he was descended from Pharnaces king of Cyprus (³). Apollodorus ^c, that he was the son of Sandochus, a Syrian (⁴). And Apollonius Rhodius ^d, that "Hypsipyle gave Jason the purple cloak which the Graces made for Bacchus; who gave it to his son Thoas, the father of Hypsipyle, and king of Lemnos." Thoas married ^e Calycopis, the mother of Æneas, and daughter of Otreus king of Phrygia; and for his skill on the harp was called Cinyras; and was said to be exceedingly beloved by Apollo or Orus (⁵). The great Bacchus loved his wife; and being caught in bed with her in Phrygia appeased him with wine, and composed the matter, by making him king of Byblus and Cyprus; and then came over the Hellespont with

(¹) Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 9. § XVII. § XXII.

(²) Plin. lib. 7. c. 57.

(³) SUIDAS, in the place to which our author refers, says this of Cinyras, whom our author supposes to be Thoas. In the article Κινύρας, he says that Cinyras was the son of Theias; and the same thing is said by Eustathius in II. A. 20.

(⁴) This Apollodorus says of Cinyras, not of Thoas.

(⁵) THAT Calycopis, a daughter of Otreus king of Phrygia, was the mother of Æneas, may with some colour of probability be conjectured from the first of the Homeric hymns to Venus; in which Venus introduces herself to Anchises, as the daughter of this Otreus: and when she takes her leave; she charges him to give it out, when the son, who was to be the fruit of their amour, should appear at Troy, that his mother was Calycopis, a nymph of Ida. That Cinyras took his name from the musical instrument Cinyra, is likewise asserted by Eustathius in II. A. 20. That Thoas, the father of Hypsipyle, was the same person as Cinyras, our author might perhaps infer from this circumstance. Apollodorus (lib. 3. c. 13. § III.) makes Cinyras the father of Adonis. Ovid (Metamorph. 10.) makes Cinyras the father of Adonis by his own daughter Myrrha. And in the same story Hyginus (fab. 58.) Servius (in Virg. Ecl. 10. lin. 18.) and the scholiast on Theocritus (Id. 1. lin. 109) agree. But Apollodorus relates, that Panyasis made Adonis the son of Thoas, a king of the Assyrians, by his own daughter Myrrha. (Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 13. § IV.) And with Panyasis, Antonius Liberalis seems to agree (c. 34. § IV.) Cinyras therefore had a son by his own daughter Myrrha. Thoas had a son by his own daughter good; still it does not at all appear, that this Thoas was the Cretan Thoas, the father of Hypsipyle. The great age indeed, which authors ascribe to Cinyras, obviates the objection that would otherwise arise, from making the same man reign in Lemnos in the generation before the Argonautic expedition; and in Cyprus during the Trojan war. Apollo's friendship for Cinyras is

with his army and conquered Thrace (⁶). And to these things the poets allude, in feigning that Vulcan fell from heaven into Lemnos, and that Bacchus ^a appeased him with wine, and re-^aduced him back into heaven. He fell from the heaven of the Cretan gods, when he went from Crete to Lemnos to work in metals (⁷); and was reduced back into heaven, when Bacchus made him king of Cyprus and Byblus. He reigned there till a very great age, living to the times of the Trojan war, and becoming exceeding rich (⁸): and after the death of his wife Calycopis ^b, he built temples to her at Paphos, and Amathus, in Cyprus; and at Byblus in Syria; and instituted priests to her with sacred rites and lustful *Orgia*; whence she became the *Dea Cypria*, and the *Dea Syria*. And from temples erected to her in these and other places, she was also called Paphia, Amathusia, Byblia, Cytherea, Salaminia, Cnidia, Erycina, Idalia. "*Fama tradit à Cinyra sacratum vetustissimum Paphie Veneris templum, Deamque ipsam conceptam mari buc appulsam.*" Tacit. Hist. l. 2. c. 3. From her sailing from Phrygia to the island Cytherea, and from thence to be queen of Cyprus; she was said by the Cyprians to be born of the froth of the sea, and was painted sailing upon a shell (⁹). Cinyras deified also his son Gingris by the name:

is mentioned by Pindar, Pyth. 2. 27—30. Some accounted him the son of Apollo. Scholiast ad locum, & Hesych. in voce Κινύρας.

(⁶) SIR Isaac Newton (chap. 1. § XLIV.) refers to Homer's story of the amours of Mars and Venus, as if he took it for granted, that the Mars of that story was Bacchus. It is upon the same principle, as I suspect, that he here affirms, that Bacchus's conquest of Thrace was immediately after his affair with Cinyras's wife. For in Homer, as soon as Mars and Venus are released, Mars goes to Thrace, Venus to Cyprus:

Ὁ μὲν Ὀρμηκὶδὲς Ἑλένης,
Ἡδ' ἄρα Κινύρας ἰκάνει φιλομνηστὴς Ἀφροδίτης.

Homer. Od. Θ. l. 361.

(⁷) Vide infra.

(⁸) THE great age of Cinyras is mentioned by Pliny, lib. 7. c. 48. His wealth by Pindar, Nem. 8. Stroph. 2. and by Eustath. in II. A. 20.

(⁹) It is probable that Cinyras introduced the worship of Venus in Cyprus, when he settled there. But there is reason to believe, that she was worshipped in Syria before his time; and that she could not be his mistress or his wife. Cinyras, according to Apollodorus, lib. 3. c. 13. § III. was the great-grandson of Phaëthon: and this Phaëthon, according to Hesiod, was a priest of Venus. Whence it should seem, that the priesthood of Venus devolved to Cinyras by inheritance:

Αὐτὰρ τοὶ Κεφαλῶν Φύλακας Φαίδιμος γόνυ
Ἰφθίμου Φαίβοιο, θεοῖς ἐπιεικέως ἀνδρά.
Τοῖς γὰρ νῦν, τέτιν αὐτοῖς ἐχρὴν ἱερῆδος ἔσθαι,
Παῖδ' ἄπαλα Φροσύνης φιλομνηστὴς Ἀφροδίτης.
ἐπὶ ἀντιφθάρῃ, καὶ μιν ἑταῖοις ἐν νηυσὶ
Μακρότατον νηχίων πηγήσῃ, δαίμονα δαῖον.

Theogon. 986—991.

There:

name of Adonis⁽¹⁰⁾; and for affixing the Egyptians with armour, it is probable, that he himself was deified by his friends the Egyptians by the name of Baal-Canaan, or Vulcan. For Vulcan was celebrated principally by the Egyptians, and was a king, according to Homer, and reigned in Lemnos⁽¹¹⁾; and Cinyras was an inventor of arts, ^a and found out copper in Cyprus, and the smiths hammer, and anvil, and tongs, and laver; and employed workmen in making armour, and other things of brass and iron; and was the only king celebrated in history for working in metals, and was king of Lemnos⁽¹²⁾, and the husband of Venus; all which are the characters of Vulcan. And the Egyptians about the time of the death of Cinyras, viz. in the reign of their king Amenophis, built a very sumptuous temple at Memphis to Vulcan⁽¹³⁾, and near it a smaller temple to Venus Hospita⁽¹⁴⁾; not an Egyptian woman but a foreigner; not

^b Herod. l. 2. c. 112. Helena but Vulcan's Venus: for ^b Herodotus tells us, that the region round about this temple was inhabited by Tyrian Phœnicians, and that ^c Cambyfes going into this temple at Memphis,

^c Herod. l. 3. c. 37. very much derided the statue of Vulcan for its littleness: "for," saith he, "this statue is most like those gods which the Phœnicians call Patæci, and carry about in the fore part of their ships in the form of Pygmies." And ^d Bochart saith of this Venus Hospita, "*Phœniciam Venerem in Ægypto pro peregrinâ habitam.*"

^d Bochart. Canaan. l. 1. c. 4.

XXIII. As the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Syrians, in those days deified their kings and princes; so upon their coming into Asia Minor and Greece, they taught those nations to do the like; as hath been shewed above. In those days the writing of the Thebans and Ethiopians was in hieroglyphicks; and this way of

There is no room to doubt, that the Phaëton of Hesiod and Apollodorus are the same. For both derive him from Cephalus; of whom Hesiod makes him the son, Apollodorus the grandson. The opinion that Venus was the wife or mistress of Cinyras, and was deified by him after her death, rests, if I mistake not, on the single authority of Clemens Alexandrinus; for I imagine that Arnobius and Julius Firmicus, who say the same thing, take it from him. The authority of Clemens, great as it is in points of antiquity, cannot be allowed to outweigh the testimony of Hesiod: which is in some measure confirmed by what Herodotus says of the antiquity of the Syrian Venus, lib. 1. c. 105. It is remarkable, that the history of this Cinyras was become uncertain and obscure, so early as in the age of Pindar. See Pindar's 8th Nemean, Stroph. 2.

⁽¹⁰⁾ THAT Adonis was the son of Cinyras; see Apollodorus, lib. 3. c. 13. § III. That his Phœnician name was Gingris, see Bochart. Canaan. lib. 2. c. 7. Lycophron calls him Ganax, lib. 833. Tzetzes says this was his Cyprian name.

I

writing

writing seems to have spread into the lower Egypt before the days of Moses: for thence came the worship of their gods in the various shapes of birds, beasts, and fishes, forbidden in the second commandment. Now this emblematical way of writing gave occasion to the Thebans and Ethiopians, who in the days of Samuel, David, Solomon, and Rehoboam, conquered Egypt, and the nations round about, and erected a great empire, to represent and signify their conquering kings and princes, not by writing down their names, but by making various hieroglyphical figures; as by painting Ammon with ram's horns; to signify the king who conquered Libya, a country abounding with sheep: his father Amosis with a scythe; to signify that king who conquered the lower Egypt, a country abounding with corn: his son Osiris by an ox; because he taught the conquered nations to plow with oxen: Bacchus with bull's horns, for the same reason; and with grapes, because he taught the nations to plant vines; and upon a tyger, because he subdued India: Orus, the son of Osiris, with a harp; to signify the prince who was eminently skilled on that instrument: Jupiter upon an eagle, to signify the sublimity of his dominion; and with a thunderbolt, to represent him a warrior: Venus in a chariot drawn with two doves; to represent her amorous and lustful: Neptune with a trident; to signify the commander of a fleet composed of three squadrons: Ægeon, a giant, with 50 heads, and an hundred hands; to signify Neptune with his men in a ship of fifty oars: Thoth with a dog's head, and wings at his cap and feet, and a Caduceus writen about with two serpents; to signify a man of craft, and an ambassador who reconciled two contending nations: Pan with a pipe

⁽¹¹⁾ HOMER often gives him, in common with all the gods, the title of *αυαξ*. But it appears not from Homer where his kingdom was. The negative however appears, that it was not in Lemnos. For Homer, relating the intrigue of Mars and Venus, lays the scene in *Vulcan's house*: and makes Vulcan, in order to detect them, feign a journey *from home* to Lemnos, Od. 6. lin. 268, 283, 287, 293. Neither were his works in Lemnos, Od. 6. lin. 272—284. The scholiast on Apollodorus Rhodius, lib. 4. lin. 761. places them in Lipara and Strongyle; and with him Virgil (Æn. 8. lin. 416—422.) and other Latin poets agree. Tully is the only respectable authority I know, for a forge of Vulcan in Lemnos. De Nat. Deor. lib. 3. c. 22.

⁽¹²⁾ Does this assertion rest on any other ground than the precarious conjecture, that Cinyras was the Lemnian Thoas?

⁽¹³⁾ The temple of Vulcan at Memphis was built by Menes, whom our author conceives to be the same with Amenophis. Herodot. lib. 2. c. 99.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Herodot. lib. 2. c. 112.

and

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and the legs of a goat; to signify a man delighted in piping and dancing: and Hercules with pillars and a club; because Sesostris set up pillars in all his conquests, and fought against the Libyans with clubs. This is that Hercules who, according to ^a Eudoxus, was slain by Typhon; and according to Ptolemeus ^b Hephæstion was called Nilus; and who conquered Geryon with his three sons in Spain, and set up the famous pillars at the mouth of the Straits. For Diodorus ^c mentioning three Hercules's, the Egyptian, the Tyrian (¹), and the son of Alcmena, saith, that "the oldest flourished among the Egyptians, and having conquered a great part of the world, set up the pillars in Afric." And Vassæus ^d, that Osiris, called also Dionysius, "came into Spain and conquered Geryon, and was the first who brought idolatry into Spain." Strabo ^e tells us, that the Ethiopians called Megabars fought with clubs; and some of the Greeks ^f did so till the times of the Trojan war. Now from this hieroglyphical way of writing it came to pass, that upon the division of Egypt into Nomes by Sesostris, the great men of the kingdom to whom the Nomes were dedicated, were represented in their sepulchres or temples of the Nomes by various hieroglyphicks; as by an ox, a cat, a dog, a cebus, a goat, a lyon, a scarabæus, an ichneumon, a crocodile, an hippopotamus, an oxyrinchus, an ibis, a crow, a hawk, a leek, and were worshipped by the Nomes in the shape of these creatures.

^g Diodor. l. 2. c. 56, 57. p. 132, 133. XXIV. The \S Atlantides, a people upon mount Atlas conquered by the Egyptians in the reign of Ammon, related, that Uranus was their first king; and reduced them from a savage course of life, and caused them to dwell in towns and cities, and lay up and use the fruits of the earth; and that he reigned over a great part of the world; and by his wife Titæa had eighteen children; among which were Hyperion and Basilea the parents of Helius and Selene; that the brothers of Hyperion slew him, and drowned his son Helius, the Phaeton of the ancients, in the Nile,

⁽¹⁾ The Cretan, who was one of the Idæi Daëtyli. \S XXIII.

⁽²⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 3. c. 60. p. 135. \S XXIV.

and

and divided his kingdom amongst themselves (¹); and the country bordering upon the ocean fell to the lot of Atlas, from whom the people were called Atlantides. By Uranus or Jupiter Uranus, Hyperion, Basilea, Helius and Selene, I understand Jupiter Ammon, Osiris, Isis, Orus and Bubaste; and by the sharing of the kingdom of Hyperion amongst his brothers the Titans, I understand the division of the earth among the gods mentioned in the poem of Solon.

XXV. For Solon having travelled into Egypt, and conversed with the priests of Sais (¹) about their antiquities, wrote a poem of what he had learnt, but did not finish it (²): ^a and this poem fell into the hands of Plato; who relates out of it, that at the mouth of the Straits, near Hercules's pillars, there was an island called Atlantis; the people of which, nine thousand years before the days of Solon (³), reigned over Libya as far as Egypt, and over Europe as far as the Tyrrhene sea (⁴); and all this force, collected into one body, invaded Egypt and Greece, and whatever was contained within the pillars of Hercules; but was resisted and stopt by the Athenians and other Greeks, and thereby the rest of the nations not yet conquered were preserved (⁵). He saith also, that in those days the gods having finished their conquests divided the whole earth amongst themselves, partly into larger, partly into small portions (⁶), and instituted temples and sacred rites to themselves (⁶); and that the island Atlantis fell to the lot of Neptune; who made his eldest son Atlas king of the whole island (⁶), a part of which was called Gadir (⁶); and that "in the history of the said wars mention was made of Cecrops, Erechtheus, Erichthonius, and others before Theseus; and also of the women who warred with the men; and of the habit and statue of Minerva; the study of war in those days being common to men and women (⁷). By all these circumstances it is manifest, that these gods were the *Dii magni majorum gentium*, and lived between the age of Cecrops and Theseus; and that the

⁽¹⁾ Plato in Timæo, p. 1043.

⁽²⁾ ——— p. 1044, et in Critia, p. 1100.

⁽³⁾ In Critia, p. 1100.

⁽⁴⁾ In Critia, p. 1101.

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⁽¹⁾ ——— p. 1042.

⁽²⁾ ——— p. 1045.

⁽³⁾ ——— p. 1103.

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wars

wars which Sesostris with his brother Neptune made upon the nations by land and sea, and the resistance he met with in Greece, and the following invasion of Egypt by Neptune, are here described; and how the captains of Sesostris shared his conquests amongst themselves, as the captains of Alexander the Great did his conquests long after; and instituting temples and priests and sacred rites to themselves, caused the nations to worship them after death as gods: and that the island Gadir or Gades, with all Libya, fell to the lot of him who after death was deified by the name of Neptune. The time therefore when these things were done, is by Solon limited to the age of Neptune, the father of Atlas⁽⁸⁾; for Homer tells us, that "Ulysses presently after the Trojan war found Calypso, the daughter of Atlas⁽⁹⁾, in the Ogygian island, perhaps Gadir; and therefore it was but two generations before the Trojan war." This is that Neptune, who with Apollo or Orus fortified Troy with a wall, in the reign of Laomedon the father of Priamus⁽¹⁰⁾; and left many natural children in Greece⁽¹¹⁾, some of which were Argonauts⁽¹²⁾, and others were contemporary to the Argonauts. And therefore he flourished but one generation before the Argonautic expedition, and by consequence about 400 years before Solon went into Egypt⁽¹³⁾. But the priests of Egypt in those 400 years had magnified the stories and antiquity of their gods so exceedingly, as to make them nine thousand years older than Solon, and the island Atlantis bigger than all Africa and Asia together, and full of people; and because in the days of Solon this great island did not appear, they pretended that it was sunk into the sea with all its people. Thus great was the vanity of the priests of Egypt in magnifying their antiquities.

^a Apud Diodor. l. 5, c. 69. p. 233.

^b Pamphus apud Pausan. l. 7. c. 21. p. 577.

XXVI. The Cretans^a affirmed, that "Neptune was the first man who set out a fleet, having obtained this præfecture of his father Saturn; whence posterity reckoned things done in the sea to be under his government, and mariners honoured him with sacrifices." The invention of tall ships with sails^b is also ascribed to him. He was first worshipped in Africa, as

⁽⁸⁾ For Homer ———; and therefore — Trojan war. Read, and therefore it was but two generations before the Trojan war; for Homer tells us, that Ulysses, &c.

⁽⁹⁾ Od. A. lin. 48—52. and H. 244.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Apollodorus. lib. 2. c. 4. § IX.

⁽¹¹⁾ See Natalis Comes, Myth. lib. 2. c. 8.

He-

Herodotus^a affirms; and therefore reigned over that province, Egypt. For his eldest son Atlas, who succeeded him, was not only Lord^b of the island Atlantis, but also reigned over a great part of Africa, giving his name to the people called *Atlantii*, and to the mountain Atlas, and the Atlantic Ocean. The^c outmost parts of the earth and promontories, and whatever bordered upon the sea and was washed by it, the Egyptians called Nephthys; and on the coasts of Marmorica and Cyrene, Bochart and Arius Montanus place the Naphthuhim, a people sprung from Mizraim, Gen. x. 13; and thence Neptune and his wife Nephthys might have their names; the words Neptune, Nephthys, and Naphthuhim, signifying the king, queen, and people of the sea-coasts. The Greeks tell us, that Japetus was the father of Atlas⁽¹⁾; and Bochart derives Japetus and Neptune from the same original⁽²⁾. He and his son Atlas are celebrated in the ancient fables for making war upon the gods of Egypt; as when Lucian^c saith, that Corinth being full of fables, tells the fight of Sol and Neptune, that is, of Apollo and Python, or Orus and Typhon; and where Agatharchides^d relates how the gods of Egypt fled from the giants, till the Titans came in and saved them, by putting Neptune to flight; and where Hyginus^e tells the war between the gods of Egypt, and the Titans commanded by Atlas. The Titans are the posterity of Titæa⁽³⁾; some of whom under Hercules assisted the gods, others under Neptune and Atlas warred against them: "for which reason," saith Plutarch^f, "the priests of Egypt abominated the sea, and had Neptune in no honour." By Hercules, I understand here the general of the forces of Thebais and Ethiopia, whom the gods or great men of Egypt called to their assistance against the giants or great men of Libya, who had slain Osiris and invaded Egypt. For Diodorus^g saith, that "when Osiris made his expedition over the world, he left his kinsman Hercules general of his forces over all his dominions,

⁽¹⁾ Namely, Polyphemus, Erginus, Ancæus (Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. lin. 179—187) and Nauplius, according to the Orphic Argonautics, lin. 200. But Apollonius Rhodius makes Nauplius the sixth in descent from Neptune.

⁽²⁾ See chap. 1. § LVI.

⁽³⁾ Apollon. lib. 1. c. 2. § III.

⁽⁴⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 3. c. 57. p. 133.

§ XXVI.

⁽⁵⁾ Phaleg. lib. 1. c. 1.

Z 2

"and

CHAPTER
SECOND.* Pindar.
Pyth. ode 9.* Diodor.
l. 1. c. 21.
p. 12.

"and Antæus governor of Libya and Ethiopia." Antæus reigned over all Afric to the Atlantic Ocean, and built Tingis⁽⁴⁾ or Tangieres. Pindar^a tells us, that he reigned at Irafæ, a town of Libya, where Cyrene was afterwards built. He invaded Egypt and Thebais; for he was beaten by Hercules and the Egyptians near Antæa or Antæopolis, a town of Thebais; and Diodorus^b tells us, that "this town had its name from Antæus, whom Hercules slew in the days of Osiris." Hercules overthrew him several times, and every time he grew stronger by recruits from Libya, his mother earth; but Hercules intercepted his recruits, and at length slew him. In these wars Hercules took the Libyan world from Atlas, and made Atlas pay tribute out of his golden orchard, the kingdom of Afric⁽⁵⁾. Antæus and Atlas were both of them sons of Neptune; both of them reigned over all Libya and Afric, between mount Atlas and the Mediterranean to the very ocean; both of them invaded Egypt, and contended with Hercules in the wars of the gods: and therefore they are but two names of one and the same man; and even the name Atlas, in the oblique cases, seems to have been compounded of the name Antæus, and some other word; perhaps the word Atal, *curfed*, put before it. The invasion of Egypt by Antæus, Ovid hath relation unto, where he makes Hercules say,

*Sævoque alimenta parentis
Antæo eripui.*

This war was at length composed by the intervention of Mercury; who in memory thereof was said to reconcile two contending serpents, by casting his ambaffador's rod between them. And thus much concerning the ancient state of Egypt, Libya, and Greece, described by Solon.

XXVII. The mythology of the Cretans⁽¹⁾ differed in some things from that of Egypt and Libya. For in the Cretan mythology, Cœlus and Terra, or Uranus and Titæa, were the parents of Saturn and Rhea; and Saturn and Rhea were the parents of

⁽⁴⁾ Plin. lib. 5. c. 1. Strabo (p. 829.) and Plutarch (in Sertorio, p. 572.) relate, that Antæus was buried there. Sertorius opened the tomb, and found a skeleton of 50 cubits.

⁽⁵⁾ See Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 4. § II. and Bochart. Chanaan. lib. 1. c. 24.

§ XXVII.

⁽¹⁾ For the particulars of which see the Theogony of Hesiod, and Diodor. lib. 5. c. 64—79. p. 230—238.

Jupiter

Jupiter and Juno; and Hyperion, Japetus, and the Titans, were ^{Egypt.} one generation older than Jupiter; and Saturn was expelled his kingdom and castrated by his son Jupiter⁽²⁾: which fable hath no place in the mythology of Egypt.

XXVIII. During the reign of Sefac, Jeroboam being in subjection to Egypt⁽³⁾, set up the gods of Egypt in Dan and Bethel⁽⁴⁾; and Israel "was without the true God, and without a teaching priest, and without law: and in those times there was no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in; but great vexations were upon all the inhabitants of the countries; and nation was destroyed of nation, and city of city: for God did vex them with all adversity," 2 Chron. xv. 3, 5, 6. But in the fifth year of Afa⁽⁵⁾ the land of Judah became quiet from war, and from thence had quiet ten years. And Afa took away the altars of strange gods, and brake down the images, and built the fenced cities of Judah with walls, and towers, and gates, and bars, having rest on every side; and got up an army of 580,000 men⁽⁶⁾; with which, in the fifteenth year of his reign, he met Zerah the Ethiopian, who came out against him with an army of a thousand thousand Ethiopians and Libyans⁽⁷⁾. The way of the Libyans was through Egypt; and therefore Zerah was now lord of Egypt. They fought at Marefah near Gerar, between Egypt and Judæa; and Zerah was beaten, so that he could not recover himself. And from all this I seem to gather, that Osiris was slain in the fifth year of Afa, and thereupon Egypt fell into civil wars, being invaded by the Libyans, and defended by the Ethiopians for a time; and after ten years more being invaded by the Ethiopians, who slew Orus, the son and successor of Osiris, drowning him in the Nile⁽⁸⁾, and seized his kingdom. By these civil wars of Egypt, the land of Judah had rest ten years. Osiris or Sefostris reigned long, Manetho saith 48 years⁽⁹⁾; and by this reckoning he began to reign about the

17th

⁽²⁾ Here our author seems to confound two fables. Cælus or Uranus was castrated by Saturn. Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 1. § III. Hesiod Theogon. 168—182. And Saturn, according to some, was deposed, not castrated, by Jupiter.

§ XXVIII.

⁽¹⁾ See 1 Kings xi. 40.

⁽²⁾ See 1 Kings xii. 25—33.

⁽³⁾ See chap. 1. § XLII. note 9.

⁽⁴⁾ 2 Chron. xiv. 1—8.

⁽⁵⁾ 2 Chron. xiv. 9—15. and xvi. 8.

⁽⁶⁾ No ancient author, I believe, hath said either that Orus, the son of Osiris, or that the son

CHAPTER
SECOND.
* Plin. l. 6.
c. 29.

17th year of Solomon; and Orus his son was drowned in the 15th year of Afa. For Pliny^a tells us (*), "*Ægyptiorum bellis attrita est Æthiopia, vicissim imperitando serviendoque, clara & potens etiam usque ad Trojana bella Memnone regnante.*" Ethiopia served Egypt till the death of Sesostris, and no longer; for Herodotus^b tells us, that "he alone enjoyed the empire of Ethiopia." Then the Ethiopians became free, and after ten years became lords of Egypt and Libya under Zerah and Amenophis (*).

XXIX. When Afa, by his victory over Zerah, became safe from Egypt, he assembled all the people, and they offered sacrifices out of the spoils, and entered into a covenant upon oath to seek the Lord; and in lieu of the vessels taken away by Sefac, "he brought into the house of God the things that his father had dedicated, and that he himself had dedicated, silver and gold, and vessels," 2 Chron. xv.

XXX. When Zerah was beaten, so that he could not recover himself, the people^c of the lower Egypt revolted from the Ethiopians, and called in to their assistance two hundred thousand Jews and Canaanites; and under the conduct of one Ofarsiphus, a priest of Egypt, called Uforthon, Osorchon, Osorchor, and Hercules Ægyptius by Manetho, caused the Ethiopians, now under Memnon (*), to retire to Memphis: and there Memnon turned the river Nile (*) into a new channel, built a bridge over it, and fortified that pass, and then went back into Ethiopia. But after thirteen years, he and his young son Rameffes came down with an army from Ethiopia, conquered the lower Egypt, and drove out the Jews and Phœnicians; and this action the Egyptian writ-

son of Sesostris, was drowned in the Nile. But it is said of the Atlantean Helius, that he was drowned in the Eridanus. Diod. Sic. lib. 3. c. 57. p. 133. This Helius our author conceives to have been the Egyptian Horus (see § XXIV.) and consequently that the Eridanus, in which he was drowned, was the Nile.

(*) MANETHO says this of Sesostris. (Apud Euseb. Chron. Gr. p. 15.) But of Osiris he says, that he reigned 35 (p. 7.)

(*) This quotation seems to be misplaced. It should stand at the end of this section, after the words *under Zerah and Amenophis.*

(*) Africanus (apud Euseb. Chron. Gr. p. 26.) says that Amenophis, the 40th of the Memphitean kings, was Memnon.

§ XXX.

(*) THAT the Ethiopians claimed Memnon, see Diod. Sic. lib. 2. c. 22. p. 77, 78. Eusebius in Od. A. 522. speaks of Memnon, who assisted the Trojans, as an Ethiopian.

ers, and their followers, call the second expulsion of the shepherds, taking Ofarsiphus for Moses.

XXXI. Tithonus, a beautiful youth, the elder brother of Priamus, went into Ethiopia (*), being carried thither among many captives by Sesostris: and the Greeks, before the days of Hesiod, feigned that Memnon was his son (*). Memnon therefore, in the opinion of those ancient Greeks, was one generation younger than Tithonus, and was born after the return of Sesostris into Egypt: suppose about 16 or 20 years after the death of Solomon. He is said to have lived very long (*), and so might die about 95 years after Solomon, as we reckoned above: his mother, called Cissia by Æschylus (*), in a statue erected to her in Egypt^a, was represented as the daughter, the wife, and the mother of a king (*); and therefore he was the son of a king: which makes it probable that Zerah, whom he succeeded in the kingdom of Ethiopia, was his father.

XXXII. Historians^b agree that Menes reigned in Egypt next after the gods, and turned the river into a new channel, and built a bridge over it, and built Memphis and the magnificent temple of Vulcan. He built Memphis over-against the place where Grand Cairo now stands, called by the Arabian historians Mesir. He built only the body of the temple of Vulcan, and his successors Rameffes or Rhampsinetus, Mæris, Asychis, and Psammiticus, built the western, northern, eastern, and southern portico's thereof (*). Psammiticus, who built the last portico of this temple, reigned three hundred years after the victory of Afa

(*) HERODOTUS ascribes this work to his first king Menes, whom our author conceives to have been Memnon. His opinion has some countenance from Philostratus Heroic. 3, 4.

§ XXXI.

(*) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 11. § IV.

(*) Hesiod. Theogon. lin. 984.

(*) According to Eusebius in Od. A. 520. and Pindar, Nem. 6. he was slain in battle by Achilles.

(*) RATHER said by Æschylus to be a Cissian. See Strabo, p. 728. The Cissian land was the name of the particular district in which Susa stood. Herodot. lib. 5. c. 49.

(*) This is not otherwise said of Memnon's mother, than as it is said by Diodorus of the mother of the Egyptian king Olymanduas. The name Olymanduas differs little from Ismandes, And Ismandes, according to Strabo, lib. 17. p. 813. was said to be the Egyptian name of Memnon.

§ XXXII.

* Add Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 45. p. 29.

(*) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 99, 101, 121, 136, 153.

over Zerah; and it is not likely that this temple could be above three hundred years in building, or that any Menes could be king of all Egypt before the expulsion of the shepherds. The last of the gods of Egypt was Orus, with his mother Isis, and sister Bubaste, and secretary Thoth, and uncle Typhon; and the king who reigned next after all their deaths, and turned the river and built a bridge over it, and built Memphis and the temple of Vulcan, was Memnon or Amenophis, called by the Egyptians Amenoph; and therefore he is Menes. For the names Amenoph, or Menoph, and Menes, do not much differ. And from Amenoph the city Memphis, built by Menes, had its Egyptian names, Moph, Noph, Menoph or Menuf, as it is still called by the Arabian historians. The necessity of fortifying this place against Osarsiphus gave occasion to the building of it.

XXXIII. In the time of the revolt of the lower Egypt under Osarsiphus, and the retirement of Amenophis into Ethiopia, Egypt being then in the greatest distraction, the Greeks built the ship Argo, and sent in it the flower of Greece to Æetes in Colchis, and to many other princes on the coasts of the Euxine and Mediterranean seas. And this ship was built after the pattern of an Egyptian ship with fifty oars; in which Danaus, with his fifty daughters a few years before, fled from Egypt into Greece; and was the first long ship with sails built by the Greeks: and such an improvement of navigation, with a design to send the flower of Greece to many princes upon the sea-coasts of the Euxine and Mediterranean seas, was too great an undertaking to be set on foot, without the concurrence of the princes and states of Greece, and perhaps the approbation of the Amphictyonic council; for it was done by the dictate of the oracle. This council met every half year upon state-affairs for the welfare of Greece⁽¹⁾; and therefore knew of this expedition, and might send the Argonauts upon an embassy to the said princes; and for concealing their design, might make the fable of the golden fleece, in relation to the ship of Phrixus, whose ensign was a golden ram. And probably their design was to notify the distraction of Egypt, and the invasion thereof by the Ethiopians and Israelites to the

§ XXXIII.

⁽¹⁾ Strabo, lib. 9. p. 420.

said

said princes, and to persuade them to take that opportunity to revolt from Egypt, and set up for themselves, and make a league with the Greeks. For the Argonauts went through^a the kingdom of Colchis by land to the Armenians; and through Armenia^b to the Medes; which could not have been done, if they had not made friendship with the nations through which they passed. They visited also Laomedon king of the Trojans; Phineus, king of the Thracians; Cyzicus, king of the Doliones; Lycus, king of the Mariandyni; the coasts of Mysia and Taurica Chersonesus; the nations upon the Tanais; the people about Byzantium, and the coasts of Epirus; Corsica, Melita, Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Gallia upon the Mediterranean; and from thence^c they crossed the sea to Afric, and there conferred with Eurypylus king of Cyrene. And Strabo tells us, that "in Armenia and Media, and the neighbouring places, there were frequent monuments of the expedition of Jason; as also about Sinope, and its sea-coasts; the Propontis and the Hellespont, and in the Mediterranean." And a message by the flower of Greece to so many nations could be on no other account than state-policy. These nations had been invaded by the Egyptians; but after this expedition we hear no more of their continuing in subjection to Egypt.

XXXIV. The Egyptians originally lived on the fruits of the earth, and fared hardly, and abstained from animals, and therefore abominated shepherds. Menes^d taught them to adorn their beds and tables with rich furniture and carpets; and brought in amongst them a sumptuous, delicious, and voluptuous way of life⁽¹⁾. And about a hundred years after his death Gnephacthus, one of his successors, cursed him for it; and to reduce the luxury of Egypt, caused the curse to be entered in the temple of Jupiter at Thebes; and by this curse the honour of Menes was diminished among the Egyptians.

XXXV. The kings of Egypt, who expelled the shepherds and succeeded them, reigned, I think, first at Coptos, and then at

§ XXXIV.

⁽¹⁾ But whoever brought in the eating of flesh, and a voluptuous life, was older than the patriarch Joseph. See Warburton's Divine Legation, book IV. § V.

VOL. V.

A a

Thebes,

Thebes, and then at Memphis. At Coptos I place Misphragmuthosis and Amosis, or Thomosis; who expelled the shepherds, and abolished their custom of sacrificing men; and extended the Coptic language, and the name of *Αἰα Κοίη*, *Ægyptus*, to the conquest. Then Thebes became the royal city of Ammon, and from him was called No-Ammon; and his conquest on the west of Egypt was called Ammonia. After him, in the same city of Thebes, reigned Osiris, Orus, Menes or Amenophis, and Rameffes. But Memphis and her miracles were not yet celebrated in Greece; for Homer celebrates Thebes as in its glory in his days, and makes no mention of Memphis. After Menes had built Memphis (¹); Mœris, the successor of Rameffes, adorned it (²), and made it the seat of the kingdom; and this was almost two generations after the Trojan war. Cinyras, the Vulcan who married Venus, and under the kings of Egypt reigned over Cyprus and part of Phœnicia, and made armour for those kings; lived till the times of the Trojan war: and upon his death Mœnes, or Memnon, might deify him, and found the famous temple of Vulcan in that city for his worship, but not live to finish it. In a plain ^a not far from Memphis are many small pyramids, said to be built by Venephes or Enephes (³); and I suspect that Venephes and Enephes have been corruptly written for Menephes or Amenophis, the letters AM being almost worn out in some old manuscript. For after the example of these pyramids, the following kings, Mœris and his successors, built others much larger (⁴). The plain, in which they were built, was the burying-place of that city; as appears by the mummies there found: and therefore the pyramids were the sepulchral monuments of the kings and princes of that city: and by these and such like works the city grew famous soon after the days of Homer; who therefore flourished in the reign of Rameffes.

^a Manetho.

^b Herod. l. 2. c. 3, 55, 99. XXXVI. Herodotus ^b is the oldest historian now extant who wrote of the antiquities of Egypt, and had what he wrote from the priests of that country: and Diodorus, who wrote almost

(¹) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 99.

§ XXXV.

(²) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 102. Diod. Sic lib. 1. c. 11, p. 33.

(³) The fourth prince of the first Dynasty after the flood. Manetho apud Euseb. in Chron. Gr. p. 14.

400 years after him, and had his relations also from the priests ^{Egypt.} of Egypt, placed many nameless kings between those whom Herodotus placed in continual succession. The priests of Egypt had therefore, between the days of Herodotus and Diodorus, out of vanity, very much increased the number of their kings: and what they did after the days of Herodotus, they began to do before his days. For he tells us, that they recited to him out of their books, the names of 330 kings (¹) who reigned after Menes, but did nothing memorable, except Nitocris and Mœris the last of them. All these reigned at Thebes, till Mœris translated the seat of the empire from Thebes to Memphis. After Mœris he reckons Sesostris, Pheron, Proteus, Rhampsinitus, Cheops, Cephren, Mycerinus, Afychis, Anyfis, Sabacon, Anyfis again, Sethon, twelve contemporary kings, Psammitichus, Nechus, Psam-mis, Apries, Amasis (²), and Psammenitus (³). The Egyptians had, before the days of Solon, made their monarchy 9000 years old; and now they reckoned to Herodotus a succession of 330 kings reigning so many generations, that is about 11000 years before Sesostris. But the kings who reigned long before Sesostris might reign over several little kingdoms in several parts of Egypt, before the rise of their monarchy; and by consequence before the days of Eli and Samuel, and so are not under our consideration: and these names may have been multiplied by corruption; and some of them, as Athothes or Thoth, the secretary of Osiris; Toforthrus or Æsculapius, a physician who invented building with square stones; and Thuor, or Polybus, the husband of Alcandra, were only princes of Egypt. If with Herodotus we omit the names of those kings who did nothing memorable, and consider only those whose actions are recorded, and who left splendid monuments of their having reigned over Egypt; such as were temples, statues, pyramids, obelisks, and palaces, dedicated or ascribed to them; these kings, reduced into good order, will give us all, or almost all, the kings of Egypt,

(¹) Herodot. & Diod. Sic.

(²) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 100.

(³) ——— lib. 3. c. 10.

§ XXXVI.

(¹) ——— c. 101—172.

from the days of the expulsion of the shepherds and founding of the monarchy, downwards to the conquest of Egypt by Cambyfes. For Sefoftris reigned in the age of the gods of Egypt, being deified by the names of Ofiris, Hercules, and Bacchus, as above; and therefore Menes, Nitocris, and Moeris, are to be placed after him. Menes, and his son Rameffes, reigned next after the gods; and therefore Nitocris and Moeris reigned after Rameffes. Moeris is set down immediately before Cheops, three times in the dynasties of the kings of Egypt composed by Eratosthenes, and once in the dynasties of Manetho. And in the same dynasties Nitocris is set after the builders of the three great pyramids; and, according to Herodotus, her brother reigned before her, and was slain, and she revenged his death (*); and, according to Syncellus, she built the third great pyramid; and the builders of the pyramids reigned at Memphis, and by consequence after Moeris. Now from these things I gather, that the kings of Egypt, mentioned by Herodotus, ought to be placed in this order: Sefoftris, Pheron, Proteus, Menes, Rhampsinitus, Moeris, Cheops, Cephren, Mycerinus, Nitocris, Asychis, Anyfis, Sabacon, Anyfis again, Sethon, twelve contemporary kings, Pfammitichus, Nechus, Pfamnis, Apries, Amafis, Pfammenitus.

XXXVII. Pheron is by Herodotus said to be the son and successor of Sefoftris (*). He was deified by the name of Orus.

XXXVIII. Proteus reigned in the lower Egypt, when Paris sailed thither, that is at the end of the Trojan war, according to * Herodotus (*): and at that time Amenophis was king of Egypt and Ethiopia: but in his absence Proteus might be governor of some part of the lower Egypt under him. For Homer places Proteus

(*) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 100.

(*) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 111.

§ XXXVII.

§ XXXVIII.

(*) PROTEUS reigned in Egypt, according to Herodotus, both when Paris was driven to that coast with Helen, before the Trojan war; and when Menelaus sailed thither, after Troy was taken.

(*) Od. A. 384—386.

(*) This is said by Diodorus, lib. 1. c. 62. p. 39; not, that I know of, by Herodotus, who mentions only this one circumstance of his extraction, that he was a Memphite, lib. 2. c. 112.

upon

upon the sea-coasts, and makes him a sea god, and calls him the Egyptian servant of Neptune (*); and Herodotus saith, that he rose up from among the common people (3), and that Proteus was his name translated into Greek (*); and this name in Greek signifies only a prince or president. He succeeded Pheron, and was succeeded by Rhampsinitus, according to Herodotus; and so was contemporary to Amenophis.

XXXIX. Amenophis reigned next after Orus and Isis, the last of the gods. He reigned at first over all Egypt; and then over Memphis, and the upper parts of Egypt; and by conquering Osarsiphus, who had revolted from him, became king of all Egypt again, about 51 years after the death of Solomon. He built Memphis (*), and ordered the worship of the gods of Egypt (*), and built a palace at Abydos (3), and the Memnonia at This (4) and Sufa (5), and the magnificent temple of Vulcan in Memphis (6); the building with square stones being found out before by Toforthrus (7), the Æsculapius of Egypt. He is, by corruption of his name, called Menes, Mines, Minæus, Mineus, Minies, Mnevis, Enephes, Venephes, Phamenophis, Ofymanthyas, Ofimandes, Imandes, Imandes, Memnon, Arminon.

XL. Amenophis was succeeded by his son, called by Herodotus, Rhampsinitus, and by others Ramses, Ramifes, Ramefes, Rameffes, * Ramestes, Rhampses, Remphis. Upon an obelisk erected by this king in Heliopolis, and sent to Rome by the emperor Constantius, was an inscription, interpreted by Hermapion, an Egyptian priest, expressing, that the king was long lived, and reigned over a great part of the earth. And Strabo^b, an eye-witness, tells us, that in the monuments of the kings of Egypt, above the Memnonium, were inscriptions upon obelisks, ex-

(*) Herodot. & Diod. Sic. ibid.

§ XXXIX.

(*) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 99.

(3) At Abydos in the upper Egypt. Strabo, lib. 17. p. 813.

(2) Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 45. p. 29.

(*) STEPHANUS Byzantinus mentions a town of Egypt of this name, not far from Abydos. But I suspect, that it is written here by mistake for Thebes. For besides that, I find no authority for any Memnonian works at This; if Thebes be not intended here, our author hath entirely omitted the most remarkable of the Egyptian Memnonia. See Strabo, lib. 17. p. 813 and 816.

(*) Strabo, lib. 15. p. 728. Diod. Sic. lib. 2. c. 22. p. 77.

(3) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 99.

(*) The second prince of Manetho's third dynasty. See Syncell. p. 56. and Euseb. Chron. Gr. p. 14.

pressing

CHAPTER
SECOND.
Annal. l. 2.
c. 60.

pressing the riches of the kings, and their reigning as far as Scythia, Bactria, India, and Ionia. And Tacitus^a tells us, from an inscription seen at Thebes by Cæsar Germanicus, and interpreted to him by the Egyptian priests, that this king Rameffes had an army of 700000 men; and reigned over Libya, Ethiopia, Media, Persia, Bactria, Scythia, Armenia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, and Lycia⁽¹⁾; whence the monarchy of Assyria was not yet risen. This king was very covetous, and a great collector of taxes, and one of the richest of all the kings of Egypt, and built the western portico of the temple of Vulcan⁽²⁾.

XLII. Mœris inheriting the riches of Rameffes, built the northern portico of that temple more sumptuously; and made the lake of Mœris with two great pyramids of brick in the midst of it⁽³⁾. And for preserving the division of Egypt into equal shares amongst the foldiers, this king wrote a book of surveying; which gave a beginning to geometry⁽⁴⁾. He is called also Maris, Myris, Meres, Marres, Smarres; and more corruptly, by changing M into A, T, B, Σ, YX, A, &c. Ayres, Tyris, Byires, Soris, Uchoreus, Lachares, Labaris, &c.

^b Diodor. l. 1.
c. 50. p. 32.

XLII. Diodorus^b places Uchoreus between Osymanduas and Myris, that is between Amenophis and Mœris; and saith that he built Memphis, and fortified it to admiration with a mighty rampart of earth, and a broad and deep trench, which was filled with the water of the Nile; and made there a vast and deep lake for receiving the water of the Nile in the time of its overflowing; and built palaces in the city; and that this place was so commodiously seated, that most of the kings who reigned after him preferred it before Thebes, and removed the court from

§ XL.

⁽¹⁾ The inscription, as Tacitus relates it, set forth that Rameffes was the conqueror of these countries.

⁽²⁾ Herodot. lib. 2. c. 121.

⁽³⁾ Herodot. lib. 2. c. 101.

§ XLI.

⁽⁴⁾ Authors differ much about the first inventor of geometry. Herodotus (lib. 2. c. 109.) and Proclus (on the first of Euclid) agree that the inundations of the Nile gave occasion to it. Herodotus refers the invention to the age of Sesostris. Diodorus (lib. 1. c. 94.) ascribes it to the king Sefychis. Plato gives the honour of it to Thoth. Diogenes Laertius, in the life of Pythagoras, mentions Mœris, as said by Anticlide, to be the first inventor. lib. 8. segm. 17. Where our author found that Mœris wrote a book of surveying, I know not.

I

thence

thence to this place; so that the magnificence of Thebes from Egypt. that time began to decrease, and that of Memphis to increase, till Alexander, king of Macedon, built Alexandria. These great works of Uchoreus, and those of Mœris, favour of one and the same genius, and were certainly done by one and the same king, distinguished into two by a corruption of the name as above; for this lake of Uchoreus was certainly the same with that of Mœris.

XLIII. After the example of the two brick pyramids made by Mœris, the three next kings, Cheops, Cephren, and Mycerinus, built the three great pyramids at Memphis⁽¹⁾; and therefore reigned in that city. Cheops shut up the temples of the Nomes, and prohibited the worship of the gods of Egypt⁽²⁾; designing no doubt to have been worshipped himself after death. He is called also Chembis, Chemmis, Chemnis, Phiops, Apathus, Apappus, Suphis, Saophis, Syphoas, Syphaosis, Soiphis, Syphuris, Anoiphis, Anoisis. He built the biggest of the three great pyramids, which stand together; and his brother Cephren, or Cerpheres, built the second, and his son Mycerinus founded the third. This last king was celebrated for clemency and justice⁽³⁾. He shut up the dead body of his daughter in a hollow ox, and caused her to be worshipped daily with odours⁽⁴⁾. He is called also Cheres, Cherinus, Bicheres, Moscheres, Mencheres. He died before the third pyramid was finished⁽⁵⁾; and his sister and successor Nitocris finished it⁽⁶⁾.

XLIV. Then reigned Afychis, who built the eastern portico of the temple of Vulcan very splendidly; and among the small pyramids a large pyramid of brick, made of mud dug out of the

§ XLIII.

⁽¹⁾ Herodot. lib. 2. c. 124, 127, 134. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 63, 64. p. 39—41.

⁽²⁾ Herodot. lib. 2. c. 129. ⁽³⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 64. p. 41.

⁽⁴⁾ — c. 129, 130.

⁽⁵⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 64. p. 40.

⁽⁶⁾ In the sixth of Manetho's dynasties, Nitocris is mentioned, as the princess who set up the third pyramid. The third pyramid, according to Diodorus, was begun, but not finished, by Mycerinus. Therefore Nitocris reigned after Mycerinus, and finished the pyramid which he begun. Nitocris, according to Herodotus, lib. 2. c. 100, was the sister of the prince whom she succeeded. Since she finished Mycerinus's works, she reigned not long after him, and cherished an affection for his memory. Mycerinus therefore was that brother of this princess, whom she succeeded. These seem to have been the reasons by which our author persuaded himself, that Nitocris held the place, which he assigns to her, in the succession of the Egyptian monarchs.

lake

lake of Mœris⁽¹⁾. And these are the kings who reigned at Memphis, and spent their time in adorning that city, until the Ethiopians and the Assyrians and others revolted, and Egypt lost all her dominion abroad, and became again divided into several small kingdoms.

XLV. One of those kingdoms was, I think, at Memphis, under Gnephactus, and his son⁽¹⁾ and successor Bocchoris. Africanus calls Bocchoris a Saite⁽²⁾; but Sais at this time had other kings. Gnephactus, otherwise called Neochabis and Technatis, cursed Menes for his luxury, and caused the curse to be entered in the temple of Jupiter at Thebes⁽³⁾; and therefore reigned over Thebais: and Bocchoris sent in a wild bull upon the god Mnevis⁽⁴⁾, which was worshipped at Heliopolis. Another of those kingdoms was at Anyfis, or Hanes, Isa. xxx. 4. under its king Anyfis or Amosis; a third was at Sais, under Stephanathis, Nechepfos, and Nechus⁽⁵⁾; and a fourth was at Tanis, or Zoan, under Petubastes, Osorchon, and Psammis⁽⁶⁾. And Egypt being weakened by this division, was invaded and conquered by the Ethiopians under Sabacon, who slew Bocchoris⁽⁷⁾ and Nechus⁽⁸⁾, and made Anyfis fly⁽⁹⁾. The olympiads began in the reign of Petubastes⁽⁶⁾, and the æra of Nabonassar in the 22d year of the reign of Bocchoris⁽¹⁰⁾, according to Africanus; and therefore the division of Egypt into many kingdoms began before the olympiads, but not above the length of two kings reign before them.

XLVI. After the study of astronomy was set on foot for the use of navigation, and the Egyptians by the heliacal risings and settings of the stars had determined the length of the solar year of 365 days, and by other observations had fixed the solstices, and formed the fixed stars into asterisms (all which was done in the reign of Ammon, Sefac, Orus, and Memnon) it may be presumed that they continued to observe the motions of the pla-

⁽¹⁾ Herodot. lib. 2. c. 136.

§ XLIV.

⁽¹⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 45. p. 29.

§ XLV.

⁽²⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 45. p. 29. Plutarch de Is. & Os. p. 354.

⁽³⁾ See the 24th dynasty.

nets.

nets. For they called them after the names of their gods; and Egypt. Nechepfos, or Nicepfos, king of Sais, by the assistance of Petosiris, a priest of Egypt, invented astrology; grounding it upon the aspects of the planets, and the qualities of the men and women to whom they were dedicated⁽¹⁾. And in the beginning of the reign of Nabonassar king of Babylon, about which time the Ethiopians under Sabacon invaded Egypt, those Egyptians who fled from him to Babylon carried thither the Egyptian year of 365 days, and the study of astronomy and astrology, and founded the æra of Nabonassar; dating it from the first year of that king's reign, which was the 22d year of Bocchoris as above, and beginning the year on the same day with the Egyptians for the sake of their calculations. So Diodorus^a: "They say that the^a Chaldeans in Babylon, being colonies of the Egyptians, became famous for astrology, having learnt it from the priests of Egypt." And Histiaeus, who wrote an history of Egypt, speaking of a disaster of the invaded Egyptians, saith, "that^b the priests who survived this disaster, taking with them the Sa-^c cra of Jupiter Enyalios, came to Sennaar in Babylonia." From the 15th year of Afa, in which Zerah was beaten, and Menes, or Amenophis, began his reign, to the beginning of the æra of Nabonassar, were 200 years. And this interval of time allows room for about nine or ten reigns of kings, at about twenty years to a reign one with another; and so many reigns there were, according to the account set down above out of Herodotus; and therefore that account, as it is the oldest, and was received by Herodotus from the priests of Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis, three principal cities of Egypt, agrees also with the course of nature, and leaves no room for the reigns of the many nameless kings which we have omitted. These omitted kings reigned before Mœris, and by consequence at Thebes; for Mœ-

⁽¹⁾ Sir John Marsham from Ælian.

⁽¹⁾ See the 26th dynasty.

⁽²⁾ See the 23d dynasty.

⁽²⁾ See the 25th dynasty.

⁽³⁾ Herodot. lib. 2. c. 152.

⁽³⁾ ——— c. 137.

⁽¹⁰⁾ See the 24th dynasty.

§ XLVI.

⁽¹⁾ See Sir John Marsham, Sect. IX. Tit. *Mosis*. § III. and § XVI. Tit. *Nechepfos rex*.

ris translated the seat of the empire from Thebes to Memphis. They reigned after Rameffes; for Rameffes was the son and successor of Menes, who reigned next after the gods. Now Menes built the body of the temple of Vulcan; Rameffes, the first portico; and Moeris, the second portico thereof. But the Egyptians, for making their gods and kingdom look ancient, have inserted, between the builders of the first and second portico of this temple, three hundred and thirty kings of Thebes; and supposed that these kings reigned eleven thousand years; as if any temple could stand so long. This being a manifest fiction, we have corrected it, by omitting those interposed kings who did nothing, and placing Moeris the builder of the second portico, next after Rameffes the builder of the first.

XLVII. In the dynasties of Manetho, Sevechus (1) is made the successor of Sabacon, being his son; and perhaps he is the Sethon of Herodotus, who became priest of Vulcan, and neglected military discipline (2). For Sabacon is that So, or Sau, with whom Hoshea king of Israel conspired against the Assyrians, in the fourth year of Hezekiah, anno Nabonass. 24. Herodotus tells us twice or thrice, that Sabacon, after a long reign of fifty years, relinquished Egypt voluntarily; and that Anyfis, who fled from him, returned and reigned again in the lower Egypt after him (3), or rather with him: and that Sethon reigned after Sabacon, and went to Pelusium against the army of Sennacherib, and was relieved with a great multitude of mice, which eat the bowstrings of the Assyrians; in memory of which the statue of Sethon, seen by Herodotus*, was made with a mouse in its hand. A mouse was the Egyptian symbol of destruction; and the mouse in the hand of Sethon signifies only, that he overcame the Assyrians with a great destruction. The Scriptures inform us, that when Sennacherib invaded Judæa, and besieged Lachish and Libnah, which was in the 14th year of Hezekiah (4), anno Nabonass. 34. the king of Judah trusted upon Pharaoh king of Egypt, that is upon Sethon; and that Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, came out also to fight against Sennacherib, 2 King. xviii. 21. and xix. 9 (5).

(1) See the 25th dynasty.

(2) ——— lib. 3. c. 137—140.

(3) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 141.

(4) 2 Kings xviii. 13.

(5) ——— 21.

Which makes it probable, that when Sennacherib heard of the ^{Egypt.} kings of Egypt and Ethiopia coming against him, he went from Libnah towards Pelusium to oppose them; and was there surprised and set upon in the night by them both (6); and routed with as great a slaughter, as if the bow-strings of the Assyrians had been eaten by mice. Some think that the Assyrians were smitten by lightning; or by a fiery wind; which sometimes comes from the southern parts of Chaldæa. After this victory Tirhakah succeeding Sethon, carried his arms westward through Libya and Afric to the mouth of the Straits (7). But Herodotus tells us, that the priests of Egypt reckoned Sethon the last king of Egypt, who reigned before the division of Egypt into twelve contemporary kingdoms (8), and by consequence before the invasion of Egypt by the Assyrians.

XLVIII. For Afferhadon king of Assyria, in the 68th year of Nabonassar, after he had reigned about thirty years over Assyria, invaded the kingdom of Babylon; and then carried into captivity many people from Babylon, and Cuthah, and Ava, and Hamath, and Sepharvaim; placing them in the regions of Samaria and Damascus: and from thence they carried into Babylonia and Assyria the remainder of the people of Israel and Syria, which had been left there by Tiglath-pileser. This captivity was 65 years after the first year of Ahaz, Isa. vii. 1, 8. and 2 King. xv. 37. and xvi. 5. and by consequence in the twentieth year of Manasseh, anno Nabonass. 69. And then Tartan was sent by Afferhadon with an army against Ashdod, or Azoth, a town at that time subject to Judæa, 2 Chron. xxvi. 6. and took it, Isa. xx. 1. And this post being secured, the Assyrians beat the Jews, and captivated Manasseh, and subdued Judæa: and in these wars Isaiah was sawed asunder by the command of Manasseh, for prophesying against him. Then the Assyrians invaded and subdued Egypt and Ethiopia, and carried the Egyptians and Ethiopians into captivity, and thereby put an end to the reign of the Ethiopians over Egypt, Isa. vii. 18. and viii. 7. and x. 11, 12. and

(6) 2 Kings xix. 35.

(7) Herodot. lib. 1. c. 142, 147.

(8) See Strabo, lib. 15. p. 686, 687.

xix. 23. and xx. 4⁽¹⁾. In this war the city No-Ammon, or Thebes, which had hitherto continued in a flourishing condition, was miserably wasted and led into captivity, as is described by Nahum, chap. iii. ver. 8, 9, 10; for Nahum wrote after the last invasion of Judæa by the Assyrians, chap. i. ver. 15; and therefore describes this captivity as fresh in memory: and this and other following invasions of Egypt under Nebuchadnezzar and Cambyfes, put an end to the glory of that city. Afferhadon reigned over the Egyptians and Ethiopians three years, Isa. xx. 3, 4. that is until his death, which was in the year of Nabonassar 81; and therefore invaded Egypt, and put an end to the reign of the Ethiopians over the Egyptians, in the year of Nabonassar 78. So that the Ethiopians under Sabacon, and his successors Sethon and Tirhakah, reigned over Egypt about 80 years. Herodotus allots 50 years to Sabacon; and Africanus, 14 years to Sethon, and 18 to Tirhakah⁽²⁾.

XLIX. The division of Egypt into more kingdoms than one, both before and after the reign of the Ethiopians, and the conquest of the Egyptians by Afferhadon, the prophet Isaiah^a seems to allude unto in these words: "I will set," saith he, "the Egyptians against the Egyptians, and they shall fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbour, city against city, and kingdom against kingdom; and the spirit of Egypt shall fail.—And the Egyptians will I give over into the hand of a cruel lord [viz. Afferhadon] and a fierce king shall reign over them.—Surely the princes of Zoan [Tanis] are fools, the counsel of the wise counsellors of Pharaoh is become brutish: how long say ye unto Pharaoh, I am the son of the ancient kings?—The princes of Zoan are become fools: the princes of Noph [Memphis] are deceived,—even they that were the stay of the tribes thereof.—In that day there shall be a high-way out of Egypt into Assyria, and the Egyptians shall serve the Assyrians."

⁽¹⁾ See chap. iii. § XIII.

§ XLVIII.

⁽²⁾ See the 25th dynasty.

^(*) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 151, 152.

§ L.

L.

L. After the death of Afferhadon, Egypt remained subject to Egypt. twelve contemporary kings, who revolted from the Assyrians, and reigned together fifteen years; including, I think, the three years of Afferhadon, because the Egyptians do not reckon him among their kings. They^a built the labyrinth adjoining to the lake of Moëris, which was a very magnificent structure, with twelve halls in it, for their palaces: and then Psammitichus, who was one of the twelve, conquered all the rest⁽¹⁾. He built the last portico of the temple of Vulcan, founded by Menes about 260 years before; and reigned 54 years⁽²⁾, including the fifteen years⁽³⁾ of his reign with the twelve kings. Then reigned Nechaoh, or Nechus, 17 years⁽⁴⁾; Psammis six years⁽⁵⁾; Vaphres, Apries, Eraphius, or Hophra, 25 years⁽⁶⁾; Amasis 44 years⁽⁷⁾; and Psammenitus six months, according to Herodotus⁽⁸⁾. Egypt was subdued by Nebuchadnezzar in the last year but one of Hophra, anno Nabonassar. 178, and remained in subjection to Babylon forty years, Jer. xlv. 30. and Ezek. xxix. 12, 13, 14, 17, 19; that is, almost all the reign of Amasis, a plebeian⁽⁹⁾ set over Egypt by the conqueror. The forty years ended with the death of Cyrus; for he reigned over Egypt and Ethiopia, according to Xenophon. At that time therefore those nations recovered their liberty; but after four or five years more they were invaded and conquered by Cambyfes, anno Nabonassar. 223 or 224, and have almost ever since remained in servitude, as was predicted by the prophets.

LI. The reigns of Psammitichus, Nechus, Psammis, Apries, Amasis, and Psammenitus, set down by Herodotus, amount unto 146½ years: and so many years there were from the 78th year of Nabonassar, in which the dominion of the Ethiopians over Egypt came to an end, unto the 224th year of Nabonassar, in which Cambyfes invaded Egypt, and put an end to that kingdom. Which is an argument that Herodotus was circumspect and faithful in his narrations, and has given us a good account of the antiquities of Egypt, so far as the priests of Egypt at Thebes,

⁽¹⁾ Herodot. lib. 2. c. 157.

⁽²⁾ Herodot. lib. 2. c. 159.

⁽³⁾ ——— lib. 3. c. 10.

⁽⁴⁾ ——— lib. 2. c. 172.

⁽¹⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 66. p. 41.

⁽²⁾ ——— c. 161.

⁽³⁾ ——— Ibid.

⁽⁴⁾ ——— lib. 3. c. 14.

Memphis,

Memphis, and Heliopolis, and the Carians and Ionians inhabiting Egypt, were then able to inform him. For he consulted them all; and the Cares and Ionians had been in Egypt from the time of the reign of the twelve contemporary kings (*).

* Plin. l. 36.
c. 8, 9.

LII. Pliny ^a tells us, that the Egyptian obelisks were of a sort of stone dug near Syene in Thebais; and that the first obelisk was made by Mitres, who reigned in Heliopolis; that is, by Mephres, the predecessor of Misphragmuthosis (*); and that afterwards other kings made others. Sochis, that is Sefochis, or Sefac, four; each of 48 cubits in length: Ramises, that is Rameffes, two; Smarres, that is Moeris, one of 48 cubits in length; Erapius, or Hophra, one of 48; and Nectabis, or Neftenabis, one of 80. Mephres therefore extended his dominion over all the upper Egypt, from Syene to Heliopolis; and after him, Misphragmuthosis and Amosis, reigned Ammon and Sefac; who erected the first great empire in the world. And these four, Amosis, Ammon, Sefac, and Orus, reigned in the four ages of the great gods of Egypt; and Amenophis was the Menes who reigned next after them: he was succeeded by Rameffes and Moeris, and some time after by Hophra.

* Diodor. l. 1.

LIII. Diodorus ^a recites the same kings of Egypt with Herodotus, but in a more confused order; and repeats some of them twice, or oftener, under various names, and omits others. His kings are these; Jupiter Ammon and Juno, Osiris and Isis, Horus, Menes, Busris I. Busris II. Ofymanduas, Uchoreus, Myris, Sesoosis I. Sesoosis II. Amasis, Actifanes, Mendes, or Marrus, Proteus, Remphis, Chembis, Cephren, Mycerinus, or Cherinus, Gnephaethus, Bocchoris, Sabacon, twelve contemporary kings, Psammitichus, * * Apries, Amasis. Here I take Sesoosis I. and Sesoosis II. Busris I. and Busris II. to be the same kings with Osiris and Orus: also Ofymanduas to be the same with Amenophis or Menes: also Amasis, and Actifanes, an Ethiopian who conquered him, to be the same with Anyfis and Sabacon in Herodotus: and Uchoreus, Mendes, Marrus, and Myris, to be only several names of one and the same king. Whence the catalogue of Dio-

(*) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 152.

dorus will be reduced to this: Jupiter Ammon and Juno; Osiris, ^{EGYPT.} Busris or Sesoosis, and Isis; Horus, Busris II. or Sesoosis II; Menes, or Ofymanduas; Proteus; Remphis or Rameffes; Uchoreus, Mendes, Marrus, or Myris; Chembis or Cheops; Cephren; Mycerinus; * * Gnephaethus; Bocchoris; Amasis, or Anyfis; Actifanes, or Sabacon; * twelve contemporary kings; Psammitichus; * * Apries; Amasis. To which, if in their proper places you add Nitocris, Asychis, Sethon, Nechus, and Psammis, you will have the catalogue of Herodotus.

LIV. The dynasties of Manetho and Eratosthenes seem to be filled with many such names of kings, as Herodotus omitted. When it shall be made appear, that any of them reigned in Egypt after the expulsion of the shepherds, and were different from the kings described above, they may be inserted in their proper places.

LV. Egypt was conquered by the Ethiopians under Sabacon, about the beginning of the æra of Nabonassar, or perhaps three or four years before; that is, about three hundred years before Herodotus wrote his history; and about eighty years after that conquest, it was conquered again by the Assyrians under Asserhadon: and the history of Egypt set down by Herodotus from the time of this last conquest, is right both as to the number, and order, and names of the kings, and as to the length of their reigns: and therein he is now followed by historians, being the only author who hath given us so good a history of Egypt for that interval of time. If his history of the earlier times be less accurate, it was because the archives of Egypt had suffered much during the reign of the Ethiopians and Assyrians: and it is not likely that the priests of Egypt, who lived two or three hundred years after the days of Herodotus, could mend the matter. On the contrary, after Cambyfes had carried away the records of Egypt, the priests were daily feigning new kings, to make their gods and nation look ancient; as is manifest by comparing Herodotus with Diodorus Siculus, and both of them with what Plato relates out of the poem of Solon: which poem makes the wars-

(*) See the 18th dynasty.

of the great gods of Egypt against the Greeks, to have been in the days of Cecrops, Erechtheus, and Erichthonius, and a little before those of Theseus; these gods at that time instituting temples and sacred rites to themselves. I have therefore chosen to rely upon the stories related to Herodotus by the priests of Egypt in those days, and corrected by the poem of Solon; so as to make these gods of Egypt no older than Cecrops and Erechtheus, and their successor Menes no older than Theseus and Memnon, and the temple of Vulcan not above 280 years in building: rather than to correct Herodotus by Manetho, Eratosthenes, Diodorus, and others, who lived after the priests of Egypt had corrupted their antiquities much more than they had done in the days of Herodotus.

C H A P.

C H A P. III.

OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.

AS the gods, or ancient deified kings and princes of Greece, ASSYRIANS. Egypt, and Syria of Damascus, have been made much ancients than the truth; so have those of Chaldaea and Assyria. For Diodorus ^a tells us, that when Alexander the Great was in ^a Diodor. l. 2. Asia, the Chaldaeans reckoned 473000 years since they first began to observe the stars; and Ctesias, and the ancient Greek and Latin writers who copy from him, have made the Assyrian empire as old as Noah's flood within 60 or 70 years; and tell us the names of all the kings of Assyria downwards, from Belus, and his feigned son Ninus, to Sardanapalus, the last king of that monarchy. But the names of his kings, except two or three, have no affinity with the names of the Assyrians mentioned in Scripture. For the Assyrians were usually named after their gods, Bel or Pul; Chaddon, Hadon, Adon, or Adonis; Melech, or Moloch; Atsur, or Assur; Nebo; Nergal; Merodach: as in these names, Pul, Tiglath-Pul-Assur, Salman-Assur, Adra-Melech, Shar-Assur, Assur-Hadon, Sardanapalus, or Assur-Hadon-Pul, Nabonassar, or Nebo-Adon-Assur, Bel-Adon, Chiniladon, or Chen-El-Adon, Nebo-Pul-Assur, Nebo-Chaddon-Assur, Nebuzaradon or Nebo-Assur-Adon, Nergal-Assur, Nergal-Shar-Assur, Labo-Assur-dach, Shefeb-Assur, Beltes-Assur, Evil-Merodach, Shamgar-Nebo, Rabfarris or Rab-Assur, Nebo-Shashban, Mardocempad or Merodach-Empad. Such were the Assyrian names; but those in Ctesias are of another sort, except Sardanapalus, whose name he had met with in Herodotus. He makes Semiramis as old as the first Belus. But Herodotus tells us, that she was

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but five generations older than the mother of Labynetus (¹). He represents, that the city Ninus was founded by a man of the same name (²); and Babylon, by Semiramis (³); whereas either Nimrod or Assur founded those and other cities, without giving his own name to any of them. He makes the Assyrian empire continue about 1360 years (⁴); whereas Herodotus tells us that it lasted only 520 years (⁵); and the numbers of Herodotus concerning those ancient times are all of them too long. He makes Nineveh destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians three hundred years before the reign of Astibares and Nebuchadnezzar, who destroyed it; and sets down the names of seven or eight feigned kings of Media, between the destruction of Nineveh and the reigns of Astibares and Nebuchadnezzar; as if the empire of the Medes, erected upon the ruins of the Assyrian empire, had lasted 300 years (⁶), whereas it lasted but 72: and the true empire of the Assyrians described in Scripture, whose kings were Pul, Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, Afferhadon, &c. he mentions not, though much nearer to his own times: which shews that he was ignorant of the antiquities of the Assyrians. Yet something of truth there is in the bottom of some of his stories, as there uses to be in romances; as, that Nineveh was destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians; that Sardanapalus was the last king of the Assyrian empire; and that Astibares and Aftages were kings of the Medes. But he has made all things too ancient, and out of vain-glory taken too great a liberty in feigning names and stories to please his reader.

II. When the Jews were newly returned from the Babylonian captivity, they confessed their sins in this manner: "Now therefore our God,—let not all the trouble seem little before thee that hath come upon us, on our kings, on our princes, and on our priests, and on our prophets, and on our fathers, and
"on

C H A P. III.

§ I.

(¹) Herodot. lib. 1. c. 184 and 188.(²) ——— c. 7—10. p. 67.(³) Herodot. lib. 1. 95.(⁴) Diod. Sic. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 65.(⁵) ——— c. 21. p. 77.(⁶) Diod. Sic. lib. 2. c. 32—34. p. 83—85.

§ II.

(¹) THAT it was in the days of Pul, that the Assyrians began to afflict Israel, appears from
2 Kings

"on all thy people, since the time of the kings of Assyria unto Assyrians.
"this day;" Nehem. ix. 32. That is, since the time of the kingdom of Assyria, or since the rise of that empire: and therefore the Assyrian empire arose when the kings of Assyria began to afflict the inhabitants of Palestine; which was in the days of Pul (¹). He and his successors afflicted Israel, and conquered the nations round about them; and upon the ruin of many small and ancient kingdoms erected their empire, conquering the Medes, as well as other nations. But of these conquests Ctesias knew not a word, no not so much as the names of the conquerors, or that there was an Assyrian empire then standing; for he supposes that the Medes reigned at that time, and that the Assyrian empire was at an end above 250 years before it began.

III. However, we must allow that Nimrod founded a kingdom at Babylon, and perhaps extended it into Assyria. But this kingdom was but of small extent, if compared with the empires which rose up afterwards; being only within the fertile plains of Chaldæa, Chalonitis, and Assyria, watered by the Tigris and Euphrates: and if it had been greater, yet it was but of short continuance, it being the custom in those early ages for every father to divide his territories amongst his sons. So Noah was king of all the world; and Cham was king of all Afric; and Japhet of all Europe and Asia Minor; but they left no standing kingdoms. After the days of Nimrod, we hear no more of an Assyrian empire till the days of Pul. The four kings who, in the days of Abraham, invaded the southern coast of Canaan (¹), came from the countries where Nimrod had reigned; and perhaps were some of his posterity who had shared his conquests. In the time of the judges of Israel, Mesopotamia was under its own king, Judg. iii. 8; and the king of Zobah reigned on both sides of the river Euphrates till David conquered him, 2 Sam. viii and x. The kingdoms of Israel, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Philistia, Zidon, Da-

2 Kings xi. 9 and 1. Chron. v. 26. But why the time of the kings of Assyria, in Nehemiah ix. 32. must necessarily be understood of the *rise* of the Assyrian empire, is not so evident. The expression naturally denotes the time when the Assyrians began to harass Israel, whether it was sooner or later after the rise of the empire.

(¹) Gen. xii.

§ III.

mafcus, and Hamath the Great, continued fubject to other lords than the Affyrians till the days of Pul and his fucceffors; and fo did the houfe of Eden, Amos i. 5. 2 Kings xix. 12. and Haran or Carrhæ, Gen. xii. 2 Kings xix. 12; and Sepharvaim in Mefopotamia, and Calneh near Bagdad, Gen. x. 10. Ifa. x. 9. 2 Kings xvii. 31. Sefac and Memnon were great conquerors, and regned over Chaldæa, Affyria, and Perfia; but in their hiftories there is not a word of any oppofition made to them by an Affyrian empire then ftanding. On the contrary, Sufiana, Media, Perfia, Bactria, Armenia, Cappadocia, &c. were conquered by them; and continued fubject to the kings of Egypt, till after the long reign of Rameffes, the fon of Memnon, as above. Homer mentions Bacchus and Memnon kings of Egypt and Perfia, but knew nothing of an Affyrian empire. Jonah prophesied when Ifrael was in affliction under the king of Syria; and this was in the latter part of the reign of Jehoahaz, and firft part of the reign of Joafh, kings of Ifrael ('); and I think in the reign of Mœris, the fucceffor of Rameffes king of Egypt, and about fixty years before the reign of Pul. And Nineveh was then a city of large extent, but full of paftures for cattle; fo that it contained but about 120000 perfons ('). It was not yet grown fo great and potent as not to be terrified at the preaching of Jonah, and to fear being invaded by its neighbours, and ruined within forty days. It had fome time before got free from the dominion of Egypt, and had got a king of its own; but its king was not yet called king of Affyria, but only king of Nineveh, Jonah iii. 6, 7; and his proclamation for a faft was not published in feveral nations, nor in all Affyria, but only in Nineveh, and perhaps in the villages thereof. But foon after, when the dominion of Nineveh was eftablifhed at home, and exalted over all Affyria properly fo called, and this kingdom began to make war upon the neighbouring nations; its kings were no longer called kings of Nineveh, but began to be called kings of Affyria.

(') See 2 Kings xiii. 22. and xiv. 23—25. And Jerom's preface to his commentary on the book of Jonah.

(') Jonah iv. 11.

IV.

IV. Amos prophesied in the reign of Jeroboam, the fon of ASSYRIANS. Joafh king of Ifrael, foon after Jeroboam had fubdued the kingdoms of Damafcus and Hamath, that is, about ten or twenty years before the reign of Pul. And he ^a thus reproves Ifrael ^{Amos vi. 13, 14.} for being lifted up by thofe conquests; "Ye which rejoice in a " thing of nought, which fay, have we not taken to us horns " by our ftrength? But behold I will raife up againft you a na- " tion, O houfe of Ifrael, faith the Lord the God of hofts, and " they fhall afflict you from the entering in of Hamath unto the " river of the wildernefs." God here threatens to raife up a nation againft Ifrael; but what nation he names not; that he conceals, till the Affyrians fhould appear and discover it. In the prophecies of Ifaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hofea, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, and Zechariah, which were written after the monarchy grew up, it is openly named upon all occafions; but in this of Amos, not once; though the captivity of Ifrael and Syria be the fubject of the prophecy, and that of Ifrael be often threatened. He only faith in general, that Syria fhould go into captivity unto Kir, and that Ifrael, notwithstanding her prefent greatness, fhould go into captivity beyond Damafcus; and that God would raife up a nation to afflict them: meaning that he would raife up above them, from a lower condition, a nation whom they yet feared not. For fo the Hebrew word עַם fignifies when applied to men, as in Amos v. 2. 1 Sam. xii. 11. Pfal. cxiii. 7. Jer. x. 20. 1. 32. Hab. i. 6. Zech. xi. 16. As Amos names not the Affyrians, at the writing of this prophecy they made no great figure in the world; but were to be raifed up againft Ifrael; and by confequence rofe up in the days of Pul and his fucceffors. For after Jeroboam had conquered Damafcus and Hamath ('); his fucceffor Menahem destroyed Tiphfah (') with its territories upon Euphrates, becaufe they opened not to him: and therefore Ifrael continued in its greatness till Pul, probably grown formidable by fome victories, caufed Menahem to buy his peace ('). Pul therefore reigning prefently after the prophecy of Amos, and being the firft upon record who began to fulfill it, may be juftly

(') 2 Kings xiv. 28.

§ IV.
(') ——— xv. 16.

(') ——— 19, 20.
reckoned.

reckoned the first conqueror and founder of this empire. For
"God stirred up the spirit of Pul, and the spirit of Tiglath-pi-
"lefer king of Assyria," 1 Chron. v. 26.

V. The same prophet Amos, in prophesying against Israel, threatened them in this manner, with what had lately befallen other kingdoms: "Pass ye^a," saith he, "unto Calneh and see, "and from thence go ye to Hamath the Great, then go down to "Gath of the Philistims. Be they better than these kingdoms?" These kingdoms were not yet conquered by the Assyrians, except that of Calneh, or Chalonitis, upon Tigris, between Babylon and Nineveh. Gath was newly vanquished^b by Uzziah king of Judah, and Hamath^c by Jeroboam king of Israel. And while the prophet, in threatening Israel with the Assyrians, instances in desolations made by other nations, and mentions no other conquest of the Assyrians than that of Chalonitis near Nineveh; it argues, that the king of Nineveh was now beginning his conquests, and had not yet made any great progress in that vast career of victories, which we read of a few years after.

VI. For about seven years after the captivity of the ten tribes⁽¹⁾, when Sennacherib warred in Syria, which was in the 16th olympiad, he^d sent this message to the king of Judah: "Behold, "thou hast heard what the kings of Assyria have done to all "lands, by destroying them utterly, and shalt thou be delivered? "Have the gods of the nations delivered them which the gods "of my fathers have destroyed, as Gozan, and Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden which were in [the kingdom "of] Thelasar? Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of "Arpad, and the king of the city of Sepharvaim, and of Hena "and Ivah?" And Isaiah^e thus introduceth the king of Assyria boasting: "Are not my princes altogether as kings? Is not Calno "[or Calneh] as Carchemish? Is not Hamath as Arpad? Is not "Samaria as Damascus? As my hand hath found the kingdom "of the idols, and whose graven images did excel them of Jerusalem and of Samaria; shall I not as I have done unto Samaria and her idols, so do to Jerusalem and her idols?" All

(1) 2 Kings xviii. 10 and 13.

this desolation is recited as fresh in memory to terrify the Jews; ^{ASSYRIANS.} and these kingdoms reach to the borders of Assyria; and to shew the largeness of the conquests, they are called "all lands," that is, all round about Assyria. It was the custom of the kings of Assyria, for preventing the rebellion of people newly conquered, to captivate and transplant those of several countries into one another's lands, and intermix them variously: and thence it appears^a, that Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and Gozan, and the cities of the Medes into which Galilee and Samaria were transplanted; and Kir into which Damascus was transplanted; and C Babylon, and Cuth, or the Sufanchites, and Hamath, and Ava, and Sepharvaim, and the Dinaites, and the Apharsachites, and the Tarpelites, and the Archevites, and the Dehavites, and the Elamites, or Persians, part of all which nations were led captive by Afferhadon and his predecessors into Samaria; were all of them conquered by the Assyrians not long before.

VII. In these conquests are involved, on the west and south side of Assyria, the kingdoms of Mesopotamia; whose royal seats were Haran or Carrhæ, and Carchemish or Circutium, and Sepharvaim, a city upon Euphrates, between Babylon and Nineveh, called Sipparæ by Berosus, Abydenus, and Polyhistor, and Sippbara by Ptolemy; and the kingdoms of Syria seated at Samaria, Damascus, Gath, Hamath, Arpad, and Reseph, a city placed by Ptolemy near Thapsacus. On the south side and south-east side were Babylon and Calneh, or Calno, a city which was founded by Nimrod, where Bagdat now stands, and gave the name of Chalonitis to a large region under its government; and Thelasar, or Talatha, a city of the children of Eden, placed by Ptolemy in Babylonia, upon the common stream of Tigris and Euphrates, which was therefore the river of Paradise; and the Archevites at Areca or Erech, a city built by Nimrod on the east side of Pasitigris, between Apamia and the Persian Gulph; and the Sufanchites at Cuth or Sufa, the metropolis of Susiana. On the east were Elymais, and some cities of the Medes; and Kir, ^ba city and large region of Media, between Elymais and Assyria, ^ccalled Kirene by the Chaldee paraphrast and Latin interpreter, and Carine by Ptolemy. On the north-east were Habor or Chaboras,

boras, a mountainous region between Assyria and Media; and the Apharsachites, or men of Arrapachitis, a region originally peopled by Arphaxad, and placed by Ptolemy at the bottom of the mountains next Assyria. And on the north, between Assyria and the Gordiæan mountains, was Halah or Chalach, the metropolis of Calachene: and beyond these, upon the Caspian sea, was Gozan, called Gauzania by Ptolemy. Thus did these new conquests extend every way from the province of Assyria to considerable distances, and make up the great body of that monarchy: so that well might the king of Assyria boast how his armies had destroyed all lands. All these nations ^a had till now their several gods; and each accounted his god the god of his own land, and the defender thereof, against the gods of the neighbouring countries, and particularly against the gods of Assyria; and therefore they were never till now united under the Assyrian monarchy; especially since the king of Assyria doth not boast of their being conquered by the Assyrians oftener than once: but these being small kingdoms, the king of Assyria easily overflowed them. “Know ye not,” saith Sennacherib to the Jews ^b, “what I and my fathers have done unto all the people of other lands?—for no god of any nation or kingdom was able to deliver his people out of mine hand, and out of the hand of my fathers: how much less shall your God deliver you out of mine hand?” He and his fathers therefore, Pul, Tiglath-pileser, and Shalmaneser, were great conquerors; and with a current of victories had newly overflowed all nations round about Assyria, and thereby set up this monarchy.

VIII. Between the reigns of Jeroboam II. and his son Zachariah, there was an interregnum of about ten or twelve years in the kingdom of Israel (¹). And the prophet Hosea ^c, in the time of that interregnum, or soon after, mentions the king of Assyria by the name of Jareb, and another conqueror by the name of Shalman; and perhaps Shalman might be the first part of the name of Shalmaneser; and Iareb, or Irib, for it may be read both ways, the last part of the name of his successor Sennache-

^a 2 King. xvii. 24, 30, 31. & xviii. 33, 34, 35. 2 Chron. xxxii. 15.

^b Chron. xxxii. 13, 15.

^c Hosea vi. 11. & x. 6, 14.

§ VIII.

(¹) See Petav. Doct. Temp. lib. 9. c. 61.

rib.

rib. But whoever these princes were, it appears not that they ^{ASSYRIANS.} reigned before Shalmaneser. Pul, or Belus, seems to be the first who carried on his conquests beyond the province of Assyria: he conquered Calneh with its territories in the reign of Jeroboam, Amos i. 1. vi. 2. and Isa. x. 8, 9. and invaded Israel in the reign of Menahem, 2 King. xv. 19. but stayed not in the land, being bought off by Menahem for a thousand talents of silver. In his reign therefore the kingdom of Assyria was advanced on this side Tigris: for he was a great warrior, and seems to have conquered Haran, and Carchemish, and Refeph, and Calneh, and Thelassar, and might found or enlarge the city of Babylon, and build the old palace.

IX. Herodotus tells us, that one of the gates of Babylon was ^a called the gate of Semiramis; and that she adorned the walls of the city, and the temple of Belus; and that she ^b was five generations older than Nitocris, the mother of Labynitus, or Nabonnedus, the last king of Babylon. And therefore she flourished four generations, or about 134 years, before Nebuchadnezzar; and by consequence, in the reign of Tiglath-pileser, the successor of Pul. And the followers of Ctesias tell us, that she built Babylon; and was the widow of the son and successor of Belus, the founder of the Assyrian empire (¹); that is, the widow of one of the sons of Pul. But ^c Berofus, a Chaldean, blames the Greeks for ascribing the building of Babylon to Semiramis; and other authors ascribe the building of this city to Belus himself; that is, to Pul. So Curtius ^d tells us; “*Semiramis Babylonem condiderat, vel ut plerique credidere Belus, cujus regia ostenditur.*” And Abydenus, who had his history from the ancient monuments of the Chaldeans, writes: “*Λεγεῖται Βηλον Βα-βυλωνια τῆς τετρακισχίλις ἐτης ἀπὸ τοῦ Πυλὸς ἐκτισμένη. ὁ Πυλὸς ὁ Πυλὸς ὁ Πυλὸς ἐκτισμένη. ὁ Πυλὸς ὁ Πυλὸς ἐκτισμένη.*” “It is reported that Belus compassed Babylon with a wall, which in time was abolished: and that Nebuchadnezzar afterwards built a new wall with brazen gates,

^a Herod. l. 3. c. 155.

^b Herod. l. 3. c. 184.

^c Berof. apud Joseph. contr. Apion. l. 1. c. 20. p. 1343. ^d Curt. l. 5. c. 1.

^e Apud Euseb. Præp. l. 9. c. 41. p. 268.

§ IX.

(¹) Diod. Sic. lib. 2. c. 7—10. p. 67—70. Euseb. in Chron.

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D d

“ which

CHAPTER
THIRD.
• Dorotheus,
apud Julium
Furnicum.

“ which stood till the time of the Macedonian empire.” And so Dorotheus^a, an ancient poet of Sidon :

“ *Ἀρχαίη Βαβυλῶν, Τυρίῃ Βηλοῖο πόλιν.*”

“ The ancient city Babylon, built by the Tyrian Belus ;”

• Heren.
apud Steph.
in BaC.

That is, by the Syrian or Assyrian Belus ; the words Tyrian, Syrian, and Assyrian, being anciently used promiscuously for one another. Herennius^b tells us, that it was built by the son of Belus ; and this son might be Nabonassar. After the conquest of Calneh, Thelassar, and Sipparæ, Belus might seize Chaldæa, and begin to build Babylon, and leave it to his younger son. For all the kings of Babylon, in the canon of Ptolemy, are called Assyrians, and Nabonassar is the first of them. And Nebuchadnezzar^c reckoned himself descended from Belus, that is, from the Assyrian Pul : and the building of Babylon is ascribed to the Assyrians by^d Isaiah : “ Behold,” saith he, “ the land of “ the Chaldæans : this people was not till the Assyrian founded “ it for them that dwell in the wilderness [that is, for the Arabians]. They set up the towers thereof, they raised up the “ palaces thereof (’).” From all this it seems therefore, that Pul founded the walls and the palaces of Babylon, and left the city with the province of Chaldæa to his younger son Nabonassar ; and that Nabonassar finished what his father began, and erected the temple of Jupiter Belus to his father : and that Semiramis lived in those days, and was the queen of Nabonassar ; because one of the gates of Babylon was called the gate of Semiramis, as Herodotus affirms : but whether she continued to reign there after her husband’s death, may be doubted.

X. Pul therefore was succeeded at Nineveh by his elder son Tiglath-pileser ; at the same time that he left Babylon to his younger son Nabonassar. Tiglath-pileser, the second king of Assyria, warred in Phœnicia, and captivated Galilee with the two tribes and an half, in the days of Pekah king of Israel ; and placed them in Halath, and Habor, and Hara, and at the river Gazon ; places lying on the western borders of Media, between

(’) See Sir John Marsham, *scd.* XVII. *Tit. Babylon condita.*

Assyria

Assyria and the Caspian Sea, 2 King. xv. 29, and 1 Chron. v. ASSYRIANS. 26 : and about the fifth or sixth of year of Nabonassar, he came to the assistance of the king of Judah against the kings of Israel and Syria ; and overthrew the kingdom of Syria, which had been seated at Damascus ever since the days of king David ; and carried away the Syrians to Kir in Media, as Amos had prophesied ; and placed other nations in the regions of Damascus, 2 King. xv. 37, and xvi. 5, 9, Amos i. 5, Joseph. Antiq. l. 9. c. 13. Whence it seems that the Medes were conquered before, and that the empire of the Assyrians was now grown great : “ for the “ God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, and “ the spirit of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, to make war,” 1 Chron. v. 26.

XI. Shalmaneser, or Salmanasser, called Enemessar by Tobit, invaded^a all Phœnicia, took the city of Samaria, and captivated Israel ; and placed them in Chalach and Chabor, by the river Gazon, and in the cities of the Medes (’). And Hosea^b seems to say that he took Arbela : and his successor Sennacherib said, that his fathers had conquered also Gozan, and Haran or Carrhæ, and Reseph or Refen, and the children of Eden, and Arpad or the Aradii, 2 King. xix. 12.

XII. Sennacherib, the son of Shalmaneser, in the 14th year of Hezekiah invaded Phœnicia ; and took several cities of Judah ; and attempted Egypt : and Sethon or Sevechus, king of Egypt (’), and Tirhakah king of Ethiopia (’), coming against him, he lost in one night 185000 men (’), as some say by a plague, or perhaps by lightning, or a fiery wind which blows sometimes in the neighbouring deserts, or rather by being surprized by Sethon and Tirhakah : for the Egyptians, in memory of this action, erected a statue to Sethon, holding in his hand a mouse, the Egyptian symbol of destruction (’). Upon this defeat Sennacherib returned in haste to Nineveh (’) ; and^c his kingdom became^c Tobit i. 15.

§ XI.

(’) 2 Kings xvii. 6.

§ XII.

(’) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 141.

(’) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 141.

(’) 2 Kings xix. 9.

(’) 2 Kings xix. 36.

(’) ——— 35.

D d 2

troubled,

troubled, so that Tobit could not go into Media, the Medes, I think, at this time revolting: and he was soon after slain by two of his sons who fled into Armenia, and his son Asserhadon succeeded him⁽⁶⁾. At that time did Merodach Baladan, or Mardocempad, king of Babylon, send an embassy to Hezekiah king of Judah.

^a Tobit i. 21.
² King. xix.
37. Ptol.
Canon.

XIII. Asserhadon^a, called Sarchedon by Tobit, Afordan by the LXX, and Assaradin in Ptolemy's canon, began his reign at Nineveh, in the year of Nabonassar 42⁽¹⁾; and in the year 68 extended it over Babylon. Then he carried the remainder of the Samaritans into captivity, and peopled Samaria with captives brought from several parts of his kingdom; the Dinaites, the Apharsachites, the Tarpelites, the Apharsites, the Archévites, the Babylonians, the Sufanchites, the Dehavites, the Elamites, Ezra iv. 2, 9; and therefore he reigned over all these nations. Pekah and Rezin, kings of Samaria and Damascus, invaded Judæa in the first year of Ahaz⁽²⁾; and within 65 years after, that is in the 21st year of Manassah, anno Nabonass. 69, Samaria by this captivity ceased to be a people, Isai. vii. 8. Then Asserhadon invaded Judæa; took Azoth; carried Manassah captive to Babylon, and^b captivated also Egypt, Thebais, and Ethiopía above Thebais: and by this war he seems to have put an end to the reign of the Ethiopians over Egypt, in the year of Nabonassar 77 or 78.

^b Isa. xx. 1,
3, 4. and
Chron.
xxxiii. 11.

XIV. In the reign of Sennacherib and Asserhadon, the Assyrian empire seems arrived at its greatness; being united under one monarch, and containing Assyria, Media, Apolloniatis, Sufiana, Chaldæa, Mesopotamia, Cilicia, Syria, Phœnicia, Egypt, Ethiopia, and part of Arabia; and reaching eastward into Elymais, and Parætacene, a province of the Medes: and if Cha-

⁽⁶⁾ 2 Kings xix. 37.

§ XIII.

⁽¹⁾ Asserhadon began to reign upon his father's death; which could hardly be later than in the 18th of Hezekiah. The 18th of Hezekiah was the 38th of Nabonassar.

⁽²⁾ 2 Kings xv. 37. and xvi. 1—5.

§ XIV.

⁽¹⁾ Herodot. lib. 2. c. 104.

Iach

Iach and Chabor be Colchis and Iberia, as some think, and as ^{ASSYRIANS.} may seem probable from the circumcision used by those nations till the days of Herodotus⁽¹⁾, we are also to add these two provinces, with the two Armenia's, Pontus, and Cappadocia, as far as to the river Halys. For^a Herodotus tells us, that the people^a of Cappadocia, as far as to that river, were called Syrians by^a the Greeks, both before and after the days of Cyrus; and that the Assyrians were also called Syrians by the Greeks.

XV. Yet the Medes revolted from the Assyrians in the latter end of the reign of Sennacherib; I think upon the slaughter of his army near Egypt, and his flight to Nineveh. For at that time the estate of Sennacherib was troubled, so that Tobit could not go into Media as he had done before, Tobit i. 15; and some time after, Tobit advised his son to go into Media⁽¹⁾, where he might expect peace; while Nineveh, according to the prophesy of Jonah, should be destroyed. Ctesias wrote, that Arbaces, a Mede, being admitted to see Sardanapalus in his palace, and observing his voluptuous life amongst women, revolted with the Medes; and in conjunction with Belesis, a Babylonian, overcame him, and caused him to set fire to his palace, and burn himself⁽²⁾. But he is contradicted by other authors of better credit. For Duris^b and many others wrote, that Arbaces, upon being admitted into the palace of Sardanapalus, and seeing his effeminate life, slew himself⁽³⁾; and Cleitarchus, that Sardanapalus died of old age, after he had lost his dominion over Syria⁽⁴⁾. He lost it by the revolt of the western nations; and Herodotus^c tells us, that the Medes revolted first, and defended their liberty by force of arms against the Assyrians, without conquering them; and at their first revolting had no king; but after some time set up Dejoces over them, and built Ecbatane for his residence; and

^a Apud
Athenæum,
l. xii. p. 528.

^c Herod. l. 1.
c. 96—103.
&c.

§ XV.

⁽¹⁾ Tobit. c. xiv. 4—8.

⁽²⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 2. c. 23—28. p. 78—81.

⁽³⁾ The text of Athenæus, in the place to which Sir Isaac Newton refers, is exceedingly corrupt. Sir Isaac Newton follows the sense given by the Latin translator. But Athenæus seems to say, that whereas Ctesias relates, that Sardanapalus, after sustaining a war with Arbaces, set fire to his palace, and burnt himself with it: many other historians, of whom Duris was one, affirmed, that Arbaces, having procured admission to the king's presence, and seeing his effemacy, in indignation that the Medes should be governed by so contemptible a prince, stabbed him on the spot: not himself, but Sardanapalus.

⁽⁴⁾ Athenæus, lib. 12. p. 529.

that

that Dejoces reigned only over Media, and had a peaceable reign of 53 years: but his son and successor Phraortes made war upon his neighbours, and conquered Persia; and that the Syrians also, and other western nations, at length revolted from the Assyrians, being encouraged thereunto by the example of the Medes; and that after the revolt of the western nations, Phraortes invaded the Assyrians; but was slain by them in that war, after he had reigned twenty and two years. He was succeeded by Astyages.

¹ Athenus,
l. i. c. p. 520,
530.

XVI. Now Afferhadon seems to be the Sardanapalus who died of old age after the revolt of Syria; the name Sardanapalus being derived from Afferhadon-Pul. Sardanapalus was the ¹ son of Anacyndaraxis, Cyndaraxis, or Anabaxaris, king of Assyria; and this name seems to have been corruptly written for Sennacherib, the father of Afferhadon. Sardanapalus built Tarfus and Anchiale in one day; and therefore reigned over Cilicia, before the revolt of the western nations: and if he be the same king with Afferhadon, he was succeeded by Saolduchinus in the year of Nabonassar 81 (¹). And by this revolution Manasseh was set at liberty to return home and fortify Jerusalem (²). And the Egyptians also, after the Assyrians had harassed Egypt and Ethiopia three years, Isai. xx. 3, 4. were set at liberty; and continued under twelve contemporary kings of their own nation, as above. The Assyrians invaded and conquered the Egyptians the first of the three years, and reigned over them two years more: and these two years are the interregnum which Africanus (³), from Manetho, places next before the twelve kings. The Scythians of Touran, or Turquestan, beyond the river Oxus, began in those days to infest Persia (⁴); and by one of their inroads might give occasion to the revolt of the western nations.

XVII. In the year of Nabonassar 101, Saolduchinus, after a reign of twenty years, was succeeded at Babylon by Chyniladon (¹); and I think at Nineveh also. For I take Chyniladon to be that Nabuchodonosor who is mentioned in the book of Judith; for the history of that king suits best with these times.

§ XVI.

(¹) Ptolemæi Can.

(²) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 3.

(³) Diodorus Siculus speaks of this interregnum, lib. i. c. 66. p. 41. But I cannot find that Manetho or Africanus take any notice of it.

For

For there it is said, that "Nabuchodonosor, king of the Assyrians, who reigned at Nineveh, that great city, in the twelfth year of his reign made war upon Arphaxad king of the Medes;" and was then left alone by a defection of the auxiliary nations of Cilicia, Damascus, Syria, Phœnicia, Moab, Ammon, and Egypt (¹); and without their help routed the army of the Medes, and slew Arphaxad (²): and Arphaxad is there said to have built Ecbatane (³); and therefore was either Dejoces, or his son Phraortes, who might finish the city founded by his father. And Herodotus ⁴ tells the same story of a king of Assyria who routed the Medes and slew their king Phraortes; and saith, that in the time of this war the Assyrians were left alone by the defection of the auxiliary nations, being otherwise in good condition. Arphaxad was therefore the Phraortes of Herodotus, and by consequence was slain near the beginning of the reign of Josiah. For this war was made after Phœnicia, Moab, Ammon, and Egypt, had been conquered and revolted, Judith i. 7, 8, 9, and by consequence after the reign of Afferhadon, who conquered them. It was made when the Jews were newly returned from captivity, "and the vessels and altar and temple were sanctified after the "prophanation," Judith iv. 3; that is, soon after Manasseh their king had been carried captive to Babylon by Afferhadon; and upon the death of their king, or some other change in the Assyrian empire, had been released with the Jews from that captivity, and had repaired the altar, and restored the sacrifices and worship of the temple, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, 16. In the Greek version of the book of Judith, chap. v. 18. it is said, that "the temple of God was cast to the ground;" but this is not said in Jerom's version; and in the Greek version, chap. iv. 3. and chap. xvi. 20. it is said, that "the vessels, and the altar, and the "house, were sanctified after the prophanation;" and in both versions, chap. iv. 11. the temple is represented standing.

(⁴) Herodot. lib. i. c. 103.

§ XVII.

(¹) Ptolemæi Can.

(²) Judith i. 1-11.

(³) ——— 15.

(⁴) ——— 1-4.

XVIII.

XVIII. After this war Nebuchadnezzar king of Assyria, in the 13th year of his reign, according to the version of Jerom (*), sent his captain Holofernes with a great army to avenge himself on all the west country; because they had disobeyed his commandment. And Holofernes went forth with an army of 12000 horse, and 120000 foot, of Assyrians, Medes, and Persians; and reduced Cilicia, Mesopotamia, and Syria, and Damascus, and part of Arabia, and Ammon, and Edom, and Madian, and then came against Judæa: and this was done when the government was in the hands of the high-priest and ancients of Israel, Judith iv. 6, 7, 8. and vii. 23; and by consequence not in the reign of Manasseh or Amon, but when Josiah was a child. In times of prosperity the children of Israel were apt to go after false gods; and in times of affliction, to repent and turn to the Lord. So Manasseh, a very wicked king, being captivated by the Assyrians, repented; and being released from captivity restored the worship of the true God. So when we are told, that "Josiah, in the eighth year of his reign, while he was yet young, began to seek after the God of David, his father; and in the twelfth year of his reign began to purge Judah and Jerusalem from idolatry, and to destroy the high places, and groves, and altars and images of Baalim," 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3; we may understand, that these acts of religion were occasioned by impending dangers, and escapes from danger. When Holofernes came against the western nations, and spoiled them, then were the Jews terrified, and they fortified Judæa, and "cried unto God with great fervency, and humbled themselves in sackcloth, and

(*) Judith ii. 1.

§ XVIII.

(*) The argument intended, which I think our author has not stated very clearly, seems to be this:

The 53 years of the reign of Dejoces are probably to be reckoned, not from the time when he was actually invested with the royal power, but from the revolt of the Medes. Which revolt took place, as our author imagines, as soon as the news of Sennacherib's disaster near Pelusium, and of his retreat to Nineve, reached Media. This retreat was in the 14th or 15th year of Hezekiah's reign, according to the sacred history; that is, in the 34th or 35th of Nabonassar. Therefore the 35th or 36th of Nabonassar was probably the first of Dejoces. Dejoces reigned 53 years. Therefore the last of Dejoces, and the first of Phraortes, must fall on the 87th or 88th, or at any rate not later than the 89th of Nabonassar. Phraortes reigned 22 years. Therefore the last of Phraortes must have fallen on the 108th or 109th of Nabonassar, or at any rate not

and put ashes on their heads, and cried unto the God of Israel, ^{ASSYRIANS} that he would not give their wives, and their children, and cities for a prey, and the temple for a profanation: and the high-priest, and all the priests, put on sackcloth and ashes, and offered daily burnt offerings, with vows and free gifts of the "people," Judith iv; and then began Josiah to seek after the God of his father David. And after Judith had slain Holofernes, and the Assyrians were fled, and the Jews who pursued them were returned to Jerusalem, "they worshipped the Lord, and offered burnt offerings and gifts, and continued feasting before the sanctuary for the space of three months," Judith xvi. 18—20; and then did Josiah purge Judah and Jerusalem from idolatry. Whence it seems to me, that the eighth year of Josiah fell in with the fourteenth or fifteenth of Nabuchodonosor; and that the twelfth year of Nabuchodonosor, in which Phraortes was slain, was the fifth or sixth of Josiah. Phraortes reigned 22 years, according to Herodotus; and therefore succeeded his father Dejoces about the 40th year of Manasseh, anno Nabonass. 89; and was slain by the Assyrians, and succeeded by Astyages, anno Nabonass. 111. Dejoces reigned 53 years according to Herodotus, and these years began in the 16th year of Hezekiah; which makes it probable, that the Medes dated them from the time of their revolt: and according to all this reckoning, the reign of Nabuchodonosor fell in with that of Chyniladon; which makes it probable, that they were but two names of one and the same king (*).

XIX. Soon after the death of Phraortes^a, the Scythians un-^a Herod. l. 1. c. 103—106. der Madyes, or Medus, invaded Media, and beat the Medes in ^{Steph. in} ^{Παρθενία.}

not later than the 111th. In the 111th year of Nabonassar, the 11th of Chyniladon ended, and his 12th began according to the canon. Phraortes, therefore, a king of Media, who, according to Herodotus, was slain by a king of Assyria, was slain by Chyniladon, king of Assyria, in the 12th year of Chyniladon's reign, and the 111th of the æra of Nabonassar.

But on the 111th of the æra of Nabonassar began the 5th or 6th of Josiah king of Judah. And in the 5th or 6th of Josiah king of Judah, Arphaxad, a king of the Medes, as appears from the book of Judith, according to Jerome's translation, compared with the sacred history of the Jews, was slain by Nabuchodonosor, a king of Assyria, in the 12th year of Nabuchodonosor's reign.

Chyniladon therefore and Nabuchodonosor appear to have been kings of Assyria at the same time; and each, in the same numerical year of his reign, slew a vanquished king of Media. Therefore Chyniladon and Nabuchodonosor are only different names of the same king of Assyria; and Phraortes and Arphaxad are only different names of the Median king subdued and slain by that Assyrian.

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E c

battle,

battle, anno Nabonass. 113, and went thence towards Egypt; but were met in Phœnicia by Psammitichus and bought off, and returned reigning over a great part of Asia. But in the end of about 28 years, were expelled; many of their princes and commanders being slain in a feast by the Medes under the conduct of Cyaxeres, the successor of Astyages, just before the destruction of Nineveh, and the rest being soon after forced to retire.

* Alexander Polyhistor apud Euseb. in Chron. p. 46. & apud Syn-cellum, p. 210.

XX. In the year of Nabonassar 123 (¹), ^a Nabopolassar, the commander of the forces of Chyniladon, the king of Assyria, in Chaldæa, revolted from him, and became king of Babylon; and Chyniladon was either then, or soon after, succeeded at Nineveh by the last king of Assyria, called Sarac by Polyhistor. And at length Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabopolassar, married Amyite, the daughter of Astyages and sister of Cyaxeres; and by this marriage the two families having contracted affinity, they conspired against the Assyrians. And Nabopolassar being now grown old, and Astyages being dead, their sons Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxeres led the armies of the two nations against Nineveh; slew Sarac; destroyed the city; and shared the kingdom of the Assyrians. This victory the Jews refer to the Chaldeans; the Greeks, to the Medes; Tobit (²), Polyhistor, Josephus (³), and Ctesias (⁴), to both. It gave a beginning to the great successes of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxeres, and laid the foundation of the two collateral empires of the Babylonians and Medes; these being branches of the Assyrian empire: and thence the time of the fall of the Assyrian empire is determined, the conquerors being then in their youth. In the reign of Josiah, when Zephaniah prophesied, Nineveh and the kingdom of Assyria were standing, and their fall was predicted by that prophet, Zeph. i. 3. and ii. 13. And in the end of his reign Pharaoh Nechoh, king of Egypt, the successor of Psammitichus, went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates, to fight against Carchemish or Circutium, and in his way thither

§ XX.

(¹) Ptolemæi Can.

(²) Tobit xiv. 15.

(³) Josephus to the Medes, lib. 10. c. 2. § II. p. 435.

(⁴) Apud Diod. Sic. lib. 2. c. 24. p. 78.

flew Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 29. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20) and there-
fore the last king of Assyria was not yet slain. But in the third and fourth year of Jehoiakim, the successor of Josiah, the two conquerors having taken Nineveh and finished their war in Assyria, prosecuted their conquests westward; and leading their forces against the king of Egypt, as an invader of their right of conquest, they beat him at Carchemish, and ^a took from him what-
ever he had newly taken from the Assyrians: and therefore we cannot err above a year or two, if we refer the destruction of Nineveh, and fall of the Assyrian empire, to the second year of Jehoiakim, anno Nabonass. 140. The name of the last (⁵) king Sarac, might perhaps be contracted from Sarchedon; as this name was from Afferhadon, Afferhadon-Pul, or Sardanapalus.

XXI. While the Assyrians reigned at Nineveh, Persia was divided into several kingdoms; and amongst others there was a kingdom of Elam, which flourished in the days of Hezekiah, Manasseh, Josiah, and Jehoiakim, kings of Judah, and fell in the days of Zedekiah, Jer. xxv. 25. and xlix. 34. and Ezek. xxxii. 24. This kingdom seems to have been potent; and to have had wars with the king of Touran or Scythia, beyond the river Oxus, with various success; and at length to have been subdued by the Medes and Babylonians, or one of them. For while Nebuchadnezzar warred in the west, Cyaxeres recovered the Assyrian provinces of Armenia, Pontus, and Cappadocia, and then they went eastward against the provinces of Persia and Parthia. Whether the Pischedadians, whom the Persians reckon to have been their oldest kings, were kings of the kingdom of Elam, or of that of the Assyrians, and whether Elam was conquered by the Assyrians at the same time with Babylonia and Sufiana in the reign of Afferhadon, and soon after revolted, I leave to be examined.

(⁵) How is this consistent with what our author hath so fully proved (§ XVII and XVIII.) that Afferhadon had two successors at Nineveh, Saosduchinus and Chyniladon? Or with what he says, § XIX. that Sarac, the last Assyrian king, was the successor of Chyniladon?

C H A P. IV.

OF THE TWO CONTEMPORARY EMPIRES OF THE
BABYLONIANS AND MEDES.CHAPTER
FOURTH.

By the fall of the Assyrian empire, the kingdoms of the Babylonians and Medes grew great and potent. The reigns of the kings of Babylon are stated in Ptolemy's canon. For understanding of which you are to note, that every king's reign in that canon began with the last Thoth of his predecessor's reign; as I gather by comparing the reigns of the Roman emperors in that canon with their reigns recorded in years, months, and days, by other authors. Whence it appears from that canon, that Asferhadon died in the year of Nabonassar 81; Saofduchinus, his successor, in the year 101; Chyniladon, in the year 123; Nabopolassar, in the year 144; and Nebuchadnezzar in the year 187. All these kings, and some others mentioned in the canon, reigned successively over Babylon; and this last king died in the 37th year of Jechoniah's captivity (2 Kings xxv. 27) and therefore Jechoniah was captivated in the 150th year of Nabonassar.

II. This captivity was in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign (2 Kings xxiv. 12), and eleventh of Jehoiakim's. For the first year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign was the fourth of Jehoiakim's, (Jer. xxv. 1) and Jehoiakim reigned eleven years before this captivity (2 Kings xxiii. 36, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5), and Jechoniah three months, ending with the captivity; and the tenth year of Jechoniah's captivity, was the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign (Jer. xxxii. 1); and the eleventh year of Zedekiah, in which Jerusalem was taken, was the nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar,

nezzar, Jer. lii. 5, 12. And therefore Nebuchadnezzar began <sup>BABYLONI-
ANS AND
MEDES.</sup> his reign in the year of Nabonassar 142, that is, two years before the death of his father Nabopolassar, he being then made king by his father; and Jehoiakim succeeded his father Josiah in the year of Nabonassar 139; and Jerusalem was taken and the temple burnt in the year of Nabonassar 160, about twenty years after the destruction of Nineveh.

III. The reign of Darius Hystaspis over Persia, by the canon and the consent of all chronologers, and by several eclipses of the moon, began in spring in the year of Nabonassar 227 (*): and "in the fourth year of king Darius, in the fourth day of the ninth month, which is the month Chisleu, when the Jews had sent unto the house of God, saying, Should I weep in the fifth month as I have done these so many years? The word of the Lord came unto Zechariah, saying, speak to all the people of the land, and to the priests, saying; when ye fasted and mourned in the fifth and seventh month even those seventy years, did ye at all fast unto me?" Zech. vii. 1—5. Count backwards those seventy years, in which they fasted in the fifth month for the burning of the temple, and in the seventh for the death of Gedaliah; and the burning of the temple and death of Gedaliah will fall upon the fifth and seventh Jewish months, in the year of Nabonassar 160, as above.

IV. As the Chaldaean astronomers counted the reigns of their kings by the years of Nabonassar, beginning with the month Thoth; so the Jews, as their authors tell us, counted the reigns of theirs by the years of Moses, beginning every year with the month Nisan. For if any king began his reign a few days before this month began, it was reckoned to him for a whole year, and the beginning of this month was accounted the beginning of the second year of his reign. And according to this reckoning the first year of Jehoiakim began with the month Nisan, anno Nabonass. 139, though his reign might not really begin till five or six months after; and the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and first of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the reckoning of the Jews,

C H A P. IV. § III.

(*) See Petav. Doct. Temp. lib. 10. c. 19.

began

began with the month Nisan, anno Nabonass. 142; and the first year of Zedekiah, and of Jeconiah's captivity, and ninth year of Nebuchadnezzar, began with the month Nisan, in the year of Nabonass. 150; and the tenth year of Zedekiah, and 18th of Nebuchadnezzar, began with the month Nisan in the year of Nabonass. 159. Now in the ninth year of Zedekiah, Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judæa and the cities thereof; and in the tenth month of that year, and tenth day of the month, he and his host besieged Jerusalem, 2 Kings xxv. 1. Jer. xxxiv. 1. xxxix. 1. and lii. 4. From this time to the tenth month, in the second year of Darius, are just seventy years; and accordingly, "upon the 24th day of the eleventh month of the second year of Darius, the word of the Lord came unto Zechariah,—and "the angel of the Lord said, Oh Lord of hosts, how long wilt "thou not have mercy on Jerusalem, and on the cities of Judah, "against which thou hast had indignation, these threescore and "ten years," Zech. i. 7, 12. So then the ninth year of Zedekiah, in which this indignation against Jerusalem and the cities of Judah began, commenced with the month Nisan in the year of Nabonass. 158; and the eleventh year of Zedekiah, and nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar, in which the city was taken and the temple burnt, commenced with the month Nisan in the year of Nabonass. 160, as above.

V. By all these characters the years of Jehoiakim, Zedekiah, and Nebuchadnezzar, seem to be sufficiently determined; and thereby the chronology of the Jews in the Old Testament is connected with that of later times. For between the death of Solomon and the ninth year of Zedekiah, wherein Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judæa, and began the siege of Jerusalem, there were 390 years, as is manifest both by the prophesy of Ezekiel, chap. iv. and by summing up the years of the kings of Judah; and from the ninth year of Zedekiah inclusively to the vulgar æra of Christ, there were 590 years: and both these numbers, with half the reign of Solomon, make up a thousand years.

VI. In the ^a end of the reign of Josiah, anno Nabonass. 139, Pharaoh Nechoh, the successor of Psammitichus, came with a great army out of Egypt against the king of Assyria; and being denied

^a 2 King.
xxiii. 29, &c.
2 Chron.
xxxv. 20.
xxxvi. 4.

denied passage through Judæa, beat the Jews at Megiddo, or Magdolus, before Egypt; slew Josiah their king; marched to Carchemish or Circuitum, a town of Mesopotamia upon Euphrates, and took it; possessed himself of the cities of Syria; sent for Jehoahaz, the new king of Judah, to Riblah or Antioch; deposed him there; made Jehoiakim king in the room of Josiah; and put the kingdom of Judah to tribute. But the king of Assyria being in the mean time besieged and subdued, and Nineveh destroyed by Assuerus king of the Medes; and Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and the conquerors being thereby entitled to the countries belonging to the king of Assyria; they led their victorious armies against the king of Egypt, who had seized part of them. For Nebuchadnezzar, assisted ^a by Astibares, that is, by Astivares, Assuerus, Acksweres, Axeres, or Cy-Ax-eres, king of the Medes, in the ^b third year of Jehoiakim, came with an army of Babylonians, Medes, Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, to the number of 10000 chariots, and 180000 foot, and 120000 horse, and laid waste Samaria, Galilee, Scythopolis, and the Jews in Galaaditis, and besieged Jerusalem, and took king Jehoiakim alive, and ^c bound him in chains for a time, and carried to Babylon Daniel and others of the people, and part of what gold and silver and brass they found in the temple. And in ^d the fourth year of Jehoiakim, which was the twentieth of Nabopolassar, they routed the army of Pharaoh Nechoh at Carchemish; and by pursuing the war, took from the king of Egypt whatever pertained to him from the river of Egypt to the river of Euphrates (^e). This king of Egypt is called by Berosus ^f the Satrapa of Egypt, Coele-Syria, and Phœnicia; and this victory over him put an end to his reign in Coele-Syria and Phœnicia, which he had newly invaded, and gave a beginning to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar there: and by the conquests over Assyria and Syria, the small kingdom of Babylon was erected into a potent empire.

VII. Whilst Nebuchadnezzar was acting in Syria ^g, his father Nabopolassar died, having reigned 21 years; and Nebuchadnezzar

§ VI.

(^e) 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

^a Polyhistor
apud Euseb.
Præp. l. 9.
c. 39. p. 266.
^b 2 King. xxiv.
^c Dan. i. 1.
^d Dan. i. 2.
^e Chron.
xxvi. 6.

^f Apud Joseph. Antiq.
l. 10. c. 11.
& contr. Ap.
lib. 1. c. 19.
p. 1342.

^g Berosi apud
Joseph. Ant.
l. 10. c. 11.

CHAPTER
FOURTH.

zar, upon the news thereof, having ordered his affairs in Syria returned to Babylon, leaving the captives and his army with his servants to follow him. And from henceforward he applied himself sometimes to war, conquering Sittacene, Susiana, Arabia, Edom, Egypt, and some other countries; and sometimes to peace, adorning the temple of Belus with the spoils that he had taken; and the city of Babylon with magnificent walls and gates, and stately palaces and penfile gardens, as Berosus relates; and amongst other things he cut the new rivers Naarmalcha and Palacopas above Babylon, and built the city of Teredon (¹).

VIII. Judæa was now in servitude under the king of Babylon, being invaded and subdued in the third and fourth years of Jehoiakim; "and Jehoiakim served him three years, and then "turned and rebelled," 2 King. xxiv. 1. While Nebuchadnezzar and the army of the Chaldeans continued in Syria, Jehoiakim was under compulsion; after they returned to Babylon, Jehoiakim continued in fidelity three years, that is, during the 7th, 8th, and 9th years of his reign, and rebelled in the tenth. Whereupon, in the return or end of the year, that is in spring, he sent ^a and besieged Jerusalem; captivated Jeconiah, the son and successor of Jehoiakim; spoiled the temple; and carried away to Babylon the princes, craftsmen, smiths, and all that were fit for war: and, when none remained but the poorest of the people, made ^b Zedekiah their king, and bound him upon oath to serve the king of Babylon. This was in spring, in the end of the eleventh year of Jehoiakim, and beginning of the year of Nabonassar 150.

IX. Zedekiah, notwithstanding his oath ^c, revolted, and made a covenant with the king of Egypt; and therefore Nebuchadnezzar, in the ninth year of Zedekiah ^d, invaded Judæa and the cities thereof; and in the tenth Jewish month of that year besieged Jerusalem again; and in the eleventh year of Zedekiah,

§ VII.

(¹) Abydenus apud Euseb. Præp. lib. 9. p. 268.

§ XI.

(¹) Ptolemæi Can.

(²) Berosus apud Joseph. contr. Ap. lib. 1. c. 20. p. 1344.

in

in the 4th and 5th months, after a siege of one year and an half, took and burnt the city and temple.

X. Nebuchadnezzar, after he was made king by his father, reigned over Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria 45 years; and ^a after the death of his father, 43 years; and ^b after the captivity of Jeconiah, 37; and then was succeeded by his son Evilmerodach, called Iluaro-damus in Ptolemy's canon. Jerome ^c tells us, that Evilmerodach reigned seven years in his father's life-time, while his father did eat grass with oxen; and after his father's restoration was put in prison with Jeconiah king of Judah, till the death of his father; and then succeeded in the throne. In the fifth year of Jeconiah's captivity, Belsazzar was next in dignity to his father Nebuchadnezzar, and was designed to be his successor (Baruch i. 2, 10, 11, 12, 14) and therefore Evilmerodach was even then in disgrace. Upon his coming to the throne ^d, he brought ^e his friend and companion Jeconiah out of prison on the 27th day of the twelfth month; so that Nebuchadnezzar died in the end of winter, anno Nabonass. 187.

XI. Evilmerodach reigned two years after his father's death (¹); and for his lust and evil manners was slain by his sister's husband Neriglissar (²), or Nergalassar, Nabonass. 189, according to the canon.

XII. Neriglissar, in the name of his young son Laboassardach, or Laboasserdach, the grand-child of Nebuchadnezzar by his daughter, reigned four years, according to the canon and Berosus, including the short reign of Laboasserdach alone. For Laboasserdach, according to Berosus and Josephus, reigned nine months after the death of his father; and then for his evil manners was slain in a feast, by the conspiracy of his friends with Nabonnedus, a Babylonian, to whom by consent they gave the kingdom: but these nine months are not reckoned apart in the canon.

XIII. Nabonnedus, or Nabonadius, according to the canon, began his reign in the year of Nabonass. 193; reigned seventeen years; and ended his reign in the year of Nabonass. 210, being then vanquished, and Babylon taken by Cyrus (¹).

§ XIII.

(¹) Berosus, *ibid.*

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XIV.

BABYLONI-
ANS AND
MEDES.

^a Canon. &
Berosus.
^b 2 King.
xxv. 27.

^c Hieron. in
Isa. xiv. 19.

^d 2 King.
xxv. 27, 29.
&c.

^a 2 King.
xxiv. 12, 14.
2 Chron.
xxxvi. 10.

^b 2 Kings
xxiv. 17.
Ezek. xvii. 1.
13, 16, 18.

^c Ezek. xvii.
15.

^d 2 King.
xxv. 1, 2, 8.
Jer. xxxii. 1.
& xxxix. 1, 2.

* Dan. v. 2.

b Jos. Ant.
l. 10. c. 11.
sect. 2. p. 460.c Herod. l. 1.
c. 184, 185,
186.

XIV. Herodotus calls this last king of Babylon, Labynetus; and says, that he was the son of a former Labynetus, and of Nitocris, an eminent queen of Babylon (*). By the father he seems to understand, that Labynetus, who, as he tells us, was king of Babylon when the great eclipse of the sun, predicted by Thales, put an end to the five years war between the Medes and Lydians (†); and this was the great Nebuchadnezzar. Daniel ^a calls the last king of Babylon, Belshazzar; and saith, that Nebuchadnezzar was his father. And Josephus ^b tells us, that the last king of Babylon was called Nabonadon by the Babylonians, and reigned seventeen years; and therefore he is the same king of Babylon with Nabonnedus or Labynetus. And this is more agreeable to sacred writ, than to make Nabonnedus a stranger to the royal line. For all "nations were to serve Nebuchadnezzar" and his posterity, till the very time of his land should come, "and many nations should serve themselves of him," Jer. xxvii. 7. Belshazzar was born and lived in honour before the fifth year of Jeconiah's captivity, which was the eleventh year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign; and therefore he was above 34 years old at the death of Evilmerodach, and so could be no other king than Nabonnedus: for Labasardach, the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, was a child when he reigned.

XV. Herodotus ^c tells us, that there were two famous queens of Babylon, Semiramis and Nitocris; and that the latter was more skillful. She observing, that the kingdom of the Medes, having subdued many cities, and among others Nineveh, was become great and potent, intercepted and fortified the passages out of Media into Babylonia; and the river, which before was straight, she made crooked, with great windings, that it might be more sedate and less apt to overflow. And on the side of the river above Babylon, in imitation of the Lake of Moeris in Egypt, she dug a lake every way forty miles broad, to receive the water of the river, and keep it for watering the land. She built also a bridge over the river in the middle of Babylon, turning the

§ XIV.

(*) Herodot. lib. 1. c. 188.

(†) Vide Herodot. lib. 1. c. 74. Where Herodotus, however, does not call Labynetus king of Babylon, but simply the Babylonian.

stream

stream into the lake till the bridge was built. Philostratus ^a saith, <sup>BABYLONI-
ANS AND
MEDES.
^a Philost. in
vita Apol-
lonii, l. 1.
c. 25.</sup> that she made a bridge under the river two fathoms broad; meaning an arched vault, over which the river flowed, and under which they might walk cross the river. He calls her *Mydeia*, a Mede.

XVI. Berofus tells us (*), that Nebuchadnezzar built a pensile garden upon arches, because his wife was a Mede, and delighted in mountainous prospects, such as abounded in Media, but were wanting in Babylonia. She was Amyite (†), the daughter of Aftyages, and sister of Cyaxeres, kings of the Medes. Nebuchadnezzar married her upon a league between the two families against the king of Assyria. But Nitocris might be another woman; who in the reign of her son Labynetus, a voluptuous and vicious king, took care of his affairs, and, for securing his kingdom against the Medes, did the works above-mentioned. This is that queen mentioned in Daniel, chap. v. 10.

XVII. Josephus ^b relates out of the Tyrian records, that in <sup>b Jos. contr.
Apion, l. 1.
c. 21.
p. 1344.</sup> the reign of Ithobalus king of Tyre, that city was besieged by Nebuchadnezzar thirty years together. In the end of that siege Ithobalus their king was slain, Ezek. xxviii. 8, 9, 10. And after him, according to the Tyrian records, reigned Baal ten years; Ecnibalus and Chelbes, one year; Abbarus, three months; Mytgonus and Gerastratus, six years; Balatorus, one year; Merbalus, four years; and Iromus, twenty years. And in the fourteenth year of Iromus, say the Tyrian records, the reign of Cyrus began in Babylonia. Therefore the siege of Tyre began 48 years and some months before the reign of Cyrus in Babylonia. It began when Jerusalem had been newly taken and burnt, with the temple (Ezek. xxvi.) and by consequence after the eleventh year of Jeconiah's captivity, or 160th year of Nabonassar. And therefore the reign of Cyrus in Babylonia began after the year of Nabonassar 208. It ended before the eight and twentieth year of Jeconiah's captivity, or 176th year of Nabonassar (Ezek. xxix. 17.) and therefore the reign of Cyrus in Babylonia began before the year of Nabonassar 211. By this argument the first

§ XVI.

(*) Apud Joseph. contr. Ap. lib. 1. c. 19. p. 1343.

(†) Vid. chap. 3. § XX.

F f 2

year

CHAPTER FOURTH.
Herod. l. i. c. 189, 190, 191. Xenoph. l. 7. p. 190, 191. 191. Ed. Paris.
 year of Cyrus in Babylonia was one of the two intermediate years 209, 210. Cyrus invaded Babylonia in the year of Nabonassar 209; Babylon^a held out, and the next year was taken, (Jer. li. 39, 57,) by diverting the river Euphrates, and entering the city through the emptied channel, and by consequence after Midsummer: for the river, by the melting of the snow in Armenia, overflows yearly in the beginning of summer, but in the heat of summer grows low. ^b And that night was the king of "Babylon slain; and Darius the Mede, or king of the Medes, took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old." So then Babylon was taken a month or two after the summer solstice, in the year of Nabonassar 210; as the canon also represents.

XVIII. The kings of the Medes before Cyrus were Dejoces, Phraortes, Astyages, Cyaxeres, or Cyaxares, and Darius. The three first reigned before the kingdom grew great; the two last were great conquerors, and erected the empire. For Æschylus, who flourished in the reigns of Darius Hytaspis and Xerxes, and died in the 76th olympiad (^c), introduces Darius thus complaining of those who persuaded his son Xerxes to invade Greece^c:

"Τοιγαρ σφιν εργον εστιν εξειργασμενον
 "Μεγιστον, αιειμνηστον, οιον εδεπω,
 "Το δ' αςυ Συσων εξεκεινωσεν πρεσον^d
 "Εξ ετε τιμην Ζευς αναξ τηνδ' ωπασεν,
 "Εν ανδρα πασης Ασιαδος μηλοτροφει.
 "Ταγειν, εχοντα σκηπηρον ευθυνητριον.
 "Μηδος γαρ ην ο πρωτος ηγεμων κρατη^e
 "Αλλος δ' εκεινε πασι τοδ' εργον ηνυσε^f
 "Φρενες γαρ αυτη θυμον οιακοςροφεν.
 "Τριτος δ' απ' αυτη Κυρος, ευδαιμων ανηρ, &c."

"They have done a work
 "The greatest, and most memorable, such as never happen'd,

§ XVIII.

(^a) It is very uncertain in what year Æschylus died. But it is certain, from the Amudelian Marbles, that he was present in the battle of Marathon; and his scholiast says he was in those of Salamis and Platea.

(^c) Dan. vi. 18.

(^d) Dan. ix. 1.

(^e) Tobit xiv. 15.

"For

"For it has emptied the falling Susa:
 "From the time that king Jupiter granted this honour,
 "That one man should reign over all fruitful Asia,
 "Having the imperial scepter.
 "For he that first led the army was a Mede;
 "The next, who was his son, finish'd the work,
 "For prudence directed his soul;
 "The third was Cyrus, a happy man, &c."

The poet here attributes the founding of the Medo-Persian empire to the two immediate predecessors of Cyrus, the first of which was a Mede, and the second was his son. The second was Darius the Mede, the immediate predecessor of Cyrus (¹), according to Daniel; and therefore the first was the father of Darius, that is, Achsuerus, Assuerus, Oxyares, Axeres, prince Axeres, or Cy-Axeres, the word Cy signifying a prince. For Daniel tells us, that Darius was the son of Achsuerus, or Ahastuerus (²), as the Masoretes erroneously call him, of the seed of the Medes (³), that is, of the seed royal. This is that Assuerus who, together with Nebuchadnezzar, took and destroyed Nineveh, according to Tabit (⁴): which action is by the Greeks ascribed to Cyaxeres (⁵), and by Eupolemus to Astibares (⁶), a name perhaps corruptly written for Assuerus. By this victory over the Assyrians, and subversion of their empire seated at Nineveh, and the ensuing conquests of Armenia, Cappadocia, and Persia, he began to extend the reign of one man over all Asia; and his son Darius the Mede, by conquering the kingdoms of Lydia and Babylon, finished the work. And the third king was Cyrus, a happy man for his great successes under and against Darius, and large and peaceable dominion in his own reign.

XIX. Cyrus lived seventy years, according to Cicero (¹), and reigned nine years over Babylon, according to Ptolemy's canon; and therefore was 61 years old at the taking of Babylon; at which

(¹) Herodot. lib. i. c. 103—106.

(²) Astibares, king of the Medes, is mentioned by Polyhistor (apud Euseb. Præp. lib. 9. p. 266.) as the ally of Nabuchodonosor in his invasion of Judæa.

§ XX.

(¹) De Divinat. lib. i. c. 23.

time

CHAPTER
FOURTH.

^a Herod.
l. 1. c. 107,
108. Xenoph.
Cyropæd. l. 1.
p. 2.
^b Cyropæd.
l. 1. p. 22.
^c Cyropæd.
l. 8. p. 228,
229.

time Darius the Mede was 62 years old, according to Daniel (^a): and therefore Darius was two generations younger than Aftyages, the grandfather of Cyrus. For Aftyages, according to both Herodotus ^a and Xenophon, gave his daughter Mandane to Cambyfes, a prince of Persia, and by them became the grandfather of Cyrus; and Cyaxeres was the son of Aftyages, according to Xenophon ^b, and gave his daughter to Cyrus. This daughter, saith ^c Xenophon, was reported to be very handsome; and used to play with Cyrus when they were both children, and to say, that she would marry him: and therefore they were much of the same age. Xenophon saith, that Cyrus married her after the taking of Babylon. But she was then an old woman. It is more probable, that he married her while she was young and handsome, and he a young man; and that because he was the brother-in-law of Darius the king, he led the armies of the kingdom until he revolted. So then Aftyages, Cyaxeres, and Darius, reigned successively over the Medes; and Cyrus was the grandson of Aftyages, and married the sister of Darius, and succeeded him in the throne.

XX. Herodotus ^d therefore hath inverted the order of the kings Aftyages and Cyaxeres; making Cyaxeres to be the son and successor of Phraortes, and the father and predecessor of Aftyages, the father of Mandane, and grandfather of Cyrus; and telling us, that this Aftyages married Ariene, the daughter of Alyattes king of Lydia (^e), and was at length taken prison and deprived of his dominion by Cyrus (^f). And Pausanias (^g) hath copied after Herodotus, in telling us, that Aftyages, the son of Cyaxeres, reigned in Media in the days of Alyattes king of Lydia. Cyaxeres had a son who married Ariene, the daughter of Alyattes; but this son was not the father of Mandane, and grandfather of Cyrus, but of the same age with Cyrus; and his true name is preserved in the name of the Darics (^h), which, upon the conquest of Croesus by the conduct of his general Cyrus, he coined out of the gold and silver of the conquered Ly-

(^a) Dan. v. 31.

(^f) Herodot. lib. 1. c. 74.

(^g) ——— c. 125—130.

dians. His name was therefore Darius, as he is called by Daniel. <sup>BABYLONI-
ANS AND
MEDES.</sup> For Daniel tells us, that this Darius was a Mede, and that his father's name was Affuerus, that is Axeres or Cyaxeres, as above. Considering therefore that Cyaxeres reigned long; and that no author mentions more kings of Media than one, called Aftyages; and that Æschylus, who lived in those days, knew but of two great monarchs of Media and Persia, the father and the son, older than Cyrus: it seems to me, that Aftyages, the father of Mandane and grandfather of Cyrus, was the father and predecessor of Cyaxeres; and that the son and successor of Cyaxeres was called Darius. Cyaxeres, according to Herodotus ^a, reigned <sup>Herod.
l. 1. c. 106,
130.</sup> 40 years, and his successor 35, and Cyrus, according to Xenophon, seven. Cyrus died anno Nabonass. 219, according to the canon; and therefore Cyaxeres died anno Nabonass. 177, and began his reign anno Nabonass. 137; and his father Aftyages reigned 26 years, beginning his reign at the death of Phraortes, who was slain by the Assyrians anno Nabonass. 111, as above (^b).

XXI. Of all the kings of the Medes, Cyaxeres was the greatest warrior. Herodotus ^b saith, that he was much more valiant <sup>Herod. l. 1.
c. 103.</sup> than his ancestors, and that he was the first who divided the kingdom into provinces, and reduced the irregular and undisciplined forces of the Medes into discipline and order. And therefore, by the testimony of Herodotus, he was that king of the Medes, whom Æschylus makes the first conqueror and founder of the empire. For Herodotus represents him and his son to have been the two immediate predecessors of Cyrus, erring only in the name of the son. Aftyages did nothing glorious. In the beginning of his reign a great body of Scythians, commanded by Madyes, ^c invaded Media and Parthia, as above, and reigned <sup>Herod.
lib. 1.
c. 103—107.</sup> there about 28 years. But at length his son Cyaxeres circumvented and slew them in a feast, and made the rest fly to their brethren in Parthia; and immediately after, in conjunction with Nebuchadnezzar, invaded and subverted the kingdom of Assyria, and destroyed Nineveh.

(^b) Pausan. lib. 5. c. 10. p. 398.

(^c) Chap. 3. § XVIII.

(^d) Vid. Schol. in Aristoph. *Ecclesiazæ*, lin. 598.

XXII. In the fourth year of Jehoiakim, which the Jews reckon to be the first of Nebuchadnezzar (¹), dating his reign from his being made king by his father, or from the month Nisan preceding, when the victors had newly shared the empire of the Assyrians, and in prosecuting their victory were invading Syria and Phœnicia, and were ready to invade the nations round about; God ^a threatened that "he would take all the families of the north," that is, the armies of the Medes, "and Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, and bring them against Judæa, and against the nations round about, and utterly destroy those nations, and make them an astonishment and lasting desolations, and cause them all to drink the wine-cup of his fury;" and in particular he names "the kings of Judah and Egypt, and those of Edom, and Moab, and Ammon, and Tyre, and Zidon, and the isles of the sea, and Arabia, and Zimri, and all the kings of Elam, and all the kings of the Medes, and all the kings of the north, and the king of Sefac (²); and that after seventy years, he would also punish the king of Babylon (³)."^a Here, in numbering the nations which should suffer, he omits the Assyrians as fallen already; and names the kings of Elam or Persia, and Sefac or Sufa, as distinct from those of the Medes and Babylonians; and therefore the Persians were not yet subdued by the Medes, nor the king of Sufa by the Chaldeans. And as by the punishment of the king of Babylon, he means the conquest of Babylon by the Medes; so by the punishment of the Medes, he seems to mean the conquest of the Medes by Cyrus.

XXIII. After this, in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, that is, in the ninth year of Nebuchadnezzar, God threatened that "he would give the kingdoms of Edom, Moab, and Ammon, and Tyre, and Zidon, into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and that all the nations should serve him, and his son, and his son's son, until the very time of his land should come, and many nations and great kings should serve themselves of him," Jer. xxvii. 2—7. And at the same time

(¹) See § II.§ XXII.
(²) Jerem. xxv. 15—26.(³) ——— 11, 12.

God

God thus predicted the approaching conquest of the Persians by the Medes and their confederates: "Behold," saith he, "I will break the bow of Elam, the chief of their might: and upon Elam will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven, and will scatter them towards all those winds, and there shall be no nation whither the outcasts of Elam shall not come: for I will cause Elam to be dismayed before their enemies, and before them that seek their life; and I will bring evil upon them, even my fierce anger, saith the Lord; and I will send the sword after them till I have consumed them; and I will set my throne in Elam, and will destroy from thence the king and the princes, saith the Lord: but it shall come to pass in the latter days [viz. in the reign of Cyrus] that I will bring again the captivity of Elam, saith the Lord," Jer. xlix. 34—39. The Persians were therefore hitherto a free nation under their own king; but soon after this were invaded, subdued, captivated, and dispersed into the nations round about, and continued in servitude until the reign of Cyrus. And since the Medes and Chaldeans did not conquer the Persians, till after the ninth year of Nebuchadnezzar; it gives us occasion to enquire, what that active warrior Cyaxeres was doing, next after the taking of Nineveh.

XXIV. When Cyaxeres expelled the Scythians ^a, some of them made their peace with him, and staid in Media, and presented to him daily some of the venison which they took in hunting: but happening one day to catch nothing, Cyaxeres, in a passion, treated them with opprobrious language. This they repented; and soon after killed one of the children of the Medes, dressed it like venison, and presented it to Cyaxeres, and then fled to Alyattes king of Lydia; whence followed a war of five years between the two kings Cyaxeres and Alyattes. And thence I gather, that the kingdoms of the Medes and Lydians were now contiguous; and by consequence that Cyaxeres, soon after the conquest of Nineveh, seized the regions belonging to the Assyrians, as far as to the river Halys. In the sixth year of this war, in the midst of a battle between the two kings, there was a total eclipse of the sun, predicted by Thales ^b; and this eclipse fell upon the 28th of May, anno Nabonass. 163, forty and seven years

^a Herod. l. 1.
c. 73, 74.^b Herod. l. 1.
c. 174.
Plin.
l. 2. c. 12.

years before the taking of Babylon, and put an end to the battle: and thereupon the two kings made peace by the mediation of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and Syennefis king of Cilicia; and the peace was ratified by a marriage between Darius the son of Cyaxeres, and Ariene the daughter of Alyattes. Darius was therefore fifteen or sixteen years old at the time of this marriage; for he was 62 years old at the taking of Babylon.

XXV. In the eleventh year of Zedekiah's reign, the year in which Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem and destroyed the temple, Ezekiel, comparing the kingdoms of the east to trees in the garden of Eden, thus mentions their being conquered by the kings of the Medes and Chaldeans: "Behold," saith he, "the Assyrian was a Cedar in Lebanon with fair branches,—his height was exalted above all the trees of the field,—and under his shadow dwelt all great nations,—not any tree in the garden of God was like unto him in his beauty:—but I have delivered him into the hand of the mighty One of the heathen,—I made the nations to shake at the sound of his fall, when I cast him down to the grave with them that descend into the pit: and all the trees of Eden, the choice and best of Lebanon, all that drink water, shall be comforted in the nether parts of the earth: they also went down into the grave with him, unto them that be slain with the sword, and they that were his arm, that dwelt under his shadow in the midst of the heathen," Ezek. xxxi.

XXVI. The next year Ezekiel, in another prophecy, thus enumerates the principal nations who had been subdued and slaughtered by the conquering sword of Cyaxeres and Nebuchadnezzar. "Asshur is there, and all her company," viz. in Hades, or the lower parts of the earth, where the dead bodies lay buried, "his graves are about him; all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which caused this terror in the land of the living. There is Elam, and all her multitude round about her grave, all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which are gone down uncircumscribed into the nether parts of the earth, which caused their terror in the land of the living: yet have they borne their shame with them that go down into the pit.—There is Mes-

ech,

"Mesch, Tubal, and all her multitude"; her graves are round about him: all of them uncircumcised, slain by the sword, though they caused their terror in the land of the living.—There is Edon, her kings, and all her princes, which with their might are laid by them that were slain by the sword.—There be the princes of the north all of them, and all the Zidonians, which with their terror are gone down with the slain," Ezek. xxxii. 22—30. Here, by the princes of the north, I understand those on the north of Judæa, and chiefly the princes of Armenia and Cappadocia; who fell in the wars, which Cyaxeres made in reducing those countries after the taking of Nineveh. Elam or Persia was conquered by the Medes, and Susiana by the Babylonians after the ninth, and before the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar: and therefore we cannot err much, if we place these conquests in the twelfth or fourteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar. In the nineteenth (1), twentieth, and one-and-twentieth year of this king, he invaded and conquered Judæa, Moab, Ammon, Edom, the Philistines and Zidon; and the next year he besieged Tyre; and after a siege of thirteen years he took it, in the 35th year of his reign; and then he invaded and conquered Egypt, Ethiopia, and Libya; and about eighteen or twenty years after the death of this king, Darius the Mede conquered the kingdom of Sardes; and after five or six years more he invaded and conquered the empire of Babylon: and thereby finished the work of propagating the Medo-Persian monarchy over all Asia, as Æschylus represents.

XXVII. Now this is that Darius who coined a great number of pieces of pure gold called Darics, or *Statere Darici*. For Suidas, Harpocration, and the scholiast of Aristophanes tell us, that these were coined not by the father of Xerxes, but by an earlier Darius; by Darius the First; by the first king of the Medes and Persians who coined gold money. They were stamped on one side with the effigies of an archer, who was crowned with a spiked crown, had a bow in his left hand, and an arrow in his right, and was clothed with a long robe. I have seen one of

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MEDES.
* The Scy-
thians.

Jer. xxvii.
b 3, 6. Ezek.
xxi. 19, 20.
& xxv. 2, 8,
12.
c Ezek. xxvi.
2, & xxix. 17,
19.
Ezek. xxix.
19, & xxx.
4 5.

(1) See § II.

§ XXVI.

G g 2

them

* Herod. l. i.
c. 71.

* Isa. xiii. 17.

* Plin. l. 33.
c. 3.* Herod. l. i.
c. 94.

them in gold, and another in silver. They were of the same weight and value with the Attic Stater, or piece of gold money weighing two Attic drachms. Darius seems to have learnt the art and use of money from the conquered kingdom of the Lydians, and to have recoined their gold: for the Medes, before they conquered the Lydians, had no money. Herodotus ^a tells us, that "when Croesus was preparing to invade Cyrus, a certain Lydian, called Sandanis, advised him, that he was preparing an expedition against a nation who were clothed with leather breeches, who eat not such victuals as they would, but such as their barren country afforded; who drank no wine, but water only; who eat no figs no other good meat; who had nothing to lose, but might get much from the Lydians. For the Persians," saith Herodotus, "before they conquered the Lydians, had nothing rich or valuable." And ^b Isaiah tells us, that "the Medes regarded not silver, nor delighted in gold." But the Lydians and Phrygians were exceeding rich, even to a proverb. "Midas & Croesus," saith Pliny, "*infinite tum possederant. Jam Cyrus devicta Asia auri] pondo xxxiv millia invenerat, præter vasa aurea aurumque factum, & in eo folia ac platanum vitemque. Quâ victoriâ argenti quingenta millia talentorum reportavit, & craterem Semiramidis; cujus pondus quindecim talentorum colligebat. Talentum autem Egyptium pondo octoginta capere, Varro tradit.*" What the conqueror did with all this gold and silver appears by the Darics. The Lydians, according to ^d Herodotus, were the first who coined gold and silver. And Croesus coined gold monies in plenty, called *Croesei*; and it was not reasonable, that the monies of the kings of Lydia should continue current after the overthrow of their kingdom: and therefore Darius recoined it with his own effigies, but without altering the current weight and value. He reigned then from before the conquest of Sardes till after the conquest of Babylon.

XXVIII. And since the cup of Semiramis was preserved till the conquest of Croesus by Darius; it is not probable, that she could be older, than is represented by Herodotus.

XXIX. This conquest of the kingdom of Lydia put the Greeks ^{BABYLONIANS AND MEDES.} into fear of the Medes. For Theognis, who lived at Megara in the very times of these wars (¹), writes thus:

* Theogn.
Γνομαι,
v. 761.

" Πινωμεν, χαριεντα μετ' αλληλοισι λεγοντες,
" Μηδεν τον Μηδων δεδιότες πολεμον."

" Let us drink, talking pleasant things with one another,
" Not fearing the war of the Medes."

And again ^b:

* Ibid. v. 773.

" Αυτος δε στρατον υβριστην Μηδων απερυκε
" Τησδε πολευς, ινα σοι λαοι εν ευφροσυνη
" Ηρος επερχομενα κλειτας πεμπωσ' εκατομβας,
" Τερτομενοι κιθαρη και ερατη θαλη,
" Παιανωντε χοροις, ιαχαισι τε, σον περι βωμον.
" Η γαρ εγωγε δεδοικ', αφραδην εσορων
" Και εασιν Ελληνων λαοφθορον' αλλα συ Φοιβε,
" Ιλαος ημετερην τηνδε φυλασσε πολιν."

" Thou Apollo drive away the injurious army of the Medes
" From this city, that the people may with joy
" Send thee choice hecatombs in the spring,
" Delighted with the harp and chearful feasting,
" And chorus's of Pœans and acclamations about thy altar.
" For truly I am afraid, beholding the folly
" And sedition of the Greeks, which corrupts the people:
but thou, Apollo,
" Being propitious, keep this our city."

The poet tells us further, that discord had destroyed Magnesia, Colophon, and Smyrna, cities of Ionia and Phrygia, and would destroy the Greeks; which is as much as to say, that the Medes had then conquered those cities.

XXX. The Medes therefore reigned till the taking of Sardes. And further, according to Xenophon and the Scriptures, they

§ XXIX.

(¹) Euseb. in Chron.

reigned

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FOURTH.
Cyróp. l. 8.

^b Comment.
in Dan. v.

reigned till the taking of Babylon. For Xenophon ^a tells us, that after the taking of Babylon, Cyrus went to the king of the Medes at Ecbatane, and succeeded him in the kingdom. And Jerom ^b, "that Babylon was taken by Darius king of the Medes, and his kinsman Cyrus." And the Scriptures tell us, that Babylon was destroyed by "a nation out of the north" (Jerem. l. 3, 9, 41); by "the kingdoms of Ararat Minni, or Armenia, and Ashchenez, or Phrygia Minor" (Jer. li. 27); by the Medes, (Isa. xiii. 17, 19); "by the kings of the Medes and the captains and rulers thereof, and all the land of his dominion" (Jer. li. 11, 28.) The kingdom of Babylon was "numbered, and finished, and broken, and given to the Medes and Persians" (Dan. v. 26, 28); first to the Medes under Darius, and then to the Persians under Cyrus. For Darius reigned over Babylon like a conqueror, not observing the laws of the Babylonians, but introducing the immutable laws of the conquering nations, the Medes and Persians (Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15); and the Medes in his reign are set before the Persians (Dan. ib. and v. 28, and viii. 20); as the Persians were afterwards in the reign of Cyrus and his successors set before the Medes (Esther i. 3, 14, 18, 19, Dan. x. 1, 20, and xi. 2); which shews, that in the reign of Darius the Medes were uppermost.

XXXI. You may know also by the great number of provinces in the kingdom of Darius, that he was king of the Medes and Persians. For upon the conquest of Babylon, he set over the whole kingdom an hundred and twenty princes (Dan. vi. 1); and afterwards when Cambyfes and Darius Hystaspis had added some new territories, the whole contained but 127 provinces.

XXXII. The extent of the Babylonian empire was much the same with that of Nineveh after the revolt of the Medes. Berofus saith (^c), that Nebuchadnezzar held Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia. And Strabo adds Arbela to the territories of Babylon (^d); and saying, that Babylon was anciently the metropolis of Assyria, he thus describes the limits of this Assyrian empire. "^e Contiguous," saith he, "to Persia and Susiana are the

^c Strabo,
l. 16. initio.

§ XXXII.

(^c) Apud Joseph. cont. Ap. lib. i. c. 19. p. 1342.

"Assy-

"Assyrians: for so they called Babylonia, and the greatest part <sup>BABYLONI-
ANS AND
MEDES.</sup> of the region about it: part of which is Atturia, wherein is
"Ninus [or Nineveh]; and Apolloniatis, and the Elymæans,
"and the Parætacæ, and Chalonitis by the mountain Zagrus, and
"the fields near Ninus, and Dolomene, and Chalachene, and
"Chazene, and Adiabene, and the nations of Mesopotamia near
"the Gordyæans, and the Mygdones about Nisibis, unto Zeug-
"ma upon Euphrates; and a large region on this side Euphrates
"inhabited by the Arabians and Syrians, properly so called, as
"far as Cilicia, and Phœnicia, and Libya, and the sea of Egypt,
"and the Sinus Ifficus." And a little after (^d), describing the ex-
tent of the Babylonian region, he bounds it on the north, with
the Armenians and Medes, unto the mountain Zagrus; on the
east side, with Susa and Elymais and Parætacene, inclusively;
on the south, with the Persian Gulph and Chaldæa; and on the
west, with the *Arabes Scenitæ* as far as Adiabene and Gordyæa.
Afterwards speaking of Susiana and Sitacene, a region between
Babylon and Susa, and of Parætacene, and Cossæa, and Elymais,
and of the Sagapeni and Siloceni, two little adjoining provinces,
he concludes ^a, "and these are the nations which inhabit Baby-
"lonia eastward: to the north are Media and Armenia, exclu-
"sively; and westward are Adiabene and Mesopotamia, inclusive-
"ly: the greatest part of Adiabene is plain, the same being part
"of Babylonia: in some places it borders on Armenia: for the
"Medes, Armenians, and Babylonians, warred frequently on one
"another." Thus far Strabo. <sup>Strab. l. 16.
p. 745.</sup>

XXXIII. When Cyrus took Babylon, he changed the kingdom
into a satrapy or province: whereby the bounds were long after
known. And by this means Herodotus ^b gives us an estimate of
the bigness of this monarchy in proportion to that of the Per-
sians; telling us, that "whilst every region over which the king
"of Persia reigned in his days, was distributed for the nourish-
"ment of his army, besides the tributes, the Babylonian region
"nourished him four months of the twelve in the year, and all
"the rest of Asia eight: so the power of the region," saith he,
"is equivalent to the third part of Asia, and its principality,

(^d) Strabo, lib. 16. p. 737.

(^c) ————— p. 739.

"which

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FOURTH.

" which the Persians call a satrapy, is far the best of all the
" provinces."

^a Herod. l. i. c. 178, &c. XXXIV. Babylon^a was a square city of 120 furlongs, or 15 miles on every side, compassed first with a broad and deep ditch, and then with a wall fifty cubits thick, and two hundred high. Euphrates flowed through the middle of it southward, a few leagues on this side Tigris: and in the middle of one half, westward, stood the king's new palace, built by Nebuchadnezzar; and in the middle of the other half stood the temple of Belus, with the old palace between that temple and the river. This old palace was built by the Assyrians, according to ^b Isaiah, and by consequence by Pul and his son Nabonassar, as above: " they
" founded the city for the Arabians, and set up the towers there-
" of, and raised the palaces thereof." And at that time Sabacon, the Ethiopian, invaded Egypt, and made great multitudes of Egyptians fly from him into Chaldæa, and carry thither their astronomy, and astrology, and architecture, and the form of their year, which they preserved there in the æra of Nabonassar. For the practice of observing the stars began in Egypt in the days of Ammon, as above; and was propagated from thence in the reign of his son Sefac into Afric, Europe, and Asia, by conquest; and then Atlas formed the sphere of the Libyans, and Chiron that of the Greeks, and the Chaldæans also made a sphere of their own. But astrology was invented in Egypt by Nichepsos, or Nicepsos, one of the kings of the lower Egypt, and Ptolemy, his priest, a little before the days of Sabacon, and propagated thence into Chaldæa, where Zoroaster, the legislator of the Magi, met with it. So Paulinus:

" *Quique magos docuit mysteria vana Necepsos.*"

^c Diod. l. i. p. 51. And Diodorus^c, " they say that the Chaldæans in Babylonia are
" colonies of the Egyptians, and being taught by the priests of
" Egypt, became famous for astrology." By the influence of the same colonies, the temple of Jupiter Belus in Babylon seems to have been erected in the form of the Egyptian pyramids. For^d
^d Herod. l. i. c. 181. this temple was a solid tower or pyramid a furlong square, and a furlong high, with seven retractions; which made it appear like
eight

eight towers standing upon one another, and growing less and less to the top. And in the eighth tower was a temple with a bed and a golden table, kept by a woman, after the manner of the Egyptians in the temple of Jupiter Ammon at Thebes; and above the temple was a place for observing the stars: they went up to the top of it by steps on the outside, and the bottom was compassed with a court, and the court with a building two furlongs in length on every side.

XXXV. The Babylonians were extremely addicted to sorcery, enchantments, astrology, and divinations (Isa. xlvii. 9, 12, 13. Dan. ii. 2. and v. 11.) and to the worship of idols (Jer. l. 2, 40.) and to feasting, wine and women. "*Nilis urbis ejus corruptius moribus, nec ad irritandas illiciendasque immodicas voluptates instructus. Liberos conjugesque cum hospitibus stupro coire, modò pretium flagitii detur, parentes maritique patiuntur. Convivales ludi totâ Perside regibus purpuratisque cordi sunt: Babylonii maxime in vinum, & quæ ebrietatem sequuntur, effusi sunt. Famina- rum convivia ineuntium, in principio modestus est habitus; dein summa quæque amacula exuunt, paulatimque pudorem profanant: ad ultimum, bonos auribus sit, ima corporum velamenta projiciunt. Nec meretricum hoc dedecus est, sed matronarum virginumque; apud quas comitas habetur vulgati corporis vilitas.*" Q. Curtius, lib. 5. cap. 1. And this lewdness of their women, coloured over with the name of civility, was encouraged even by their religion. For it was the custom for their women, once in their life, to sit in the temple of Venus for the use of strangers⁽¹⁾; which temple they called *Succoth Benoth* ⁽²⁾, the temple of women. And when any woman was once sat there, she was not to depart till some stranger threw money into her bosom, took her away, and lay with her; and the money being for sacred uses, she was obliged to accept of it how little soever, and follow the stranger.

XXXVI. The Persians being conquered by the Medes about the middle of the reign of Zedekiah, continued in subjection under them till the end of the reign of Darius the Mede: and

⁽¹⁾ Herodot. lib. i. c. 199.
VOL. V.

§ XXXV.

⁽²⁾ Vid. Selden De Dis Syris Syntagma. 2.

H h

Cyrus,

^a Suidas in
Apocryph.
Herod. l. i.
c. 123, &c.

^b Strabo,
l. 15. p. 730.

^c Herod. l. i.
c. 127, &c.

^d Ctesop. l. 8.
p. 233.

Cyrus, who was of the royal family of the Persians, might be Satrapa of Persia, and command a body of their forces under Darius; but was not yet an absolute and independant king. But after the taking of Babylon, when he had a victorious army at his devotion, and Darius was returned from Babylon into Media, he revolted from Darius, in conjunction with the Persians under him^a; they being incited thereunto by Harpagus, a Mede, whom Xenophon calls Artagerfes and Atabazus, and who had assisted Cyrus in conquering Croesus and Asia Minor, and had been injured by Darius⁽¹⁾. Harpagus was sent by Darius with an army against Cyrus; and in the midst of a battle revolted with part of the army to Cyrus⁽²⁾. Darius got up a fresh army⁽³⁾, and the next year the two armies fought again. This last battle was fought at Pasargadæ in Persia, according to^b Strabo; and there Darius was beaten and taken prisoner by Cyrus⁽⁴⁾, and the monarchy was by this victory translated to the Persians. The last king of the Medes is by Xenophon called Cyaxeres; and by Herodotus, Astyages, the father of Mandane. But these kings were dead before; and Daniel lets us know that Darius was the true name of the last king; and Herodotus^c, that the last king was conquered by Cyrus in the manner above described; and the Darics coined by the last king testify, that his name was Darius.

XXXVII. This victory over Darius was about two years after the taking of Babylon. For the reign of Nabonnedus, the last king of the Chaldees, whom Josephus calls Nabonadel and Belshazzar, ended in the year of Nabonassar 210, nine years before the death of Cyrus, according to the canon. But after the translation of the kingdom of the Medes to the Persians, Cyrus reigned only seven years, according to^d Xenophon; and spending the seven winter months yearly at Babylon, the three spring months yearly at Susa, and the two summer months at Ecbatane, he came the seventh time into Persia, and died there in the spring, and was buried at Pasargadæ⁽¹⁾. By the canon, and the com-

(1) Herodot. lib. i. c. 119.

(2) ——— c. 123.

§ XXXVII.

(3) ——— c. 127.

(4) ——— c. 128—130.

mon

mon consent of all chronologers, he died in the year of Nabonassar 219; and therefore conquered Darius in the year of Nabonassar 212, seventy and two years before the destruction of Nineveh⁽¹⁾; and beat him the first time in the year of Nabonassar 211, and revolted from him, and became king of the Persians either the same year, or in the end of the year before. At his death he was seventy years old, according to Herodotus; and therefore he was born in the year of Nabonassar 149; his mother Mandane being the sister of Cyaxeres, at that time a young man, and also the sister of Amyite, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar; and his father Cambyfes being of the old royal family of the Persians.

§ XXXVII.

(1) Strabo, lib. 15. p. 730.

(2) See chap. 3. § XX.

H h 2

CHAP.

C H A P. V.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

CHAPTER
FIFTH.
See Plate I
and II.

THE temple of Solomon being destroyed by the Babylonians, it may not be amiss here to give a description of that edifice.

This ^a temple looked eastward, and stood in a square area, called the Separate Place: and ^b before it stood the Altar, in the center of another square area, called the Inner Court, or Court of the Priests: and these two square areas, being parted only by a marble rail, made an area 200 cubits long from west to east, and 100 cubits broad. This area was compassed on the west with a wall; and ^c on the other three sides with a pavement 50 cubits broad, upon which stood the buildings for the priests, with cloysters under them: and the pavement was faced on the inside with a marble rail before the cloysters: the whole made an area 250 cubits long from west to east, and 200 broad, and was compassed with an outward court, called also the Great Court, or Court of the People, ^d which was 100 cubits broad on every side; for there were but two courts built by Solomon: and the outward court was about four cubits lower than the inward, and was compassed on the west with a wall, and on the other three sides ^e with a pavement 50 cubits broad, upon which stood the buildings for the people. All this was the ^f Sanctuary, and made a square area 500 cubits long, and 500 broad, and was ^f compassed with a walk, called the Mountain of the House: and this walk being 50 cubits broad, was compassed with a wall six cubits broad, and six high, and 600 long on every side: and the

^a Ezek. xli.
13, 14.
^b Ezek. xl.
47.

^c Ezek. xl.
29, 33, 36.

^d Ezek. xl.
19, 23, 27.
^e 2 King. xxi.
5. ² Chron.
ix. 9.

^e Ezek. xl.
15, 17, 21.
^f 1 Chron.
xxviii. 12.

^f Ezek. xl. 5.
xlii. 20, and
xlv. 2.

the cubit was about $21\frac{1}{2}$, or almost 22 inches of the English foot, being the sacred cubit of the Jews; which was an hand-breadth, or the sixth part of its length, bigger than the common cubit.

II. The Altar stood in the center of the whole; and in the buildings of ^a both courts over against the middle of the Altar, ^a 2 King. eastward, southward, and northward, were gates ^b 25 cubits ^{xxi. 5.} broad between the buildings, and 40 long; with porches of ten cubits more, looking towards the Altar Court, which made the whole length of the gates 50 cubits cross the pavements. Every gate had two doors, one at either end, ten cubits wide, and twenty high, with posts and thresholds six cubits broad. Within the gates was an area 28 cubits long between the thresholds, and 13 cubits wide: and on either side of this area were three posts, each six cubits square, and twenty high, with arches five cubits wide between them: all which posts and arches filled the 28 cubits in length between the thresholds; and their breadth being added to the 13 cubits, made the whole breadth of the gates 25 cubits. These posts were hollow, and had rooms in them with narrow windows for the porters, and a step before them a cubit broad: and the walls of the porches being six cubits thick, were also hollow for several uses. At the east gate of the Peoples' Court, called the King's Gate, ^c were six porters; at the south ^c 1 Chron. gate, were four; and at the north gate, were four. The people ^d 4 Ezek. xli. went in and out at the south and north gates: the ^e east gate was ^{8; 9.} opened only for the king, and in this gate he ate the sacrifices. ^{2; 3.} There were also four gates or doors in the western wall of the Mountain of the House: of these ^f the most northern, called ^f 1 Chron. Shallecheth, or the Gate of the Causey, led to the king's palace; the valley between being filled up with a causey. The next gate, called Parbar, led to the suburbs Millo. The third and fourth gates, called Asurpim, led the one to Millo, the other to the city of Jerusalem; there being steps down into the valley, and up again into the city. At the gate Shallecheth were four porters; at the other three gates were six porters, two at each gate: the house of the porters who had the charge of the north gate of the People's Court, had also the charge of the gates Shal-

TEMPLE OF
SOLOMON.

CHAPTER
FIFTH.

Shallecheth and Parbar; and the house of the porters who had the charge of the south gate of the People's Court, had also the charge of the other two gates called Afuppim.

III. They came through the four western gates into the Mountain of the House; and ^a went up from the Mountain of the House to the gates of the People's Court by seven steps, and from the People's Court to the gates of the Priest's Court by eight steps: and the arches in the sides of the gates of both courts led into cloysters ^b under a double building, supported by three rows of marble pillars, which butted directly upon the middles of the square posts, and ran along from thence upon the pavements towards the corners of the courts. The axes of the pillars in the middle row being eleven cubits distant from the axes of the pillars in the other two rows on either hand; and the building joining to the sides of the gates: the pillars were three cubits in diameter below, and their bases four cubits and an half square.

The gates and buildings of both courts were alike, and ^c faced their courts: the cloysters of all the buildings, and the porches of all the gates looking towards the Altar. The row of pillars on the backsides of the cloysters adhered to marble walls, which bounded the cloysters and supported the buildings. These build-

ings were three stories high above the cloysters, and ^d were supported in each of those stories by a row of cedar beams, or pillars of cedar, standing above the middle row of the marble pillars: the buildings on either side of every gate of the People's Court being $187\frac{1}{2}$ cubits long, were distinguished into five chambers on a floor, running in length from the gates to the corners

of the courts: there ^e being in all thirty chambers in a story, where the people ate the sacrifices, or thirty exhedras, each of which contained three chambers, a lower, a middle, and an upper. Every exhedra was $37\frac{1}{2}$ cubits long, being supported by four pillars in each row, whose bases were $4\frac{1}{2}$ cubits square, and the distances between their bases $6\frac{1}{2}$ cubits, and the distances between the axes of the pillars eleven cubits: and where two exhedras joined, there the bases of their pillars joined; the axes of those two pillars being only $4\frac{1}{2}$ cubits distant from one another: and perhaps for strengthening the building, the space

between the axes of these two pillars in the front was filled up with a marble column $4\frac{1}{2}$ cubits square, the two pillars standing half out on either side of the square column. At the ends of these buildings, ^a in the four corners of the People's Court, were little courts fifty cubits square on the outside of their walls, and forty on the inside thereof, for stair-cafes to the buildings, and kitchens to bake and boil the sacrifices for the people; the kitchen being thirty cubits broad, and the stair-cafe ten. The buildings on either side of the gates of the Priests Court were also $37\frac{1}{2}$ cubits long, and contained each of them one great chamber in a story, subdivided into smaller rooms, for the great officers of the temple, and princes of the priests. And in the south-east and north-east corners of this court, at the ends of the buildings, were kitchens and stair-cafes for the great officers; and perhaps rooms for laying up wood for the Altar.

IV. In the eastern gate of the People's Court sat a court of judicature, composed of 23 elders. The eastern gate of the Priests Court, with the buildings on either side, was for the high-priest, and his deputy the Sagan; and for the Sanhedrim, or Supreme Court of Judicature, composed of 70 elders. ^b The building or exhedra on the eastern side of the southern gate, was for the priests who had the oversight of the charge of the Sanctuary with its treasuries: and these were, first, two Catholikim; who were high-treasurers and secretaries to the high-priest; and examined, stated, and prepared all acts and accounts to be signed and sealed by him: then seven Amarcholim; who kept the keys of the seven locks of every gate of the Sanctuary, and those also of the treasuries; and had the oversight, direction, and appointment of all things in the Sanctuary: then three or more Gisbarim, or under-treasurers, or receivers; who kept the holy vessels, and the publick money, and received or disposed of such sums as were brought in for the service of the temple, and accounted for the same. All these, with the high-priest, composed the supreme council for managing the affairs of the temple.

V. The sacrifices ^c were killed on the northern side of the Altar, and flea'd, cut in pieces and salted in the northern gate of the temple; and therefore the building or exhedra on the eastern

side of this gate, was for the priests who had the oversight of the charge of the Altar, and daily service: and these officers were, He that received money of the people for purchasing things for the sacrifices, and gave out thickets for the same; He that, upon sight of the tickets, delivered the wine, flower, and oil purchased; He that was over the lots, whereby every priest attending on the Altar had his duty assigned; He that, upon sight of the tickets, delivered out the doves and pigeons purchased; He that administered physic to the priests attending; He that was over the waters; He that was over the times, and did the duty of a crier, calling the priests or Levites to attend in their ministreries; He that opened the gates in the morning to begin the service, and shut them in the evening when the service was done, and for that end received the keys of the Amarcholim, and returned them when he had done his duty; He that visited the night-watches; He that by a cymbal called the Levites to their stations for singing; He that appointed the hymns and set the tune; and he that took care of the shew-bread. There were also officers who took care of the perfume, the veil, and the wardrobe of the priests.

VI. The exhedra on the western side of the south gate, and that on the western side of the north gate, were for the princes of the four and twenty courses of the priests, one exhedra for twelve of the princes, and the other exhedra for the other twelve. And upon the pavement on either side of the Separate Place ^a were other buildings without cloysters, for the four and twenty courses of the priests to eat the sacrifices, and lay up their garments and the most holy things: each pavement being 100 cubits long, and 50 broad, had buildings on either side of it twenty cubits broad, with a walk or alley ten cubits broad between them. The building which bordered upon the Separate Place was an hundred cubits long, and that next the People's Court but fifty; the other fifty cubits westward ^b being for a stair-case and kitchen. These buildings ^c were three stories high; and the middle story was narrower in the front than the lower story, and the upper story still narrower, to make room for galleries; for they had galleries before them, and under the galleries were closets for laying

Plate II.

^a Ezek. xlii.
8, 2, 3, 4, 6,
5, 13, 14.

^b Ezek. xlii.
1, 20.
^c Ezek. xlii.
5, 6.

laying up the holy things, and the garments of the priests; and these galleries were towards the walk or alley, which ran between the buildings. TEMPLE OF
SOLOMON.

VII. They went up from the Priests Court to the porch of the temple by ten steps: and the ^a house of the temple was twenty cubits broad, and sixty long within; or thirty broad, and seventy long, including the walls; or seventy cubits broad, and ninety long, including a building of treasure-chambers, which was twenty cubits broad on three sides of the house; and if the porch be also included, the temple was ^b an hundred cubits long. The treasure-chambers were built of cedar, between the wall of the temple, and another wall without: they were built ^c in two rows three stories high, and opened door against door into a walk or gallery which ran along between them, and was five cubits broad in every story; so that the breadth of the chambers on either side of the gallery, including the breadth of the wall to which they adjoined, was ten cubits; and the whole breadth of the gallery and chambers, and both walls, was five and twenty cubits: the chambers ^d were five cubits broad in the lower story, six broad in the middle story, and seven broad in the upper story; for the wall of the temple was built with retractions of a cubit, to rest the timber upon. Ezekiel represents the chambers a cubit narrower, and the walls a cubit thicker than they were in Solomon's temple. There were ^e thirty chambers in a story; in all ninety chambers; and they were five cubits high in every story. The ^f porch of the temple was 120 cubits high, and its length from south to north equalled the breadth of the house. The house was three stories high, which made the height of the Holy Place three times thirty cubits, and that of the Most Holy three times twenty. The upper rooms were treasure-chambers. They ^g went up to the middle chamber by winding stairs in the southern shoulder of the house, and from the middle into the upper. 1 King. vi.
vi. 2. Ezek.
xlii. 2, 4, 12,
13, 14.
1 King. vi.
3. Ezek. xlii.
13.
Ezek. xlii.
6, 11.
1 King. vi.
6.
Ezek. xlii. 6.
2 Chron.
iii. 4.
1 King. vi. 8.

VIII. Some time after this temple was built, the Jews ^h added a New Court on the eastern side of the Priests Court, before the King's Gate; and therein built ⁱ a covert for the sabbath. This court was not measured by Ezekiel; but the dimensions thereof

may be gathered from those of the Womens' Court in the second temple, built after the example thereof. For when Nebuchadnezzar had destroyed the first temple, Zerubbabel, by the commissions of Cyrus and Darius, built another upon the same area, excepting the Outward Court, which was left open to the Gentiles: and this temple ^a was sixty cubits long, and sixty broad, being only two stories in height, and having only one row of treasure-chambers about it. And on either side of the Priests' Court were double buildings for the priests, built upon three rows of marble pillars in the lower story, with a row of cedar beams or pillars in the stories above: and the cloyster in the lower story looked towards the Priests' Court: and the Separate Place, and Priests' Court, with their buildings on the north and south sides, and the Womens' Court, at the east end, took up an area three hundred cubits long, and two hundred broad, the Altar standing in the center of the whole. The Womens' Court was so named, because the women came into it as well as the men. There were galleries for the women; and the men worshipped upon the ground below: and in this state the second temple continued all the reign of the Persians; but afterwards suffered some alterations, especially in the days of Herod.

IX. This description of the temple being taken principally from Ezekiel's vision thereof; and the ancient Hebrew copy followed by the Seventy, differing in some readings from the copy followed by the editors of the present Hebrew; I will here subjoin that part of the vision which relates to the Outward Court, as I have deduced it from the present Hebrew, and the version of the Seventy, compared together.

EZEKIEL, chap. xl. ver. 5; &c.

Plate I.

"And behold a wall on the outside of the house round about,"
at the distance of fifty cubits from it, *aabb*: "and in the man's"
hand a measuring reed six cubits long by the cubit, and an
"hand-breadth: so he measured the breadth of the building, or
"wall, one reed, and the height one reed. Then came he unto

Plate III.

"the gate of the house, which looketh towards the east, and
"went

"went up the seven steps thereof, *AB*, and measured the three-
"hold of the gate, *CD*, which was one reed broad, and the por-
"ters little chamber, *EF*, one reed long, and one reed broad;
"and the arched passage between the little chambers, *FH*, five
"cubits: and the second little chamber, *HIK*, a reed broad and
"a reed long; and the arched passage, *IL*, five cubits: and the
"third little chamber *LMN*, a reed long and a reed broad: and
"the threshold of the gate next the porch of the gate within,
"or, one reed: and he measured the porch of the gate, *QR*,
"eight cubits; and the posts thereof, *ST*, *st*, two cubits; and
"the porch of the gate, *QR*, was inward, or toward the inward
"court; and the little chambers, *EF*, *HI*, *LM*, *ef*, *bi*, *lm*, were
"outward, or to the east; three on this side, and three on that
"side of the gate. There was one measure of the three, and
"one measure of the posts on this side, and on that side; and
"he measured the breadth of the door of the gate, *cc*, or *dd*,
"ten cubits; and the breadth of the gate within between the lit-
"tle chambers, *ee* or *ff*, thirteen cubits; and the limit, or mar-
"gin, or step before the little chambers, *em*, one cubit on this
"side, and the step, *em*, one cubit on the other side; and the
"little chambers, *EF*, *HIK*, *LMN*, *efg*, *bik*, *lmn*, were six cubits
"broad on this side, and six cubits broad on that side: and he
"measured the whole breadth of the gate, from the further wall
"of one little chamber to the further wall of another little cham-
"ber: the breadth, *gg* or *kk*, or *nn*, was twenty and five cu-
"bits through; door, *FH*, against door, *fb*: and he measured
"the posts, *EF*, *HI*, and *LM*, *ef*, *bi*, and *lm*, twenty cubits high;
"and at the posts there were gates, or arched passages, *FH*, *IL*,
"fb, il, round about; and from the eastern face of the gate at
"the entrance, *cc*, to the western face of the porch of the gate
"within, *tt*, were fifty cubits: and there were narrow windows
"to the little chambers, and to the porch within the gate, round
"about, and likewise to the posts; even windows were round
"about within; and upon each post palm-trees.

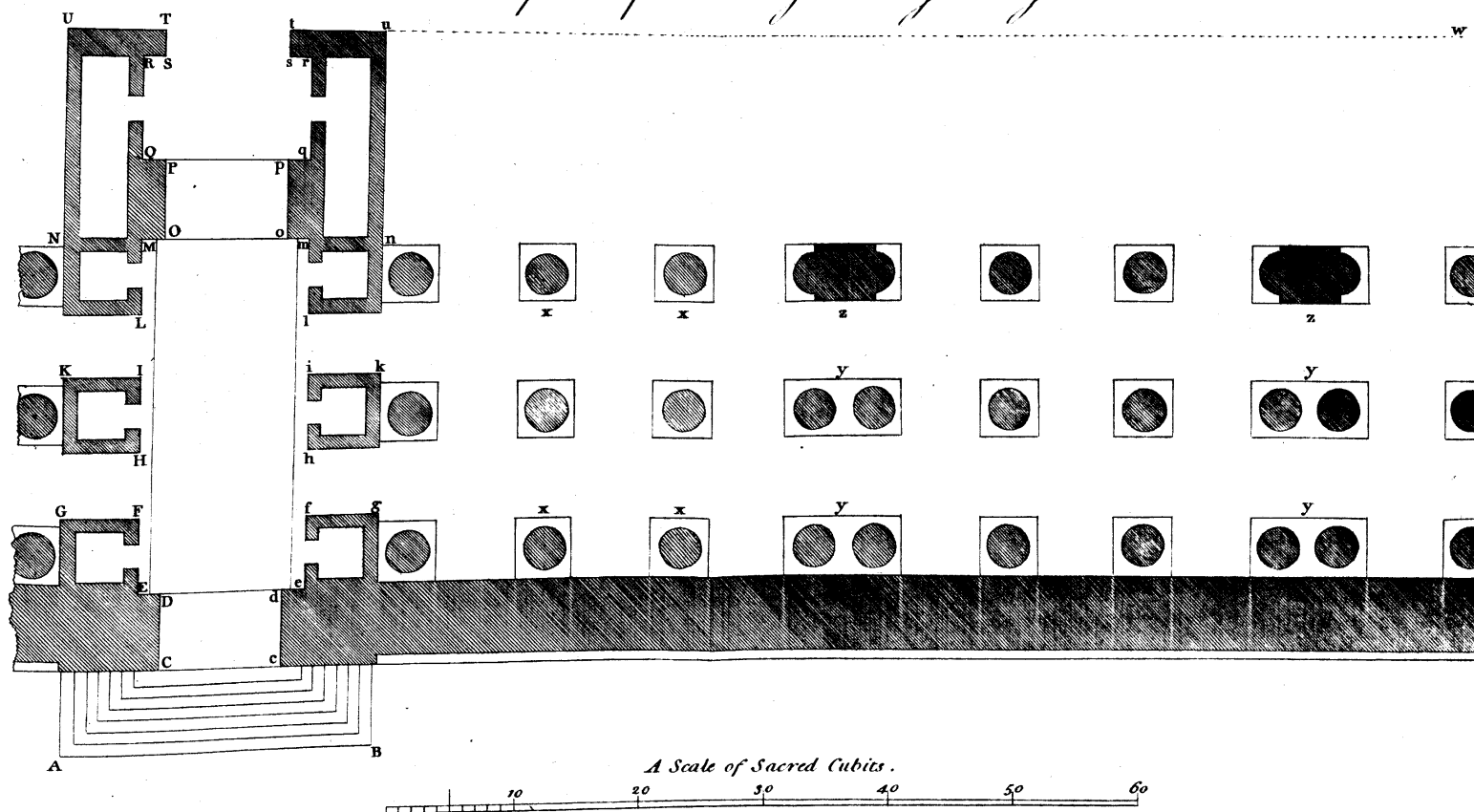
"Then he brought me into the Outward Court, and lo there
"were chambers, and a pavement with pillars upon it in the
"court round about; thirty chambers in length upon the pave-
"ment,

"ment, supported by the pillars, *ten chambers on every side, except the western*: and the pavement butted upon the shoulders
 "or sides of the gates below, *every gate having five chambers or exbedræ on either side*. And he measured the breadth of the
 "Outward Court, from the fore-front of the lower gate, to the
 "fore-front of the inward court, an hundred cubits westward.

"Then he brought me northward, and there was a gate that
 "looked towards the north; he measured the length thereof,
 "and the breadth thereof, and the little chambers thereof, three
 "on this side, and three on that side; and the posts thereof, and
 "the porch thereof, and it was according to the measures of the
 "first gate; its length was fifty cubits, and its breadth was five
 "and twenty: and the windows thereof, and the porch and the
 "palm-trees thereof *were* according to the measures of the gate
 "which looked to the east; and they went up to it by seven
 "steps: and its porch was before them, *that is inward*. And
 "there was a gate of the inward court over against *this* gate of
 "the north, as *in the gates* to the eastward: and he measured
 "from gate to gate an hundred cubits."

*A Particular Description of one of the Gates of the Peoples Court,
with part of the Cloyster adjoining.*

Tom.V. p. 244.



u.w. The inner Margin of the Pavement compassing three sides of the Peoples Court. x.x.x. &c. The Pillars of the Cloyster supporting the Buildings for the People.
y.y.y.y. Double Pillars where two Exhedrae joined, and whose interstices in the front z.z. were filled up with a square Column of Marble.
Note. The preceding letters of this Plate refer to the description in page

*A Description
of the Inner Court
— and —
Buildings for the Priests in
Solomons Temple.*

A.B.C.D. The Separate Place.

A.B.E.F. The Inner Court, or
Court of the Priests, parted from
the Separate Place, and Pave-
ment on the other three sides,
by a marble rail.

G. The Altar.

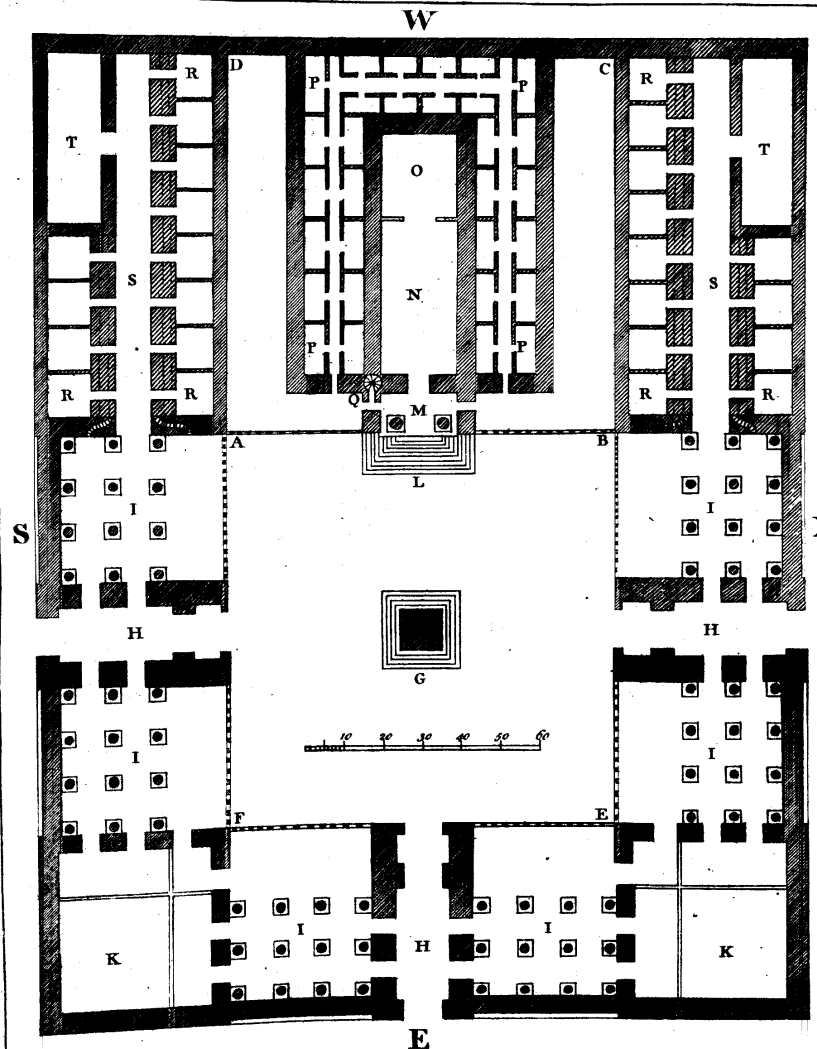
H.H.H. The East, South, and
North Gates of the Priests
Court.

III. &c. — The Cloysters
supporting the Buildings for
the Priests.

K.K. Two Courts in which were
Stair Cases and Kitchens for
the Priests.

L. Ten Steps to the Porch of the
Temple.

M. The Porch of the Temple.



N. The Holy Place.

O. The most Holy Place.

P.P.P.P. Thirty Treasure Cham-
bers, in two rows, opening into
a gallery, door against door, and
compassing three sides of the
Holy and most Holy Places.

Q. The Stairs leading to the Mid-
dle Chamber.

R.R.R.R. &c. The buildings for
the four and twenty Courses
of Priests, upon the Pavement
on either side of the Separates
Place, three Stories high with-
out Cloysters, but the upper
Stories narrower than the
lower, to make room for Gal-
leries before them. There were
24 Chambers in each Story and
they opened into a walk or
alley, S.S. between the Build-
ings.

T.T. Two Courts in which were
Kitchens for the Priests of the
twenty four Courses.

A Description of **THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.**

ABCD. The Separate Place in which stood the Temple.

AB.E.F. The Court of the Priests.

G. The Altar.

DHLKICE.F.D. A Pavement compassing three sides of the foremention'd Courts, and upon which stood the Buildings for the Priests, with Cloysters under them.

MNOP. The Court of the People.

MQ.T.SRN. A Pavement compassing three sides of the Peoples Court, upon which stood the Buildings for the People, with Cloysters under them

UXYZ. The Mountain of the House.

aabb. A Wall enclosing the whole.

c. The Gate Shallecheth.

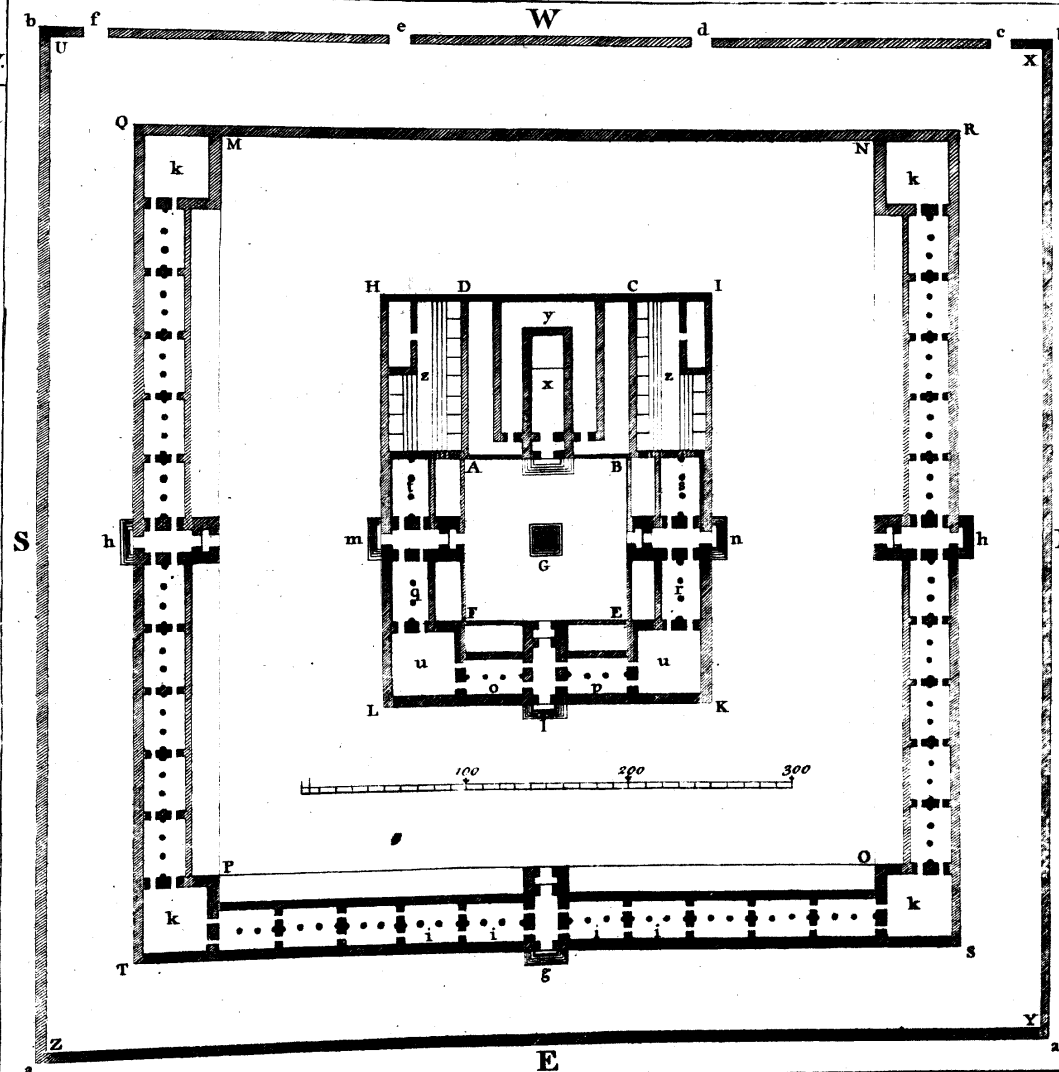
d. The Gate Parbar.

e.f. The two Gates Asupim.

g. The East Gate of the Peoples Court, called the Kings Gate.

hh. The North and South Gates of the same Courts.

iii. The Chambers over the Cloysters of the Peoples Court, where the People ate the Sacrifices; 30 Chambers in each Story.



Tom. V. p. 244.
kkkk. Four little Courts serving for Stair-Cases and Kitchens for the People.

l. The Eastern Gate of the Priests Court, over which sat the Sanhedrim.

m. The Southern Gate of the Priests Court.

n. The Northern Gate of the same Court, where the Sacrifices were fled, &c.

opqr. s. t. The Buildings over the Cloysters for the Priests, viz. six large Chambers (subdivided) in each Story whereof o. and p. were for the High Priest and Sagan. q. for the Overseers of the Sanctuary and Treasury. x. for the Overseers of the Altar and Sacrifice: and s. & t. for the Princes of the twenty-four Courses of Priests.

uu. Two Courts in which were Stair-Cases and Kitchens for the Priests.

x. The House or Temple which (together with the Treasure Chambers y. and Buildings z. z. on each side of the Separate Place) is more particularly described in the second Plate.

A Description of **THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.**

ABCD. The Separate Place in which stood the Temple.

AB.E.F. The Court of the Priests.

G. The Altar.

DHLKICE.F.D. A Pavement compassing three sides of the foremention'd Courts, and upon which stood the Buildings for the Priests, with Cloysters under them.

MNOP. The Court of the People.

MQ.TSRN. A Pavement compassing three sides of the Peoples Court, upon which stood the Buildings for the People, with Cloysters under them.

UXYZ. The Mountain of the House.

aabb. A Wall enclosing the whole.

c. The Gate Shallecheth.

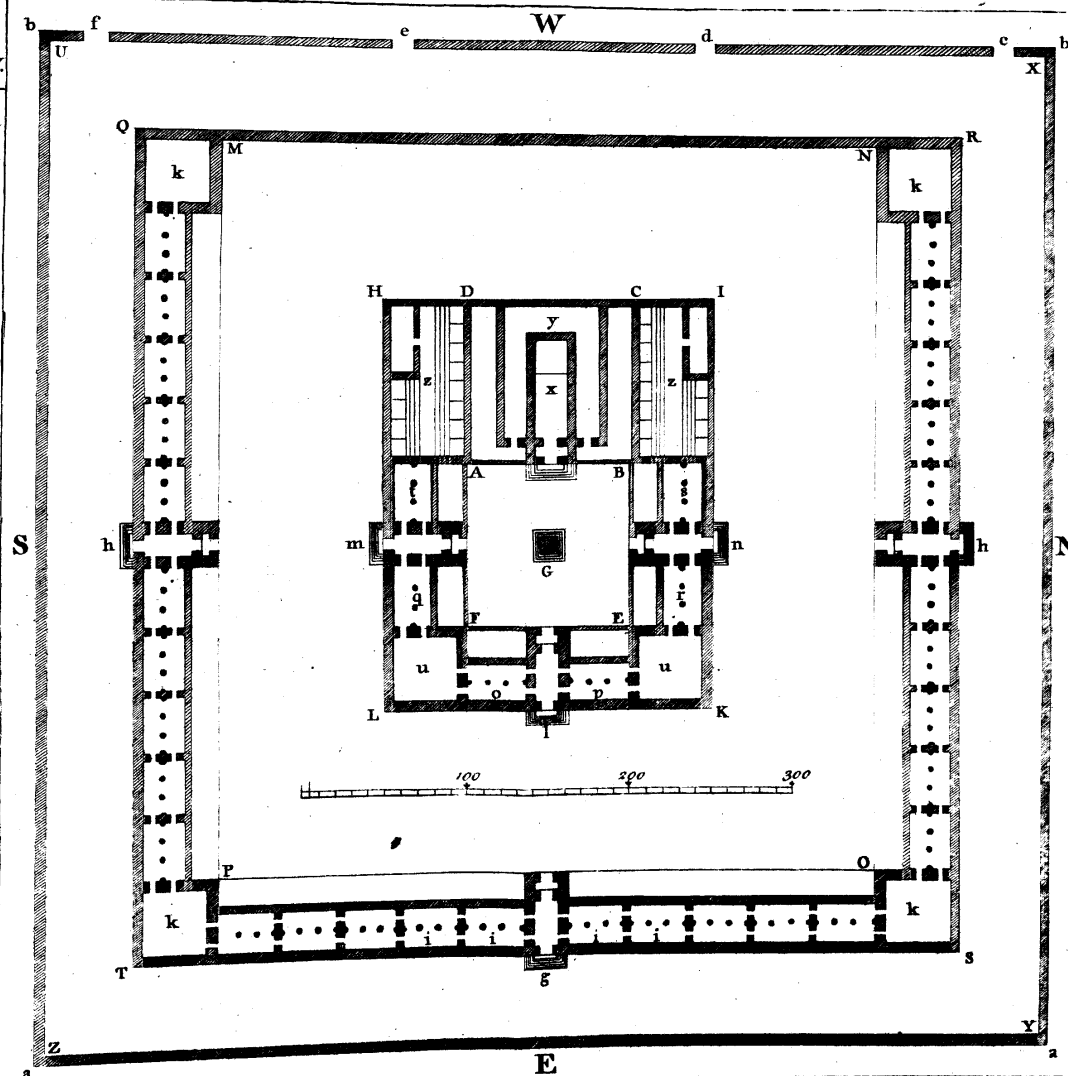
d. The Gate Parbar.

e.f. The two Gates Afsupim.

g. The East Gate of the Peoples Court, called the Kings Gate.

hh. The North and South Gates of the same Courts.

iiii. The Chambers over the Cloysters of the Peoples Court, where the People ate the Sacrifices, 30 Chambers in each Story.



Tom. V. p. 244.
kkkk. Four little Courts serving for Stair-Cases and Kitchens for the People.

l. The Eastern Gate of the Priests Court, over which sate the Sanhedrim.

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opqrst. The Buildings over the Cloysters for the Priests, viz. six large Chambers (subdivided) in each Story whereof o. and p. were for the High Priest and Sagan.

q. for the Overseers of the Sanctuary and Treasury. x. for the Overseers of the Altar and Sacrifice: and s. & t. for the Princes of the twenty-four Courses of Priests.

uu. Two Courts in which were Stair-Cases and Kitchens for the Priests.

x. The House or Temple which (together with the Treasure Chambers y. and Buildings

z. z. on each side of the Separate Place) is more particularly described in the second Plate.

*A Description
of the Inner Court
— and —
Buildings for the Priests in
Solomons Temple.*

A.B.C.D. The Separate Place.

A.B.E.F. The Inner Court, or
Court of the Priests, parted from
the Separate Place, and Pavement
on the other three sides,
by a marble rail.

G. The Altar.

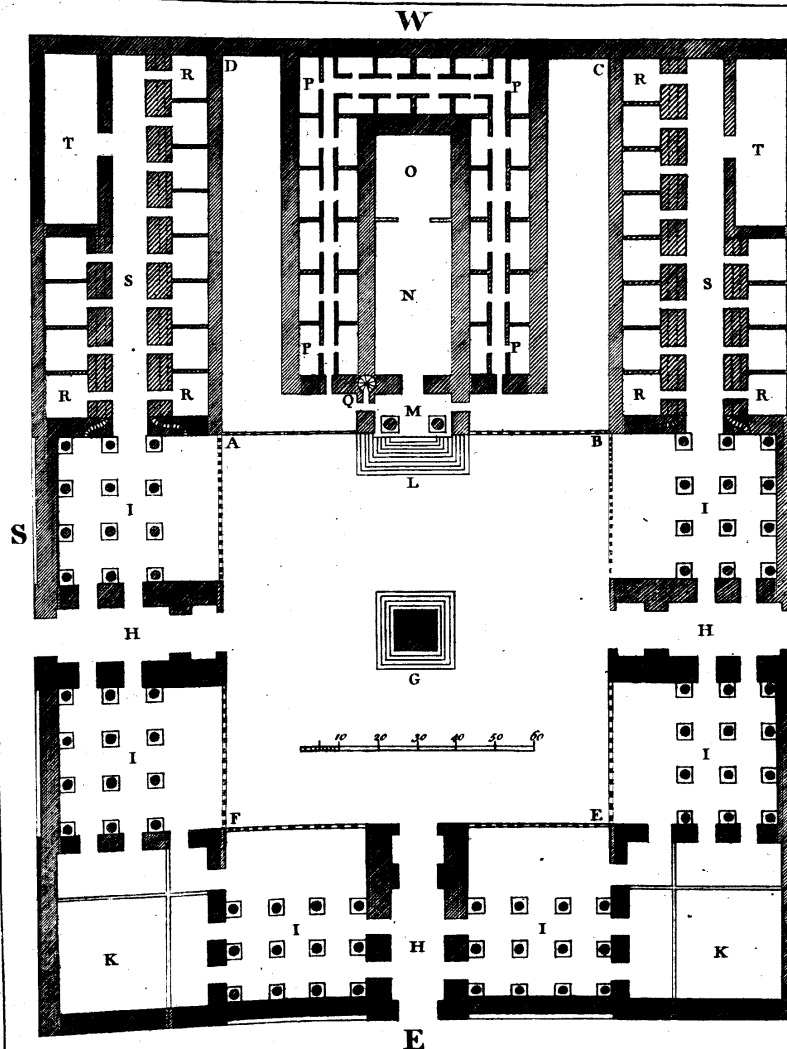
H.H.H. The East, South, and
North Gates of the Priests
Court.

I.I.I. &c. — The Cloysters
supporting the Buildings for
the Priests.

K.K. Two Courts in which were
Stair Cases and Kitchens for
the Priests.

L. Ten Steps to the Porch of the
Temple.

M. The Porch of the Temple.



N. The Holy Place.

O. The most Holy Place.

P.P.P.P. Thirty Treasure Chambers,
in two rows, opening into
a gallery, door against door, and
compassing three sides of the
Holy and most Holy Places.

Q. The Stairs leading to the Middle
Chamber.

R.R.R.R. &c. The buildings for
the four and twenty Courses
of Priests, upon the Pavement
on either side of the Separate
Place, three Stories high with-
out Cloysters, but the upper
Stories narrower than the
lower, to make room for Gal-
leries before them. There were
24 Chambers in each Story and
they opened into a walk or
alley, S.S. between the Build-
ings.

T.T. Two Courts in which were
Kitchens for the Priests of the
twenty four Courses.

C H A P. VI.

OF THE EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS.

CYRUS having translated the monarchy to the Persians, and ^{PERSIANS-}reigned seven years, was succeeded by his son Cambyfes; who reigned seven years and five months⁽¹⁾, and in the three last years of his reign subdued Egypt. He was succeeded by Mardus, or Smerdis the Magus, who feigned himself to be Smerdis the brother of Cambyfes⁽¹⁾.

II. Smerdis reigned seven months, and in the eighth month being discovered⁽¹⁾, was slain, with a great number of the Magi⁽²⁾; so the Persians called their priests, and in memory of this kept an anniversary day, which they called, The Slaughter of the Magi⁽³⁾. Then reigned Maraphus and Artaphernes a few days⁽³⁾; and after them Darius, the son of Hyftaspes, the son of Arfamenes⁽⁴⁾, of the family of Achæmenes, a Persian, being chosen king by the neighing of his horse⁽⁵⁾: before he reigned his name was Ochus. He seems on this occasion to ^{Valer. Max. l. 9. c. 2.}have reformed the constitution of the Magi, making his father Hyftaspes their master, or *Archimagus*. For Porphyrius tells us, ^{Porph. de Abstinencia, lib. 4.}that "the Magi were a sort of men so venerable amongst the Persians, that Darius, the son of Hyftaspes, wrote on the mo-

C H A P. VI. § I.

(1) Herodot. lib. 3, c. 66.

§ II.

(1) Herodot. lib. 3, c. 67, 68.

(2) ——— c. 79.

(3) Æschyl. Persæ. lin. 786.

(4) Or Arfames, the son of Armanes, the son of Teispeus, the son of Cyrus, the son of Cambyfes, the son of Teispeus, the son of Achæmenes. Herodot. lib. 7. c. 11.

(5) Herodot. lib. 3, c. 84—88.

§

"nument

"nument of his father," amongst other things, "that he had been the master of the Magi." In this reformation of the Magi, Hyftafpes was affifted by Zoroaftres. So Agathias; "the Persians at this day say simply, that Zoroaftres lived under Hyftafpes." And Apuleius; *Pythagoram, aiunt, inter captivos Cambysæ Regis [ex Agypto Babylonem abductos] doctores habuisse Persarum Magos, & præcipue Zoroastrem, omnis divini arcani antistitem* (*). By Zoroaftres's conversing at Babylon, he seems to have borrowed his skill from the Chaldæans; for he was skilled in astronomy, and used their year. So Q. Curtius; "*Magi proximi patrium carmen canebant: Magos trecenti & sexaginta quinque juvenes sequebantur, puniceis amiculis velati, diebus totius anni pares numero.*" And Ammianus; "*Scientiæ multa ex Chaldeorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroastres.*" From his conversing in several places he is reckoned a Chaldæan, an Assyrian, a Mede, a Persian, a Bactrian. Suidas calls him ^b a Perso-Mede; and saith, that he was "the most skilful of astronomers, and first author of the name of the Magi received among them." This skill in astronomy he had doubtless from the Chaldæans. But Hyftafpes travelled into India, to be instructed by the Gymnosophists. And these two conjoining their skill and authority, instituted a new set of priests or Magi, and instructed them in such ceremonies and mysteries of religion and philosophy as they thought fit to establish for the religion and philosophy of that empire; and these instructed others, till from a small number they grew to a great multitude. For Suidas tells us, that "Zoroaftres gave a beginning to the name of the Magi." And Elmacinus; that "he reformed the religion of the Persians, which before was divided into many sects." And Agathias; that "he introduced the religion of the Magi among the Persians, changing their ancient sacred rites, and bringing in several opinions. And Ammianus ^c tells us, "*Magiam esse divinorum incorruptissimum cultum; cujus scientiæ seculis præcis multa ex Chaldeorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroastres: deinde Hyftafpes, Rex prudentissimus, Darii pater; qui quum superioris Indiæ secreta fidentiùs penetraret, ad nemorosam quandam*

(*) Florida XV.

"venerat

"venerat solitudinem, cujus tranquillis flentis præcella Brachma-PERSIANS.

"*norum ingenia potiuntur; eorumque monitu rationes mundani motus & siderum, puroque sacrorum ritus, quantum colligere potuit, eruditus, ex his quæ didicit, aliqua sensibus Magorum insudit: quæ illi cum disciplinis præsentendi futura, per suam quisque progeniem, posteris ætatibus tradunt. Ex eo per sæcula multa ad præsens, unâ eademque prosapia multitudo creata Deorum cultibus dedicatur. Feruntque, si justum est credi, etiam ignem cœlitus lapsum apud se sempiternis foculis custodiri; cujus portionem exiguam, ut faustam, præisse quondam Asiaticis Regibus dicunt. Hujus originis apud veteres numerus erat exilis; ejusque mysteriis Persicæ potestates in faciendis rebus divinis solemniter utebantur. Eratque piaculum aquas adire, vel hostiam contrectare, antequam Magus, conceptis precationibus, libamenta diffunderet præcursoria. Verum aucti paulatim, in amplitudinem gentis solidæ concesserunt & nomen: villasque inhabitantes, nullâ murorum firmitudine communitas, & legibus suis uti permitti, religionis respectu sunt honorati.*" So this empire was at first composed of many nations, each of which had hitherto its own religion. But now Hyftafpes and Zoroaftres collected what they conceived to be best; established it by law, and taught it to others; and those to others, till their disciples became numerous enough for the priesthood of the whole empire: and instead of those various old religions, they set up their own institutions in the whole empire, much after the manner that Numa contrived and instituted the religion of the Romans: and this religion of the Persian empire was composed partly of the institutions of the Chaldæans, in which Zoroaftres was well skilled, and partly of the institutions of the ancient Brachmans; who are supposed to derive even their name from the Abrahamans, or sons of Abraham, born of his second wife Keturah, instructed by their father in the worship of ONE GOD without images, and sent into the east, where Hyftafpes was instructed by their successors. About the same time with Hyftafpes and Zoroaftres lived also Ostanes, another eminent Magus. Pliny places him under Darius Hyftaspis (')

(*) Pliny places him under Xerxes, and says, that the most accurate writers made Zoroaster a little older. Lib. 30. c. 1.

and

and Suidas makes him the follower of Zoroastres⁽⁸⁾. He came into Greece with Xerxes⁽⁹⁾; and seems to be the Otanes of Herodotus, who discovered Smerdis⁽¹⁰⁾, and formed the conspiracy against him; and for that service was honoured by the conspirators, and exempt from subjection to Darius⁽¹¹⁾.

^a Euseb.
Præp.
Evang. l. 1.
c. ult.

III. In the sacred commentary of the Persian rites these words are ascribed to Zoroastres; “^a Ὁ Θεός ἐστὶ κεφαλὴν ἔχων ἱερακοῦ.
“ ἕτος ἐστὶν ὁ πρῶτος, ἀθάνατος, αἰδῖος, ἀγενήτος, ἀμερής, ἀνομοιοστατος,
“ ἡνιοχὸς πάντος καλῆς, ἀδωροδοκῆτος, ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθωτάτος, φρονίμων φρο-
“ νιμωτάτος ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ πατὴρ εὐνομίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, αὐτοδιδάκτος,
“ φυσικὸς, καὶ τελείος, καὶ σοφός, καὶ ἱερὸς φυσικῶς μόνος ἐυρεῖης.” “*Deus*
“ *est accipitris capite: hic est primus, incorruptibilis, æternus, in-*
“ *genitus, sine partibus, omnibus aliis dissimillimus, moderator om-*
“ *nis boni, donis non capiendus, bonorum optimus, prudentium pru-*
“ *dentissimus, legum aequitatis ac justitiæ parens, ipse sui doctor,*
“ *physicus & perfectus & sapiens & sacri physici unicus inventor.*”
And the same was taught by Ostanes, in his book called Ostateu-
chus. This was the ancient god of the Persian Magi; and they worshipped him by keeping a perpetual fire for sacrifices upon an altar in the center of a round area, compassed with a ditch, without any temple in the place, and without paying any worship to the dead, or any images. But in a short time they declined from the worship of this Eternal, Invisible God, to worship the sun, and the fire, and dead men, and images, as the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Chaldæans had done before: and from these superstitions, and the pretending to prognostications, the words *Magi* and *Magia*, which signify the priests and religion of the Persians, came to be taken in an ill sense.

IV. Darius, or Darab, began his reign in spring, in the sixteenth year of the empire of the Persians, anno Nabonass. 227, and reigned 36 years, by the unanimous consent of all chronologers. In the second year⁽¹⁾ of his reign the Jews began to

⁽⁸⁾ Suidas makes him the next to Zoroaster in the succession of Archimagi. See Suid. in voc. *Argemone*.

⁽⁹⁾ Plin. lib. 30. c. 2.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Herodot. lib. 3. c. 68, 69.

⁽¹¹⁾ ——— c. 83.

⁽¹⁾ Ezra iv. 24. v. 1, 2. Hagg. I. 1, 2.

⁽²⁾ Ezra vi. 15.

build

build the temple, by the prophesying of Haggai and Zechariah,^{PERSIANS.} and finished it in the sixth⁽²⁾. He fought the Greeks at Marathon in October, anno Nabonass. 258⁽³⁾, ten years before the battle at Salamis; and died in the fifth year following, in the end of winter, or beginning of spring, anno Nabonass. 263. The years of Cambyfes and Darius are determined by three eclipses of the moon recorded by Ptolemy, so that they cannot be disputed. And by those eclipses, and the prophesies of Haggai and Zechariah compared together, it is manifest that the years of Darius began after the 24th day of the eleventh Jewish month, and before the 25th day of April, and by consequence in March or April.

V. Xerxes, Achschirofch, Achsweros, or Oxyares, succeeded his father Darius; and spent the first five years of his reign, and something more, in preparations for his expedition against the Greeks: and this expedition was in the time of the olympic games, in the beginning of the first year of the 75th olympiad, Callias being Archon at Athens; as all chronologers agree⁽¹⁾. The great number of people which he drew out of Susa to invade Greece, made Æschylus the poet say^a:

^a Æsch.
Persæ. v. 763.

“ Το δ' ἄστυ Σαῶν ἐξεκένωσεν πῆσον.”

“ It emptied the falling city of Susa.”

The passage of his army over the Hellespont began in the end of the fourth year of the 74th olympiad, that is in June, anno Nabonass. 268, and took up a month; and in autumn, after three months more, on the 16th day of the month Munychion, at the full moon, was the battle at Salamis; and a little after that an eclipse of the moon, which by the calculation fell on October 2. His first year therefore began in spring, anno Nabonass. 263, as above. He reigned almost twenty one years by the consent of all writers, and was murdered by Artabanus, captain of his guards; towards the end of winter, anno Nabonass. 284⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ See Petav. Doct. Temp. lib. 10. c. 23—25. who places each of these battles and the death of Darius one year later than Sir Isaac Newton does.

§ V.

⁽²⁾ Petav. Doct. Temp. lib. 10. c.

⁽³⁾ Diod. Sic. lib. 11. c. 69. p. 278. Petav. Doct. Temp. lib. 13.

VI. Artabanus reigned seven months⁽¹⁾; and upon suspicion of treason against Xerxes, was slain by Artaxerxes Longimanus⁽²⁾, the son of Xerxes.

* Apud
Hieron. in
Dan. ix.

VII. Artaxerxes began his reign in the autumnal half year, between the 4th and 9th Jewish months (Nehem. i. 1. and ii. 1. and v. 14. and Ezra vii. 7, 8, 9); and his 20th year fell in with the 4th year of the 83d olympiad, as Africanus^a informs us; and therefore his first year began within a month or two of the autumnal equinox, anno Nabonass. 284. Thucydides relates, that the news of his death came to Athens in winter, in the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war⁽¹⁾, that is ann. 4. olymp. 88. and by the canon he reigned forty-one years, including the reign of his predecessor Artabanus, and died about the middle of winter, anno Nabonass. 325 *ineunte*. The Persians now call him Ardſchir and Bahaman; the oriental Christians, Artahafcht.

VIII. Then reigned Xerxes two months⁽¹⁾; and Sogdian seven months⁽¹⁾; and Darius Nothus, the bastard-son of Artaxerxes, nineteen years⁽¹⁾ wanting four or five months. And Darius died in summer, a little after the end of the Peloponnesian war, and in the same olympic year⁽²⁾, and by consequence in May or June, anno Nabonass. 344. The 13th year of his reign was coincident in winter with the 20th of the Peloponnesian war⁽³⁾; and the years of that war are stated by indisputable characters, and agreed on by all chronologers: the war began in spring, ann. 1. olymp. 87, lasted 27 years, and ended April 14. ann. 4. olymp. 93.

IX. The next king was Artaxerxes Mnemon, the son of Darius: he reigned forty-six years⁽¹⁾, and died anno Nabonass. 390. Then reigned Artaxerxes Ochus twenty-one years⁽²⁾; Arses, or Arogus, two years⁽³⁾; and Darius Codomannus four

(1) Euseb. in Chron.

§ VI.

(2) Diod. Sic. p. 278.

(1) Lib. 4. c. 50, 51. p. 243.

§ VII.

(1) Euseb. in Chron.

§ VIII.

(2) Diod. Sic. lib. 13. c. 107, 108. p. 389.

(3) Thucyd. lib. 8. c. 58, 60. p. 499, 500.

years⁽⁴⁾, unto the battle of Arbela; whereby the Persian monarchy was translated to the Greeks, October 2. anno Nabonass. 417⁽⁵⁾; but Darius was not slain until a year and some months after⁽⁶⁾.

X. I have hitherto stated the times of this monarchy out of the Greek and Latin writers. For the Jews knew nothing more of the Babylonian and Medo-Persian empires, than what they have out of the sacred books of the Old Testament; and therefore own no more kings, nor years of kings, than they can find in those books. The kings they reckon are only Nebuchadnezzar, Evilmerodach, Belshazzar, Darius the Mede, Cyrus, Ahasuerus, and Darius the Persian. This last Darius they reckon to be the Artaxerxes, in whose reign Ezra and Nehemiah came to Jerusalem; accounting Artaxerxes a common name of the Persian kings. Nebuchadnezzar, say they, reigned forty-five years, (2 King. xxv. 27); Belshazzar three years (Dan. viii. 1.) and therefore Evilmerodach twenty-three, to make up the seventy years captivity; excluding the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, in which they say the prophecy of the seventy years was given. To Darius the Mede they assign one year, or at most but two (Dan. ix. 1.) To Cyrus, three years incomplete (Dan. x. 1.) To Ahasuerus, twelve years till the casting of Pur (Esth. iii. 7.) One year more, till the Jews smote their enemies (Esth. ix. 1); and one year more, till Esther and Mordecai wrote the second letter for the keeping of Purim (Esth. ix. 29): in all fourteen years. And to Darius the Persian they allot thirty-two, or rather thirty-six years (Nehem. xiii. 6.) So that the Persian empire, from the building of the temple in the second year of Darius Hystaspis, flourished only thirty-four years, until Alexander the Great overthrew it. Thus the Jews reckon, in their greater chroni-

§ IX.

(1) Sir Isaac Newton follows Ptolemy's Canon. Diodorus gives this prince 43 years (p. 389). Eusebius in Chron. only 40.

(2) According to the canon: 26 years according to Eusebius.

(3) According to the canon: 4 years according to Eusebius.

(4) According to the canon: 6 according to Eusebius.

(5) Diodorus places the battle of Arbela on the second year of the 112th olympiad, i. e. the 418th of Nabonassar, lib. 17. c. 61; and with him Petavius agrees, Doct. Temp. lib. 10. c. 38. and lib. 13.

(6) Diod. Sic. lib. 17. c. 73. p. 601.

cle, Seder Olam Rabbah. Josephus, out of the sacred and other books, reckons only these kings of Persia; Cyrus, Cambyfes, Darius Hyftaspis, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and Darius. And taking this Darius, who was Darius Nothus, to be one and the same king with the last Darius, whom Alexander the Great overcame; by means of this reckoning he makes Sanballat and Jaddua alive when Alexander the Great overthrew the Persian empire. Thus all the Jews conclude the Persian empire with Artaxerxes Longimanus, and Darius Nothus; allowing no more kings of Persia than they found in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah; and referring to the reigns of this Artaxerxes, and this Darius, whatever they met with in profane history concerning the following kings of the same names: so as to take Artaxerxes Longimanus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, and Artaxerxes Ochus, for one and the same Artaxerxes; and Darius Nothus, and Darius Codomannus, for one and the same Darius; and Jaddua, and Simeon Justus, for one and the same high-priest. Those Jews who took Herod for the Messiah, and were thence called Herodians, seem to have grounded their opinion upon the seventy weeks of years, which they found between the reign of Cyrus and that of Herod: but afterwards, in applying the prophecy to Theudas, and Judas of Galilee, and at length to Barchochab, they seem to have shortened the reign of the kingdom of Persia. These accounts being very imperfect, it was necessary to have recourse to the records of the Greeks and Latines, and to the canon recited by Ptolemy, for stating the times of this empire. Which being done, we have a better ground for understanding the history of the Jews, set down in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and adjusting it. For this history having suffered by time, wants some illustration. And first I shall state the history of the Jews under Zerubbabel, in the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyfes, and Darius Hyftaspis.

XI. This history is contained partly in the three first chapters of the book of Ezra, and first five verses of the fourth; and partly in the book of Nehemiah, from the 5th verse of the seventh chapter to the 9th verse of the twelfth. For Nehemiah copied all this out of the chronicles of the Jews, written before his

his days; as may appear by reading the place, and considering ^{PERSIANS.} that the priests and Levites who sealed the covenant on the 24th day of the seventh month (Nehem. viii. 14. ix. 1. and x.) were the very same with those who returned from captivity in the first year of Cyrus (Nehem. xii.) and that all those who returned sealed it. This will be perceived by the following comparison of their names.

The priests who returned.

Nehemiah. Ezra ii. 2.
Serajah.
*
Jeremiah.
Ezra.
*
Amariah.
Malluch: or Melicu. Neh. xii.
2, 14.
Hattush.
Shechaniah, or Shebaniah.
Neh. xii. 3, 14.
*
Rehum, or Harim. Ib. 3, 15.
Meremoth.
Iddo.
*
Ginnetho, or Ginnethon. Neh.
xii. 4, 16.
*
*
Abijah.
Miamin.
Maadiah.
Bilgai.
Shemajah.
Jeshua.

The priests who sealed.

Nehemiah.
Serajah.
Azariah.
Jeremiah.
Ezra. Nehem. viii.
Pashur.
Amariah.
Malchijah.

Hattush.
Shebaniah.

Malluch.
Harim.
Meremoth.
Obadiah, or Obdia.
Daniel.
Ginnethon.

Baruch.
Meshullam.
Abijah.
Mijamin.
Maaziah.
Bilgai.
Shemajah.
Jeshua.

Binnui,

Binnui.	Binnui.
Kadmiel.	Kadmiel.
Sherebiah. שרביה.	Shebaniah. שבניה.
Judah, or Hodaviah. Ezra ii. 40. and iii. 9. Ωδων; Septuag.	Hodijah.

The Levites, Jeshua, Kadmiel, and Hodaviah, or Judah, here mentioned, are reckoned chief fathers among the people who returned with Zerubbabel, Ezra ii. 40; and they assisted as well in laying the foundation of the temple (Ezra iii. 9.) as in reading the law, and making and sealing the covenant, Nehem. viii. 7. and ix. 5. and x. 9, 10.

XII. Comparing therefore the books of Ezra and Nehemiah together; the history of the Jews under Cyrus, Cambyfes, and Darius Hyftaspis, is that they returned from captivity under Zerubbabel, in the first year of Cyrus, with the holy vessels, and a commission to build the temple⁽¹⁾; and came to Jerusalem and Judah, every one to his city, and dwelt in their cities until the seventh month⁽²⁾; and then coming to Jerusalem, they first built the altar⁽³⁾; and on the first day of the seventh month began to offer the daily burnt-offerings⁽⁴⁾, and read in the book of the law, and they kept a solemn fast, and sealed a covenant⁽⁵⁾; and thenceforward the rulers of the people dwelt at Jerusalem; and the rest of the people cast lots, to dwell one in ten at Jerusalem, and the rest in the cities of Judah⁽⁶⁾; and in the second year of their coming, in the second month, which was six years before the death of Cyrus, they laid the foundation of the temple⁽⁷⁾; but "the adversaries of Judah troubled them in building, and hired counsellors against them all the days of Cyrus, and longer, even until the reign of Darius king of Persia⁽⁸⁾." But in the second year of his reign, by the prophesying of Haggai and Zechariah, they returned to the work⁽⁹⁾; and by the help of a new decree from Darius⁽¹⁰⁾, fi-

⁽¹⁾ Ezra i. 2.
⁽⁴⁾ ——— 6.
⁽⁷⁾ Ezra iii. 8.

§ XII.
⁽²⁾ Ezra ii. 70. iii. 1.
⁽⁵⁾ Nehem. vii. 5. — ix. 3.
⁽⁸⁾ ——— iv. 1—5.

⁽³⁾ Ezra iii. 1—5.
⁽⁶⁾ ——— xi. 1, 2.
⁽⁹⁾ ——— 24. v. 1, 2.
nished

nished it on the third day of the month Adar, in the sixth year^{PERSIANS} of his reign⁽¹¹⁾, and kept the dedication with joy, and the Passover, and feast of Unleavened Bread⁽¹²⁾.

XIII. Now this Darius was not Darius Nothus, but Darius Hyftaspis; as I gather by considering that the second year of this Darius was the seventieth of the indignation against Jerusalem, and the cities of Judah: which indignation commenced with the invasion of Jerusalem, and the cities of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar, in the ninth year of Zedekiah (Zech. i. 12. Jer. xxxiv. 1, 7, 22. and xxxix. 1); and that the fourth year of this Darius was the seventieth from the burning of the temple in the eleventh year of Zedekiah (Zech. vii. 5. and Jer. lli. 12); both which are exactly true of Darius Hyftaspis: and that in the second year of this Darius there were men living who had seen the first temple, Hagg. ii. 3⁽¹⁾. Whereas the second year of Darius Nothus was 166 years after the desolation of the temple and city. And further, if the finishing of the temple be deferred to the sixth year of Darius Nothus; Jeshua and Zerubbabel must have been the one high-priest, the other captain of the people an hundred and eighteen years together, besides their ages before; which is surely too long. For in the first year of Cyrus the chief priests were Serajah, Jeremiah, Ezra, Amariah, Malluch, Shechaniah, Rehum, Meremoth, Iddo, Ginnetho, Abijah, Miamin, Maadiah, Bilgah, Shemajah, Joiarib, Jedaiah, Sallu, Amok, Hilkiyah, Jedaiah⁽²⁾. These were priests in the days of Jeshua; and the eldest sons of them all, Merajah the son of Serajah, Hananiah the son of Jeremiah, Meshullam the son of Ezra, &c. were chief priests in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua (Nehem. xii); and therefore the high-priesthood of Jeshua was but of an ordinary length.

XIV. I have now stated the history of the Jews in the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyfes, and Darius Hyftaspis. It remains, that I state their history in the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes Lon-

⁽¹⁰⁾ — vi. 8—12.

⁽¹¹⁾ — 14, 15.

⁽¹²⁾ — 16—22.

⁽¹⁾ And Ezra iii. 2.

§ XIII.
⁽²⁾ Nehem. xii. 1—7.

gimanus. For I place the history of Ezra and Nehemiah in the reign of this Artaxerxes, and not in that of Artaxerxes Mnemon. For during all the Persian monarchy, until the last Darius mentioned in Scripture, whom I take to be Darius Nothus, there were but six high-priests in continual succession of father and son; namely, Jeshua, Joiakim, Eliahib, Joiada, Jonathan, Jaddua; and the seventh high-priest was Onias the son of Jaddua, and the eighth was Simeon Justus, the son of Onias; and the ninth was Eleazar, the younger brother of Simeon. Now, at a mean reckoning, we should allow about 27 or 28 years only to a generation by the eldest sons of a family, one generation with another, as above; but if in this case we allow 30 years to a generation, and may further suppose that Jeshua, at the return of the captivity in the first year of the empire of the Persians, was about 30 or 40 years old; Joiakim will be of about that age in the 16th year of Darius Hystaspis; Eliahib, in the tenth year of Xerxes; Joiada, in the 19th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus; Jonathan, in the 8th year of Darius Nothus; Jaddua, in the 19th year of Artaxerxes Mnemon; Onias, in the third year of Artaxerxes Ochus; and Simeon Justus, two years before the death of Alexander the Great. And this reckoning, as it is according to the course of nature, so it agrees perfectly well with history. For thus Eliahib might be high-priest, and have grandsons, before the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (Ezra x. 6.) And without exceeding the age which many old men attain unto, continue high-priest till after the 32d year of that king (Nehem. xiii. 6, 7.) And his grandson Johanan, or Jonathan, might have a chamber in the temple in the seventh year of that king; (Ezra x. 6.) and be high-priest before Ezra wrote the sons of Levi in the book of Chronicles, Nehem. xii. 23. And in his high-priesthood, he might slay his younger brother Jesus in the temple, before the end of the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon (Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 7.) And Jaddua might be high-priest before the death of Sanballat (Joseph. ib.) and before the death of Nehemiah (Nehem. xii. 22.) and also before the end of the reign of Darius Nothus. And he might thereby give occasion to Josephus and the later Jews, who took this king for the last Darius, to fall

fall into an opinion, that Sanballat, Jaddua, and Manasseh, the younger brother of Jaddua, lived till the end of the reign of the last Darius (Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 7, 8.) And the said Manasseh might marry Nicaso, the daughter of Sanballat, and for that offence be chased from Nehemiah, before the end of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus (Nehem. xiii. 28. Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 7, 8;) and Sanballat might at that time be Satrapa of Samaria, and in the reign of Darius Nothus, or soon after, build the temple of the Samaritans in Mount Gerizim for his son-in-law Manasseh, the first high-priest of that temple (Joseph. ib.) And Simeon Justus might be high-priest when the Persian empire was invaded by Alexander the Great, as the Jews represent (Joma, fol. 69, r. Liber Juchasis, R. Gedaliah, &c.) and for that reason he might be taken by some of the Jews for the same high-priest with Jaddua; and be dead some time before the book of Ecclesiasticus was writ in Hebrew at Jerusalem by the grandfather of him, who in the 38th year of the Egyptian æra of Dionysius, that is in the 77th year after the death of Alexander the Great, met with a copy of it in Egypt, and there translated it into Greek (Ecclesiast. c. 50. and in Prolog.) And Eleazar, the younger brother and successor of Simeon, might cause the law to be translated into Greek in the beginning of the reign of Ptolemæus Philadelphus (Joseph. l. 12. c. 2.) And Onias, the son of Simeon Justus, who was a child at his father's death, and by consequence was born in his father's old age, might be so old in the reign of Ptolemæus Euergetes, as to have his follies excused to that king, by representing, that he was then grown childish with old age (Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 4.) In this manner the actions of all these high-priests suit with the reigns of the kings, without any restraining from the course of nature. And according to this reckoning the days of Ezra and Nehemiah fall in with the reign of the first Artaxerxes; for Ezra and Nehemiah flourished in the high-priesthood of Eliahib (Ezra x. 6. Nehem. iii. 1. and xiii. 4, 28.) But if Eliahib, Ezra, and Nehemiah, be placed in the reign of the second Artaxerxes, since they lived beyond the 32d year of Artaxerxes (Nehem. xiii. 28.) there must be at least 160 years allotted to the three first high-priests,

priests, and but 42 to the four or five last; a division too unequal. For the high-priesthoods of Jeshua, Joiakim, and Eliahib, were but of an ordinary length. That of Jeshua fell in with one generation of the chief priests; and that of Joiakim with the next generation, as we have already shewed; and that of Eliahib fell in with the third generation. For at the dedication of the wall, Zechariah, the son of Jonathan, the son of Shemaiah, was one of the priests (Nehem. xii. 35.) and Jonathan, and his father Shemaiah, were contemporaries to Joiakim and his father Jeshua (Nehem. xii. 6, 18.) I observe further, that in the first year of Cyrus, Jeshua, and Bani, or Binnui, were chief fathers of the Levites (Nehem. vii. 7, 15. and Ezra ii. 2, 10. and iii. 9); and that Jozabad the son of Jeshua, and Noadiah the son of Binnui, were chief Levites in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, when Ezra came to Jerusalem (Ezra viii. 33.) So that this Artaxerxes began his reign before the end of the second generation. And that he reigned in the time of the third generation is confirmed by two instances more. For Meshullam the son of Berechiah, the son of Meshezabeel, and Azariah the son of Maaseiah, the son of Ananiah, were fathers of their houses at the repairing of the wall (Nehem. iii. 4, 23;) and their grandfathers, Meshazabeel and Hananiah, subscribed the covenant in the reign of Cyrus (Nehem. x. 21, 23.) Yea Nehemiah, this same Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah, was the Tirshatha, and subscribed it (Nehem. x. 1. and viii. 9. and Ezra ii. 2, 63;) and therefore in the 32d year of Artaxerxes Mnemon, he will be above 180 years old; an age surely too great. The same may be said of Ezra, if he was that priest and scribe who read the law, Nehem. viii; for he is the son of Serajah, the son of Azariah, the son of Hilkiah, the son of Shallum, &c. (Ezra vii. 1;) and this Serajah went into captivity at the burning of the temple, and was there slain (1 Chron. vi. 14. 2 King. xxv. 18;) and from his death to the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Mnemon is above 200 years; an age too great for Ezra.

XV. I consider further that Ezra, chap. iv. names Cyrus, *, Darius, Ahasuerus, and Artaxerxes, in continual order, as successors to one another, and these names agree to Cyrus, *, Darius

rius Hytaspis, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes Longimanus, and to no ^{PERSIANS.} other kings of Persia. Some take this Artaxerxes to be not the successor, but the predecessor of Darius Hytaspis; not considering, that in his reign the Jews were busy in building the city and the wall (Ezra iv. 12.) and by consequence had finished the temple before. Ezra describes first how the people of the land hindered the building of the temple all the days of Cyrus, and further, until the reign of Darius (¹); and after the temple was built, how they hindered the building of the city in the reign of Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes (²); and then returns back to the story of the temple in the reign of Cyrus and Darius (³); and this is confirmed by comparing the book of Ezra with the book of Esdras. For if in the book of Ezra you omit the story of Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes; and in that of Esdras you omit the same story of Artaxerxes, and that of the three wise men; the two books will agree. And therefore the book of Esdras, if you except the story of the three wise men, was originally copied from authentic writings of sacred authority. Now the story of Artaxerxes, which, with that of Ahasuerus, in the book of Ezra interrupts the story of Darius, doth not interrupt it in the book of Esdras, but is there inserted into the story of Cyrus, between the first and second chapter of Ezra; and all the rest of the story of Cyrus, and that of Darius, is told in the book of Esdras in continual order, without any interruption. So that the Darius which, in the book of Ezra, precedes Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes, and the Darius which in the same book follows them, is, by the book of Esdras, one and the same Darius; and I take the book of Esdras to be the best interpreter of the book of Ezra. So the Darius mentioned between Cyrus and Ahasuerus is Darius Hytaspis; and therefore Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes, who succeeded him, are Xerxes and Artaxerxes Longimanus; and the Jews who came up from Artaxerxes to Jerusalem, and began to build the city and the wall (Ezra iv. 13.) are Ezra with his companions. Which being understood, the history of the Jews in the reign of these kings will be as follows.

(¹) Esd. iv. 1—5.

§ XV.

(²) — 6—16.

L. 1 4.

(³) — 24.

XVI.

XVI. After the temple was built, and Darius Hystaspis was dead, the enemies of the Jews, in the beginning of the reign of his successor Ahasuerus or Xerxes, wrote unto him an accusation against them (Ezra iv. 6.) But in the seventh year of his successor Artaxerxes, Ezra and his companions went up from Babylon with offerings and vessels for the temple, and power to bestow on it out of the king's treasure what should be requisite (Ezra vii); whence the temple is said to be finished, "according to the commandment of Cyrus, and Darius, and Artaxerxes king of Persia," (Ezra vi. 14.) Their commission was also to set magistrates and judges over the land (*); and thereby becoming a new body politic, they called a great council or sanhedrim, to separate the people from strange wives; and they were also encouraged to attempt the building of Jerusalem with its wall: and thence Ezra saith in his prayer, that "God had extended mercy unto them in the sight of the kings of Persia, and giving them a reviving to set up the house of their God, and to repair the desolations thereof, and to give them a wall in Judah, even in Jerusalem" (Ezra ix. 9.) But when they had begun to repair the wall, their enemies wrote against them to Artaxerxes: "Be it known," say they, "unto the king, that the Jews which came up from thee to us, are come unto Jerusalem, building the rebellious and the bad city, and have set up the walls thereof, and joined the foundations," &c. And the king wrote back, that the Jews should cease, and the city not be built, until another commandment should be given from him: whereupon their enemies "went up to Jerusalem, and made them cease by force and power" (Ezra iv.) But in the twentieth year of the king, Nehemiah hearing that the Jews were in great affliction and distress, and that the wall of Jerusalem, that wall which had been newly repaired by Ezra, "was broken down, and the gates thereof burnt with fire;" he obtained leave of the king to go and build the city, and the governor's house (Nehem. i. 3. and ii. 6, 8, 17.) And coming to Jerusalem the same year, he continued governor twelve years (*), and built the wall; and being

(*) Ezra vii. 125.

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(*) Nehem. v. 14.

opposed

opposed by Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem, he persisted in the work with great resolution and patience, until the breaches were made up. Then Sanballat and Geshem sent messengers unto him five times, to hinder him from setting up the doors upon the gates (†). But, notwithstanding, he persisted in the work, until the doors were also set up: so the wall was finished in the eight-and-twentieth year of the king (Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 5.) in the five-and-twentieth day of the month Elul, or sixth month, in fifty and two days after the breaches were made up (*), and they began to work upon the gates. While the timber for the gates was preparing and seasoning, they made up the breaches of the wall; both were works of time, and are not jointly to be reckoned within the 52 days. This is the time of the last work of the wall, the work of setting up the gates after the timber was seasoned and the breaches made up. When he had set up the gates, he dedicated the wall with great solemnity, and appointed officers "over the chambers for the treasure, for the offerings, for the first-fruits, and for the tithes, to gather into them, out of the fields of the cities, the portions appointed by the law for the priests and Levites; and the singers and the porters kept the ward of their God (Nehem. xii); but the people in the city were but few, and the houses were unbuilt," (Nehem. vii. 1, 4.) And in this condition he left Jerusalem in the 32d year of the king; and after some time returning back from the king, he reformed such abuses as had been committed in his absence (Nehem. xiii). In the mean time, the genealogies of the priests and Levites were recorded in the book of the Chronicles, in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, Jonathan, and Jaddua, until the reign of the next king Darius Nothus, whom Nehemiah calls Darius the Persian (Nehem. xii. 11, 22, 23.) Whence it follows, that Nehemiah was governor of the Jews until the reign of Darius Nothus. And here ends the sacred history of the Jews.

XVII. The histories of the Persians now extant in the east represent, that the old dynasties of the kings of Persia were those whom they call Pischdadians and Kaianides; and that the dynasty

(*) Nehem. vi. 1—5.

(*) ——— 15.

of

of the Kaianides immediately succeeded that of the Pischdadians. They derive the name Kaianides from the word Kai, which, they say, in the old Persian language signified a giant, or great king; and they call the first four kings of this dynasty, Kai-Cobad, Kai-Caus, Kai-Cofroes, and Lohorasf, and by Lohorasf mean Kai-Axeres, or Cyaxeres. For they say that Lohorasf was the first of their kings who reduced the armies to good order and discipline; and Herodotus affirms the same thing of Cyaxeres. And they say further, that Lohorasf went eastward, and conquered many provinces of Persia; and that one of his generals, whom the Hebrews call Nebuchadnezzar, the Arabians, Bocktanassar, and others Raham and Gudars, went westward, and conquered all Syria and Judæa, and took the city of Jerusalem and destroyed it. They seem to call Nebuchadnezzar the general of Lohorasf, because he assisted him in some of his wars. The fifth king of this dynasty they call Kischtasf, and by this name mean sometimes Darius Medus, and sometimes Darius Hystaspis. For they say that he was contemporary to Ozair or Ezra, and to Zaradust or Zoroastres, the legislator of the Ghebers or fire-worshippers, and established his doctrines throughout all Persia; and here they take him for Darius Hystaspis. They say also that he was contemporary to Jeremiah and to Daniel, and that he was the son and successor of Lohorasf; and here they take him for Darius the Mede. The sixth king of the Kaianides they call Bahaman; and tell us, that Bahaman was Ardschir Diraz, that is Artaxerxes Longimanus, so called from the great extent of his power. And yet they say that Bahaman went westward into Mesopotamia and Syria, and conquered Belhazzar the son of Nebuchadnezzar, and gave the kingdom to Cyrus, his lieutenant-general over Media: and here they take Bahaman for Darius Medus. Next after Ardschir Diraz they place Homai, a queen, the mother of Darius Nothus, though really she did not reign. And the two next and last kings of the Kaianides they call Darab, the bastard-son of Ardschir Diraz; and Darab who was conquered by Asander Roumi, that is Darius Nothus, and Darius who was conquered by Alexander the Greek. And the kings between these two Darius's they omit; as they do also Cyrus, Cambyfes.

byfes, and Xerxes. The dynasty of the Kaianides was there-PERSIANS. fore that of the Medes and Persians, beginning with the defection of the Medes from the Assyrians, in the end of the reign of Sennacherib, and ending with the conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great. But their account of this dynasty is very imperfect, some kings being omitted, and others being confounded with one another. And their chronology of this dynasty is still worse; for to the first king they assign a reign of 120 years, to the second a reign of 150 years, to the third a reign of 60 years, to the fourth a reign of 120 years, to the fifth as much, and to the sixth a reign of 112 years.

XVIII. This dynasty being the monarchy of the Medes and Persians; the dynasty of the Pischdadians which immediately preceded it, must be that of the Assyrians. And according to the oriental historians this was the oldest kingdom in the world, some of its kings living a thousand years apiece, and one of them reigning five hundred years, another seven hundred years, and another a thousand years.

XIX. We need not then wonder, that the Egyptians have made the kings in the first dynasty of their monarchy, that which was seated at Thebes in the days of David, Solomon, and Rehoboam, so very ancient and so long-lived; since the Persians have done the like to their kings, who began to reign in Assyria two hundred years after the death of Solomon; and the Syrians of Damascus have done the like to their kings Adar and Hazael, who reigned an hundred years after the death of Solomon, "worshipping them as gods, and boasting their antiquity, and "not knowing," saith Josephus, "that they were but modern."

XX. And whilst all these nations have magnified their antiquities so exceedingly, we need not wonder that the Greeks and Latines have made their first kings a little older than the truth.

THE
SHORT CHRONICLE.

FROM A

MS. OF SIR ISAAC NEWTON,

IN THE POSSESSION OF

THE REV. DR. EKINS, DEAN OF CARLISLE.

VOL. V.

M m

A

SHORT CHRONICLE

FROM THE

First memory of things in EUROPE to the conquest of PERSIA
by ALEXANDER the GREAT.

THE INTRODUCTION.

THE Greek antiquities are full of poetical fictions, because the Greeks wrote nothing in prose before the conquest of Asia by Cyrus the Persian. Then Pherecydes Scyrius and Cadmus Milefius introduced the writing in prose. Pherecydes Atheniensis, about the end of the reign of Darius Hystaspis, wrote of antiquities, and digested his work by genealogies, and was reckoned one of the best genealogers. Epimenides, the historian, proceeded also by genealogies; and Hellanicus, who was twelve years older than Herodotus, digested his history by the ages or successions of the priestesses of Juno Argiva. Others digested theirs by the kings of the Lacedemonians, or archons of Athens. Hippias the Elean, about thirty years before the fall of the Persian empire, published a breviary, or list, of the olympic victors: and about ten years before the fall thereof Ephorus, the disciple of Isocrates, formed a chronological history of Greece, beginning with the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus,

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and ending with the siege of Perinthus, in the twelfth year of Philip the father of Alexander the Great. But he digested things by generations, and the reckoning by olympiads was not yet in use; nor doth it appear that the reigns of kings were yet set down by numbers of years. The Arundelian marbles were composed sixty years after the death of Alexander the Great (an. 4. olymp. 128.) and yet mention not the olympiads. But in the next olympiad Timæus Siculus published an history in several books down to his own times, according to the olympiads, comparing the Ephori, the kings of Sparta, the archons of Athens, and the priestesses of Argos with the olympic victors; so as to make the olympiads, and the genealogies and successions of kings, archons, and priestesses, and poetical histories, suit with one another, according to the best of his judgment. And where he left off, Polybius began and carried on the history.

So then, a little after the death of Alexander the Great, they began to set down the generations, reigns, and successions, in numbers of years; and by putting reigns and successions equipollent to generations, and three generations to an hundred or an hundred and twenty years (as appears by their chronology) they have made the antiquities of Greece three or four hundred years older than the truth: and this was the original of the technical chronology of the Greeks. Eratosthenes wrote about an hundred years after the death of Alexander the Great. He was followed by Apollodorus; and these two have been followed ever since by chronologers.

But how uncertain their chronology is, and how doubtful it was reputed by the Greeks of those times, may be understood

by these passages of Plutarch. 'Some reckon,' saith he^a, 'Lycurgus contemporary to Iphitus, and to have been his companion in ordering the olympic festivals: amongst whom was Aristotle the philosopher, arguing from the olympic disc which had the name of Lycurgus upon it. Others, supputing the times by the succession of the kings of the Lacedemonians, as Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, affirm that he was not a few years older than the first olympiad. First, Aristotle and some
' others

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'others made him as old as the first olympiad; then Eratosthenes, Apollodorus, and some others, made him above an hundred years older.' And in another place Plutarch^a tells us: 'The congress of Solon, with Croesus, some think they can confute by chronology. But an history so illustrious, and verified by so many witnesses, and (which is more) so agreeable to the manners of Solon, and so worthy of the greatness of his mind and of his wisdom, I cannot persuade myself to reject because of some chronological canons, as they call them; which hundreds of authors correcting, have not yet been able to constitute any certainty among themselves about repugnances.' It seems the chronologers had made the legislature of Solon too ancient to consist with that congress.

For reconciling such repugnances, chronologers have sometimes doubled the persons of men. So when the poets had changed Io, the daughter of Inachus, into the Egyptian Isis, chronologers made her husband Osiris, or Bacchus, and his mistress Ariadne as old as Io; and so feigned that there were two Ariadne's, one the mistress of Bacchus, the other the mistress of Theseus, and two Minos's their fathers, and a younger Io the daughter of Jasus; writing Jasus corruptly for Inachus: and so they have made two Pandion's and two Erechtheus's, giving the name of Erechthonius to the first. Homer calls the first Erechtheus. And by such corruptions they have exceedingly perplexed ancient history.

And as for the chronology of the Latins, that is still more uncertain. Plutarch represents great uncertainties in the originals of Rome: and so doth Servius. The old records of the Latines were burnt by the Gauls sixty-four years before the death of Alexander the Great; and Quintus Fabius Pictor, the oldest historian of the Latines, lived an hundred years later than that king.

In sacred history, the Assyrian empire began with Pul and Tiglathpilesar, and lasted about 170 years. And accordingly Herodotus hath made Semiramis only five generations, or about 166 years, older than Nitocris, the mother of the last king of Babylon.

Babylon. But Ctesias has made Semiramis 1500 years older than Nitocris; and feigned a long series of kings of Assyria, whose names are not Assyrian, nor have any affinity with the Assyrian names in Scripture.

The priests of Egypt told Herodotus, that Menes built Memphis, and the sumptuous temple of Vulcan in that city: and that Rhampsinetus, Moëris, Afychis, Psammiticus, added magnificent porticos to that temple. And it is not likely that Memphis could be famous before Homer's days, who doth not mention it, or that a temple could be above two or three hundred years in building: and yet the priests of Egypt had so magnified their antiquities before the days of Herodotus, as to tell him, that from Menes to Moëris there were 330 kings, whose reigns took up as many ages, that is, eleven thousand years; and had filled up the interval with feigned kings who had done nothing. And before the days of Diodorus Siculus they had raised their antiquities so much higher, as to place six, eight, or ten, new reigns of kings between those kings whom they had represented to Herodotus to succeed one another immediately.

In the kingdom of Sicyon, chronologers have split Apis, Epaphus, or Epopeus, into two kings, whom they call Apis and Epopeus; and between them have inserted eleven or twelve feigned names of kings who did nothing; and thereby they have made its founder Ægialeus three hundred years older than his brother Phoroneus: and some have made the kings of Germany as old as the Flood. And yet before the use of letters, the names and actions of men could scarce be remembered above eighty or an hundred years after their deaths: and therefore I admit no chronology of things done in Europe above eighty years before Cadmus brought letters into Greece: none of things done in Germany before the rise of the Roman empire.

Now since Eratosthenes and Apollodorus computed the times by the reigns of the kings of Sparta, and (as appears by their chronology still followed) have made the seventeen reigns of those kings between the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus and the battle of Thermopylæ take up 622 years, which is after the

the rate of $36\frac{1}{2}$ years to a reign; and yet a race of seventeen kings of that length is no where to be met with in all true history; and kings, at a moderate reckoning, reign but 18 or 20 years apiece one with another: I have stated the time of the return of the Heraclidæ by the last way of reckoning; placing it 345 years before the battle of Thermopylæ. And making the Trojan war eighty years older, according to Thucydides; and the Argonautic expedition a generation older; and the wars of Sesostris in Thrace, and death of Ino the daughter of Cadmus, a generation older: I have drawn up the following chronological table, so as to make chronology suit with the course of nature, with astronomy, with sacred history, and with itself, without the many repugnances complained of by Plutarch. I do not pretend to be exact to a year. There may be errors of five or ten years, and sometimes twenty, and not much above.

A
SHORT CHRONICLE

FROM THE

First memory of things done in EUROPE to the conquest of
PERSIA by ALEXANDER the GREAT.

The times are set down in years before Christ.

CHRONICLE. **T**HE Canaanites who fled from Joshua retired in great numbers into Egypt, and there conquered Timaus, Thamuz or Thammuz, king of the lower Egypt, and reigned there under their kings Salatis, Beon, Apachnas, Apophis, Janias, Affis, &c. until the days of Eli and Samuel. They fed on flesh, and sacrificed men after the manner of the Phœnicians, and were called shepherds by the Egyptians who lived only on the fruits of the earth and abominated flesh-eaters. The upper parts of Egypt were in those days under many kings reigning at Coptos, Thebes, This, Elephantis, and other places, which, by conquering one another, grew by degrees into one kingdom, over which Misphragmuthosis reigned in the days of Eli.

Anno ante Christum 1120. About this time Mephres reigned over the upper Egypt from Syene to Heliopolis, and his successor Misphragmuthosis made a lasting war upon the shepherds soon after, and caused many of them to fly into Palestine, Idumea, Syria, and Libya, and under Lelex, Æzeus, Inachus, Pelasgus, Æolus the First, Cecrops, and other captains, into Greece: and these strangers built the first houses in Greece. Before those days,

days, Greece and all Europe was peopled by wandering Cimmericians and Scythians from the backside of the Euxine Sea, who lived a rambling wild sort of life like the Tartars in the northern parts of Asia. Of their race was Ogyges, in whose days these Egyptian strangers came into Greece. The rest of the shepherds were shut up by Misphragmuthosis in a part of the lower Egypt called Abaris and Pelusium.

Anno 1100. The Philistim, strengthened by the access of the shepherds, conquer Israel and take the Ark. Samuel judges Israel.

1085. Hæmon, the son of Pelasgus, reigns in Theffaly.

1080. Lycaon, the son of Pelasgus, builds Lycosura; Phoroneus the son of Inachus, Phoronicum, afterwards called Argos. Ægialeus the brother of Phoroneus, and son of Inachus, Ægialeum, afterwards called Sicyon; the oldest towns in Peloponnesus. Till then they built only single houses scattered up and down in the fields. About the same time Cecrops built Cecropia in Attica, afterwards called Athens; and Eleusine the son of Ogyges built Eleusina: and these towns gave a beginning to the kingdoms of the Arcadians, Argives, Sicyons, Athenians, Eleusinians, &c.

1070. Amosis, or Tethmosis, the successor of Misphragmuthosis, drives the shepherds out of Abaris, and abolishes the Phœnician custom in Heliopolis of sacrificing men. By their access the Philistim became so numerous, as to bring into the field against Saul 30000 chariots, 6000 horsemen, and people as the sand on the sea-shore in multitude. Abas, the father of Acrisius and Prætus, comes from Egypt.

1069. Saul is made king of Israel, and by the hand of Jonathan gets a great victory over the Philistim. Eurotas the son of Lelex, and Lacedæmon, who married Sparta the daughter of Eurotas, reign in Laconia and build Sparta. Deucalion flourishes.

1060. Samuel dies.

1059. David made king.

1048. The Edomites are conquered by David. Their mariners fly from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, fortify Azoth,

CHRONICLE. and take Zidon; and the Zidonians who fled from them build Tyre, and make Abibalus their first king.

1047. Acrisius marries Eurydice, the daughter of Lacedæmon and Sparta.

1045. The Phœnician mariners who fled from the Red Sea, being used to long voyages for the sake of traffic, begin the like voyages on the Mediterranean from Sidon; and, sailing as far as Greece, carry away to the daughter of Inachus, who, with other Grecian women, came to their ships to buy their merchandise. The Greek seas begin to be infested with pirates. Endymion builds Elis.

1043. The Syrians of Zobah and Damascus are conquered by David.

1042. Nyctimus the son of Lycaon reigns in Arcadia. Deucalion still alive.

1041. Many of the Phœnicians and Syrians flee from Sidon, and come, under the conduct of Cadmus, Cilix, Phoenix, Memblarius, Niæus, Thafus, Alumnus, and other captains, into Asia Minor, Crete, Greece, and Libya; and introduce letters, music, poetry, the Octaeteris, metals, and their fabrication, and other arts, sciences, and customs of the Phœnicians. At this time Cranaus, the successor of Cecrops, reigned in Attica; and in his reign, and the beginning of the reign of Nyctimus, the Greeks place the flood of Deucalion. This flood was succeeded by four ages or generations of men; in the first of which Chiron, the son of Saturn and Philyra, was born; and the last of which, according to Hesiod, ended with the Trojan war; and so place the destruction of Troy four generations, or about 133 years, later than that flood, and than the coming of Cadmus; reckoning with the ancients three generations to an hundred years. With these Phœnicians came a sort of men skilled in the religious mysteries, arts, and sciences of Phœnicia, and settled in several places under the names of Curetes, Corybantes, Telchines, and Idæi Daëtyli.

1039. Helen, the son of Deucalion, and father of Æolus Xuthus and Dorus, flourishes.

1037. Erechtheus reigns in Attica.

1036.

CHRONICLE. 1036. Ceres, a woman of Sicily, in seeking her daughter who was stolen, comes into Attica, and there teaches the Greeks to sow corn: for which benefaction she was deified after death. She first taught the art to Triptolemus, the young son of Celeus king of Eleusis.

1035. The Idæi Daëtyli find out iron in Mount Ida in Crete, and work it into armour and iron-tools; and thereby give a beginning to the trades of smiths and carpenters in Europe. And by singing and dancing in their armour, and keeping time by striking upon one another's armour with their swords, they bring in music and poetry. And at the same time they nurse up the Cretan Jupiter in a cave of the same mountain, dancing about him in their armour.

1034. Ammon reigns in Egypt. He conquered Libya, and reduced that people from a wandering savage life to a civil one, and taught them to lay up the fruits of the earth: and from him Libya and the desert above it were anciently called Ammonia. He was the first that built long and tall ships with sails; and had a fleet of such ships on the Red Sea, and another on the Mediterranean at Garga in Libya. Till then they used small and round vessels of burden invented on the Red Sea, and kept within sight of the shore. For enabling them to cross the seas without seeing the shore, the Egyptians began in his days to observe the stars: and from this beginning astronomy and sailing had their rise. Hitherto the lunisolar year had been in use: but this year being of an uncertain length, and so unfit for astronomy, in his days, and in the days of his sons and grandsons, by observing the heliacal risings and settings of the stars, they found the length of the solar year; and made it consist of five days more than the twelve calendar months of the old lunisolar year.

1028. Oenotrus, the youngest son of Lycaon (the Janus of the Latines) led the first colony of the Greeks into Italy, and there taught them to build houses. Perseus born.

1025. Arcas, the son of Callisto and grandson of Lycaon, and Eumelus, the first king of Achaia, received bread-corn from Triptolemus.

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1020.

CHRONICLE. 1020. Apis, Epaphus, or Epopeus, the son of Phoroneus, and Ništeus king of Bœotia slain. Lycus inherits the kingdom of his brother Ništeus. Ætolus the son of Endymion flees into the country of the Curetes in Achaia, and calls it Ætolia; and of Pronoë, the daughter of Phorbus, begets Pleuron and Calydon; who built cities in Ætolia called by their own names. Antiopa, the daughter of Nyšteus, is sent home to Lycus by Lamедon, the successor of Apis, and in the way brings forth Amphion and Zethus.

1019. Solomon reigns, and marries the daughter of Ammon; and by means of this affinity is supplied with horses from Egypt. And his merchants from thence also bring horses for all the kings of the Hittites and Syrians; for horses came originally from Libya: and thence Neptune was called Equestris. Tantalus king of Phrygia steals Ganimedē, the son of Tros king of Troas.

1017. Solomon, by the assistance of the Tyrians, who had mariners amongst them acquainted with the Red Sea, sets out a fleet upon that sea. Creüsa, the daughter of Erechtheus, marries Zuthus the son of Hellen. Erechtheus having first celebrated the Panathænæa, joins horses to a chariot. Ægina, the daughter of Afopus and mother of Æacus, born.

1015. The Temple of Solomon is founded. Minos reigns in Crete, expelling his father, who flees into Italy, and becomes the Saturn of the Latines. Ammon takes Gezer from the Canaanites, and gives it to his daughter, Solomon's wife.

1014. Ammon places Cepheus at Joppa. Ceres being dead, Eumolpus institutes her mysteries in Eleusine. The mysteries of Rhea are instituted in Phrygia, in the city Cybele. About this time temples began to be built in Greece. Hyagnis the Phrygian invents the pipe. After the example of the common-council of the five lords of the Philistim, the Greeks set up the Amphictyonic council first at Thermopylæ, by the influence of Amphictyon the son of Deucalion, and a few years after at Delphi by the influence of Acrisius. Among the cities, whose deputies met at Thermopylæ, I do not find Athens; and therefore doubt, whether Amphictyon was king of that city. If he was the

CHRONICLE. the son of Deucalion and brother of Hellen, he and Cranaüs might reign together in several parts of Attica. But I meet with a later Amphictyon, who entertained the great Bacchus. This council worshipped Ceres, and therefore was instituted after her death.

1012. Cecrops II. reigns in Attica. Caucon teaches the mysteries of Ceres in Messene. Sefac, in the reign of his father Ammon, invades Arabia Felix.

1011. Pandion, the brother of Cecrops II. reigns in Attica. Pelops the son of Tantalus comes into Peloponnesus; marries Hippodamia the grand-daughter of Acrisius; takes Ætolia from Ætolus the son of Endymion, and by his reaches grows potent.

1010. Car the son of Phoroneus builds a temple to Ceres. Hellen the son of Deucalion reigns in Phthiotis.

1008. Sefac, in the reign of his father Ammon, invades Afric and Spain; and sets up pillars at the mouth of the streights, and in all his conquests; and returns by the coast of Gaul and Italy.

1006. Minos prepares a fleet; clears the Greek seas of pirates; and sends colonies to the islands of the Greeks, some of which were not inhabited before. War between Pandion, and Labdacus the grandson of Cadmus.

1005. Andromeda carried away from Joppa by Perseus.

1002. Sefac reigns in Egypt and adorns Thebes, dedicating it to his father Ammon by the name of No-Ammon, or Ammon-No; that is, the city or people of Ammon. Whence the Greeks called it Diospolis; the city of Jupiter. Sefac also erected temples and oracles to his father in Thebes, Ammonia, and Ethiopia, and thereby caused his father to be worshipped as a god in those countries; and I think also in Arabia Felix. And this was the original of the worship of Jupiter Ammon, and the first mention of oracles that I meet with in prophane history.

1000. Amphion and Zethus slay Lycus; put Laius, the son of Labdacus, to flight, and reign in Thebes, and wall the city about.

994. Ægeus reigns in Attica.

993. Sisyphus, the son of Æolus and grandson of Hellen, reigns in Corinth; and some say that he built that city.

CHRONICLE. 990. Dædalus and his nephew Talus invent the saw, the turning-lath, the wimble, the chip-axe, and other instruments of carpenters and joiners, and thereby gave a beginning to those arts in Europe. Dædalus also invented the making of statues with their feet asunder, as if they walked.

988. Minos makes war upon the Athenians for killing his son Androgeus. Æacus flourishes.

987. Dædalus kills Talus and flees to Minos. A priestess of Jupiter Ammon, being brought by Phœnician merchants into Greece, sets up the oracle of Jupiter at Dodona; and this gives a beginning to oracles in Greece. And by their dictates the worship of the dead is every where introduced.

981. Alcmena born of Electryo, the son of Perseus and Andromeda, and of Eurydice the daughter of Pelops.

980. Laius recovers the kingdom of Thebes. Athamas, the brother of Sisyphus, and father of Phryxus and Helle, marries Ino the daughter of Cadmus.

979. Rehoboam reigns. Thoas is sent from Crete to Lemnos, and reigns there in the city Hephestia; where he works in copper and iron.

974. Sefac spoils the temple, and invades Syria, Persia and India, setting up pillars in all his conquests. Jeroboam, becoming subject to Sefac, sets up the worship of the Egyptian gods in Israel.

971. Sefac invades India, and returns with triumph the next year but one. Whence Triëterica Bacchi. He sets up pillars on two mountains at the mouth of the river Ganges.

968. Theseus reigns, having overcome the Minotaur; and soon after unites the twelve cities of Attica under one government. Sefac, having carried on his victories to mount Caucasus, leaves his nephew Prometheus there, and Æetes at Colchos.

967. Sefac, passing over the Hellespont, conquers Thrace; kills Lycurgus king thereof, and gives his kingdom and one of his singing-women to Oeagrus, the father of Orpheus. Sefac had in his army Ethiopians commanded by Pan, and Libyan women commanded by Merina, or Minerva. It was the custom of the Ethiopians to dance when they were entering into a battle; and

and from their skipping they were painted with goats-feet in the form of satyrs.

966. Thoas, being made king of Cyprus by Sefac, goes thither with his wife Callicopis, and leaves his daughter Hypsipyle in Lemnos.

965. Sefac is baffled by the Greeks and Scythians; loses many of his women, with their queen Minerva; composes the war; is received by Amphictyon at a feast; buries Ariadne; goes back through Asia and Syria into Egypt with innumerable captives, among whom was Tithonus the son of Laomedon king of Troy; and leaves his Libyan Amazons under Marthesia and Lampeto, the successor of Minerva, at the river Thermodon. He left also in Colchos geographical tables of all his conquests; and thence geography had its rise. His singing-women were celebrated in Thrace by the name of the Muses: and the daughters of Pierus, a Thracian, imitating them, were celebrated by the same name.

964. Minos making war upon Cocalus king of Sicily, is slain by him. He was eminent for his dominion, his laws, and his justice. Upon his sepulchre, visited by Pythagoras, was this inscription, ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΚ; the sepulchre of Jupiter. Danaus with his daughters, flying from his brother Ægyptus (that is from Sefac) comes into Greece. Sefac, using the advice of his secretary Thoth, distributes Egypt into XXXVI nomes; and in every nome erects a temple; and appoints the several gods, festival, and religions of the several nomes. The temples were the sepulchres of his great men, where they were to be buried and worshipped after death, each in his own temple, with ceremonies and festivals appointed by him; while he and his queen, by the names of Osiris and Isis, were to be worshipped in all Egypt. These were the temples seen and described by Lucian eleven hundred years after to be of one and the same age. And this was the original of the several nomes of Egypt, and of the several gods and several religions in those nomes. Sefac divided also the land of Egypt by measure amongst his soldiers; and thence geometry had its rise. Hercules and Eurytheus born.

CHRONICLE.

963. Amphictyon brings the twelve gods of Egypt into Greece; and these are the *Dii magni majorum gentium*, to whom the earth, and planets, and elements are dedicated.

962. Phrixus and Helle fly from their stepmother Ino, the daughter of Cadmus. Helle is drowned in the Hellespont, so named from her; but Phryxus arrives at Colchos.

960. The war between the Lapithæ, and the people of Thesfaly called Centaurs.

958. Oedipus kills his father Daius. Sthenelus the son of Perseus reigns in Mycene.

956. Sefac is slain by his brother Japetus; who, after death, was deified in Afric by the name of Neptune, and called Typhon by the Egyptians. Orus reigns and routs the Libyans; who, under the conduct of Japetus and his son Antæus, or Atlas, invaded Egypt. Sefac, from his making the river Nile useful by cutting channels from it to all the cities of Egypt, was called by its names, Sihor or Siris, Nilus, and Ægyptus. The Greeks, hearing the Egyptians lament O Siris and Bou Siris, called him Ofiris and Bufiris. The Arabians, from his great acts, called him Bacchus, that is, the great. The Phrygians called him Ma-fors, or Mavors, the Valiant; and by contraction Mars. Because he set up pillars in all his conquests, and his army in his father's reign fought against the Africans with clubs, he is painted with pillars and a club. And this is that Hercules who, according to Cicero, was born upon the Nile; and, according to Eudoxus, was slain by Typhon; and, according to Diodorus, was an Egyptian, and went over a great part of the world, and set up the pillars in Afric. He seems to be also the Belus, who, according to Diodorus, led a colony of Egyptians to Babylon, and there instituted priests called Chaldæans, who were free from taxes, and observed the stars as in Egypt. Hitherto Judah and Israel laboured under great vexations: but henceforward Asa king of Judea had peace ten years.

947. The Ethiopians invade Egypt, and drown Orus in the Nile. Thereupon Bubaste the sister of Orus kills herself by falling from the top of a house; and their mother Isis, or Astræa, goes mad: and thus ended the reign of the gods of Egypt.

946.

CHRONICLE.

946. Zerah the Ethiopian is overthrown by Asa. The people of the lower Egypt make Osarsiphus their king, and call in two hundred thousand Jews and Phoenicians against the Ethiopians. Menes, or Amenophis, the young son of Zerah and Ciffia, reigns.

944. The Ethiopians under Amenophis retire from the lower Egypt, and fortify Memphis against Osarsiphus: and by these wars and the Argonautic expedition the great empire of Egypt breaks in pieces. Eurystheus, the son of Sthenelus, reigns in Mycenæ.

943. Evander and his mother Carmenta carry letters into Italy.

942. Orpheus deifies the son of Semele by the name of Bacchus; and appoints his ceremonies.

940. The great men of Greece, hearing of the civil-wars and distractions of Egypt, resolve to send an embassy to the nations upon the Euxine and Mediterranean Seas subject to that empire; and for that end order the building of the ship Argo.

939. The ship Argo is built, after the pattern of the long ship in which Danæus came into Greece: and this was the first long ship build by the Greeks. Chiron, who was born in the golden age, forms the constellations for the use of the Argonauts; and places the solstitial and equinoctial points in the fifteenth degrees, or middles, of the constellations of Cancer, Chelæ, Capricorn, and Aries. Meton, in the year of Nabonassar 316, observed the summer solstice in the eighth degree of Cancer; and therefore the solstice had then gone back seven degrees. It goes back one degree in about seventy and two years, and seven degrees in about 504 years. Count these years back from the year of Nabonassar 316, and they will place the Argonautic expedition about 936 years before Christ.

Gingris the son of Thoas slain, and deified by the name of Adonis.

938. Theseus being fifty years old steals Hellen, then seven years old. Perithöus, the son of Ixion, endeavouring to steal Persephone the daughter of Orcus king of the Molossians, is

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slain

CHRONICLE. slain by the dog of Orcus, and his companion Theseus is taken and imprisoned. Helena is set at liberty by her brothers.

937. The Argonautic expedition. Prometheus leaves Mount Caucasus, being set at liberty by Hercules. Laomedon king of Troy slain by Hercules. Priam succeeds him. Talus, a brazen man of the brazen age, the son of Minos, slain by the Argonauts. Æsculapius and Hercules were Argonauts; and Hippocrates was the eighteenth from Æsculapius by the father's side, and the nineteenth from Hercules by the mother's side. And because these generations, being noted in history, were most probably by the chief of the family, and for the most part by the eldest sons; we may reckon 28, or at most 30, years to a generation. And thus the seventeen intervals by the father's side, and eighteen by the mother's, will, at a middle reckoning, amount unto about 507 years. Which being counted backwards from the beginning of the Peloponnesian war (at which time Hippocrates began to flourish) will reach up to the time where we have placed the Argonautic expedition.

936. Theseus is set at liberty by Hercules.

934. The hunting of the Calydonian boar, slain by Meleager.

930. Amenophis, with an army out of Ethiopia and Thebais, invades the lower Egypt; conquers Osarsiphus; and drives out the Jews and Canaanites: and this is reckoned the second expulsion of the shepherds. Callicopis dies; and is deified by Thoas with temples at Paphos and Amathus in Cyprus, and at Byblus in Syria, and with priests and sacred rites, and becomes the Venus of the ancients, and the *Dea Cypria* and *Dea Syria*: and from these and other places, where temples were erected to her, she was also called Paphia, Amathusia, Byblia, Cytheræa, Salamina, Cnidia, Erycina, Idalia, &c.: and her three waiting-women became the three Graces.

928. The war of the seven captains against Thebes.

927. Hercules and Æsculapius are deified. Eurystheus drives the Heraclidæ out of Peloponnesus. He is slain by Hyllus the son of Hercules. Atreus, the son of Pelops, succeeds him in the kingdom of Mycenæ. Menestheus, the great-grandson of Erechtheus, reigns at Athens.

925. Theseus is slain; being cast down from a rock.

924. Hyllus, invading Peloponnesus, is slain by Echemus.

919. Atreus dies. Agamemnon reigns. In the absence of Menelaüs, who went to look after what his father Atreus had left him, Paris steals Helena.

618. The second war against Thebes.

912. Thoas, king of Cyprus and part of Phoenicia, dies: and for making armour for the kings of Egypt is deified with a sumptuous temple at Memphis, by the name of Baal Canaan, Vulcan. This temple was said to be built by Menes, the first king of Egypt who reigned next after the gods; that is, by Menoph, or Amenophis, who reigned next after the death of Osiris, Isis, Orus, Bubaste, and Thoth. The city Memphis was also said to be built by Menes. He began to build it when he fortified it against Osarsiphus; and from him it was called Menoph, Moph, Noph, &c. and is to this day called Menuf by the Arabians: and therefore Menes, who built the city and temple, was Menoph or Amenophis. The priests of Egypt at length made this temple above a thousand years older than Amenophis; and some of them five or ten thousand years older. But it could not be above two or three hundred years older than the reign of Psammiticus, who finished it, and died 614 years before Christ. When Menoph, or Menes, built the city, he built a bridge there over the Nile; a work too great to be older than the monarchy of Egypt.

909. Amenophis (called Memnon by the Greeks) built the Memnonia at Susa; and left Egypt under the government of Proteus, his viceroy.

904. Troy taken. Amenophis was still at Susa: the Greeks feigning that he came from thence to the Trojan war.

903. Demophoon, the son of Theseus by Phædra the daughter of Minos, reigns at Athens.

901. Amenophis builds small pyramids in Cochoe.

895. Teucer builds Salamis in Cyprus. Hadad, or Benhadad, king of Syria dies; and is deified at Damascus with a temple and ceremonies.

CHRONICLE. 887. Amenophis dies; and is succeeded by his son Rameffes or Rhampfinitus; who builds the western portico of the temple of Vulcan. The Egyptians dedicated to Osiris, Isis, Orus senior, Typhon, and Nephthe, the sister and wife of Typhon, the five days added by the Egyptians to the twelve calendar months of the lunisolar year; and said, that they were added when these five princes were born. They were added therefore in the reign of Ammon, the father of these princes. But this year was not brought into use before the reign of Amenophis. For in his temple or sepulchre at Abydos, they placed a circle of 365 cubits in compass, covered on the upper side with a plate of gold, and divided into 365 equal parts, to represent all the days of the year; every part having the day of the year, and the heliacal risings and settings of the stars on that day, noted upon it: and this circle remained there till Cambyfes spoiled the temples of Egypt. And from this monument I collect, that it was Amenophis who established this year, fixing the beginning thereof to one of the four cardinal points of the heavens. For had not the beginning thereof been now fixed, the heliacal risings and settings of the stars could not have been noted upon the days thereof. The priests of Egypt therefore, in the reign of Amenophis, continued to observe the heliacal risings and settings of the stars upon every day: and when, by the sun's meridional altitudes, they had found the solstices and equinoxes according to the sun's mean motion, his equation being not yet known; they fixed the beginning of this year to the vernal equinox, and in memory thereof erected this monument. Now this year being carried into Chaldea, the Chaldeans began their years of Nabonassar on the same Thoth with the Egyptians; and the Thoth of the first year of Nabonassar fell upon the 26th day of February: which was thirty-three days and five hours before the vernal equinox, according to the sun's mean motion: and the Thoth of this year moves backward thirty-three days and five hours in 137 years; and therefore fell upon the vernal equinox 137 years before the era of Nabonassar began; that is, 884 years before Christ. And if it began upon the day next after the vernal equinox, it might begin three or four years earlier: and there we may place the death
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of this king. The Greeks feigned that he was the son of Tithonus; and therefore he was born after the return of Sefac into Egypt with Tithonus and other captives, and so might be about 70 or 75 years old at his death.

886. Ulysses leaves Calypso in the island Ogygia, perhaps Cadis or Cales. She was the daughter of Atlas, according to Homer. The ancients at length feigned that this island, which from Atlas they called Atlantis, had been as big as all Europe, Africa, and Asia, but was sunk into the sea.

883. Dido builds Carthage; and the Phoenicians begin presently after to sail as far as the strait's mouth and beyond. Æneas was still alive, according to Virgil.

870. Hesiod flourishes. He has told us himself, that he lived in the age next after the wars of Thebes and Troy; and that this age should end when the men then living grew hoary and dropt into the grave; and therefore it was but of an ordinary length. And Herodotus has told us, that Hesiod and Homer were but 400 years older than himself.

860. Moeris reigns in Egypt. He adorned Memphis, and translated the seat of his empire thither from Thebes. There he built the famous labyrinth, and the northern portico of the temple of Vulcan; and dug the great lake called the Lake of Moeris; and upon the bottom of it built two great pyramids of brick. And these things, being not mentioned by Homer or Hesiod, were unknown to them, and done after their days. He wrote also a book of geometry.

852. Hazael, the successor of Hadad at Damascus, dies, and is deified. These gods, Hadad and Hazael, together with Arathes, the wife of Hadad, were worshipped in their sepulchres or temples till the days of Josephus the Jew; and the Syrians boasted their antiquity, not knowing, saith Josephus, that they were novel.

844. The Æolic migration. Boeotia, formerly called Cadmeis, is seized by the Boeotians.

838. Cheops reigns in Egypt. He built the greatest pyramid for his sepulchre, and forbid the worship of the former kings; intending to have been worshipped himself.

CHRONICLE. 825. The Herælidæ, after three generations, or an hundred years, reckoned from their former expedition, return into Peloponnesus. Henceforward to the end of the first Messenian war reigned ten kings of Sparta by one race, and nine by another: ten of Messene; and nine of Arcadia: which, reckoning according to the ordinary course of nature about 18 or 20 years to a reign, one reign with another, will scarce take up above 200 years. And the seven reigns more in each of the two races of the Spartan kings to the battle of Thermopylæ, may take up 140 years more; and so place the return of the Herælidæ about 820 years before Christ.

824. Cephren reigns in Egypt, and builds another great pyramid.

808. Mycerine reigns there, and begins the third great pyramid. He shut up the dead body of his daughter in a hollow ox, and caused her to be worshipped daily with odours.

804. The war between the Athenians and Spartans, in which Codrus king of the Athenians is slain.

802. Nitocris, the sister of Mycerine, succeeds him, and finishes the third great pyramid.

794. The Ionic migration under the conduct of the sons of Codrus.

790. Pul founds the Assyrian empire.

788. Asychis reigns in Egypt, and builds the eastern portico of the temple of Vulcan very splendidly; and a large pyramid of brick made of mud, dug out of the Lake of Mœris. Egypt breaks into several kingdoms. Gnephactus and Boccharis reign successively in the upper Egypt; Stephanates, Nechepfos, and Nechus, at Sais; Anyfis, or Amosis, at Anyfis, or Hanes; and Tacellotis at Bubaste.

776. Iphitus restores the olympiads: and from this æra the olympiads are now reckoned. Gnephactus reigns at Memphis.

772. Necepsos and Petofiris invent astrology in Egypt.

762. Boccharis reigns in Egypt.

760. Semiramis begins to flourish. Sanchoniatho writes.

751. Sabacon the Ethiopian invades Egypt, now divided into various

various kingdoms; burns Boccharis; flays Nechus; and makes Anyfis fly.

747. Pul is succeeded at Babylon by Nabonassar; and at Nineveh, by Tiglathpilafer. The Egyptians who fled from Sabacon carry their astronomy and astrology to Babylon; and found the æra of Nabonassar in Egyptian years of 365 days, beginning on the same day with those of Egypt.

740. Tiglathpilafer king of Assyria takes Damascus, and captivates the Syrians.

729. Tiglathpilafer is succeeded by Salmanasser.

721. Salmanasser, king of the Assyrians, carries the ten tribes into captivity.

719. Sennacherib reigns over Assyria.

717. Tirhakah reigns in Æthiopia.

714. Sennacherib is put to flight by the Ethiopians and Egyptians.

713. The Medes revolt from the Assyrians. Sennacherib slain. Afferhadon succeeds him. This is that Afferhadon-Pul, or Sardanapalus, the son of Anacyndaraxis or Sennacherib, who built Tarsus and Anchiale in one day.

710. Lycurgus brings the poems of Homer out of Asia into Greece.

708. Lycurgus becomes tutor to Charillus, or Charilaus, the young king of Sparta. Aristotle makes Lycurgus as old as Iphitus, because his name was upon the olympic disc. But the disc was one of the five games called the Quinquertium; and the Quinquertium was first instituted upon the eighteenth olympiad. Socrates and Thucydides made the institutions of Lycurgus about 300 years older than the end of the Peloponnesian war; that is, 705 years before Christ.

701. Sabacon, after a reign of 50 years, relinquishes Egypt to his son Sevechus, or Sethon; who becomes priest of Vulcan, and neglects military affairs.

698. Manesses reigns.

697. The Corinthians began first of any men to build ships with three orders of oars, called Triremes. Hitherto the Greeks had used long vessels of fifty oars.

CHRONICLE.

687. Tirhakah reigns in Egypt.
 681. Afferhadon takes Babylon.
 673. The Jews conquered by Afferhadon, and Manaffes carried captive to Babylon.
 671. Afferhadon invades Egypt. The government of Egypt committed to twelve princes.
 668. The western nations of Syria, Phœnicia, and Egypt, revolt from the Assyrians. Afferhadon dies, and is succeeded by Saolduchinus. Maneffes returns from captivity.
 658. Phraortes reigns in Media. The Prytanes reign in Corinth, expelling their kings.
 657. The Corinthians overcome the Corcyreans at sea; and this was the oldest sea-fight. Achias the son of Evagetus, of the stock of Hercules, led a colony from Corinth into Sicily, and built Syracuse.
 655. The first Messenian war begins: it lasted twenty years. Psammiticus becomes king of all Egypt, by conquering the other eleven kings, with whom he had already reigned fifteen years; he reigned about 39 years more. Henceforward the Ionians had access into Egypt; and thence came the Ionian philosophy, astronomy, and geometry.
 650. Charops the first decennial archon of the Athenians. Some of these archons might die before the end of the ten years, and the remainder of the ten years be supplied by a new archon: and hence the seven decennial archons might not take up above forty or fifty years.
 647. Saolduchinus king of Assyria dies, and is succeeded by Chyniladon.
 640. Josias reigns in Judæa.
 636. Phraortes king of the Medes is slain in a war against the Assyrians. Aftyages succeeds him.
 635. The Scythians invade the Medes and Assyrians.
 633. Battus builds Cyrene, where Irafæ, the city of Antæus, had stood.
 625. Nabopolassar revolts from the king of Assyria, and reigns over Babylon.
 624. Phalantus leads the Parthenians into Italy, and builds Tarentum.

617.

CHRONICLE.

617. The second Messenian war begins. Psammiticus dies.
 Nechao reigns in Egypt. Rome is built.
 611. Cyaxeres reigns over the Medes.
 610. Creon the first annual archon of the Athenians. The princes of the Scythians slain in a feast by Cyaxeres.
 609. Josiah slain. Cyaxeres and Nebuchadnezzar overthrow Niniveh; and, by sharing the Assyrian empire, grow great.
 607. Cyaxeres makes the Scythians retire beyond Colchos and Iberia; and seizes the Assyrian provinces of Armenia, Pontus, and Cappadocia.
 606. Nebuchadnezzar invades Syria and Judæa. Cyaxeres makes war upon Alyattes king of Lydia.
 604. Nabopolassar dies; and is succeeded by his son Nebuchadnezzar, who had already reigned two years with his father.
 601. In the sixth year of the Lydian war, a total eclipse of the sun, predicted by Thales, April 28, between 8 and 9 of the clock in the morning, puts an end to a battle between the Medes and Lydians. Whereupon they make peace; and ratify it by a marriage between Aftyages, the son of Cyaxeres, and Ariene the daughter of Alyattes.
 600. Darius the Mede, the son or grandson of Cyaxeres, is born.
 599. Cyrus is born of Mandane, the sister of Cyaxeres, and daughter of Aftyages.
 598. The Messenians, being conquered, fly into Sicily and build Messana.
 596. Susiana and Elam conquered by Nebuchadnezzar. Caranus and Perdiccas fly from Phidon, and found the kingdom of Macedon. Phidon introduces weights and measures, and the coining of silver money.
 588. The temple of Solomon is burnt by Nebuchadnezzar.
 584. Phidon presides in the 49th olympiad.
 580. Draco is archon of the Athenians, and makes laws for them. Phidon is overthrown. Two men chosen by lot out of the city Elis, to preside in the olympic games.
 575. The Amphictyons make war upon the Cyrrheans, by the advice of Solon, and take Cyrrha. Clifthenes, Alcmaeon,
 Vol. V. P p and

CHRONICLE, and Eurolycus, commanded the forces of the Amphictyons, and were contemporary to Phidon. For Leocides the son of Phidon, and Megacles the son of Alcmaeon, at one and the same time courted Agarista the daughter of Clisthenes.

569. Nebuchadnezzar invades Egypt. Darius the Mede reigns.

563. Solon being archon of the Athenians, makes laws for them.

557. Periander dies; and Corinth becomes free from tyrants.

555. Nabonnidus reigns at Babylon. His mother Nitocris adorns and fortifies that city.

553. The conference between Croesus and Solon.

550. Pisistratus becomes tyrant at Athens.

547. Sardes is taken by Cyrus. Darius the Mede re-coins the Lydian money into Darics. Solon dies, Hegistratus being archon of Athens.

538. Babylon is taken by Cyrus.

536. Cyrus overcomes Darius the Mede, and translates the empire to the Persians. The Jews return from captivity.

529. Cyrus dies. Cambyfes reigns.

521. Darius the son of Hytaspes reigns. The Magi are slain. The various religions of the several nations of Persia, which consisted in the worship of their ancient kings, are abolished; and by the influence of Hytaspes and Zoroastres the worship of the supreme God, at altars without temples, is set up in all Persia.

520. The second temple is built at Jerusalem by the command of Darius.

515. The second temple is finished and dedicated.

513. Harmodius and Aristogiton slay Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus, tyrant of the Athenians.

508. The kings of the Romans expelled and consuls erected.

491. The battle of Marathon.

485. Xerxes reigns.

480. The passage of Xerxes over the Hellespont into Greece, and battles of Thermopylae and Salamis.

464. Artaxerxes Longimanus reigns.

457. Ezra returns into Judaea. Jonathan, the father of Judaea, was now grown up; having a chamber in the temple.

444. Nehemiah returns into Judaea. Herodotus writes. CHRONICLE.

431. The Peloponnesian war begins.

428. Nehemiah drives away Eliezar, the brother of Judaea; because he had married Nicafo, the daughter of Sanballat.

424. Darius Nothus reigns.

422. Sanballat builds a temple in Mount Gerizim, and makes his son-in-law Eleazar the first high-priest thereof.

412. Hitherto the priests and Levites were numbered and written in the chronicles of the Jews before the death of Nehemiah: at which time either Johanan or Judaea was high-priest: and here ends the sacred history of the Jews.

405. Artaxerxes Mnemon reigns. The end of the Peloponnesian war.

332. The Persian empire conquered by Alexander the Great.

331. Darius Codomanus, the last king of Persia, slain.

END OF THE CHRONOLOGY.

O B S E R V A T I O N S

U P O N T H E

PROPHECIES OF HOLY WRIT,

PARTICULARLY THE

PROPHECIES OF DANIEL,

AND THE

APOCALYPSE OF ST. JOHN.

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P A R T I.

UPON THE

PROPHECIES OF DANIEL.

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O B S E R V A T I O N S
UPON THE
P R O P H E C I E S, &c.

C H A P. I.

*Introduction concerning the Compilers of the books of the
Old Testament.*

WHEN Manasses set up a carved image in the house of the Lord, and built altars in the two courts of the house to all the host of heaven, and used incantments and witchcraft and familiar spirits, and for his great wickedness was invaded by the army of Afferhadon king of Affyria, and carried captive to Babylon; the book of the Law was lost till the eighteenth year of his grandson Josiah. Then Hilkiah the high-priest, upon repairing the temple, found it there; and the king lamented, that their fathers had not done after the words of the book, and commanded that it should be read to the people, and caused the people to renew the holy covenant with God. This is the book of the Law now extant.

II. When Shishak came out of Egypt and spoiled the temple, and brought Judah into subjection to the monarchy of Egypt (which was in the fifth year of Rehoboam) the Jews continued under

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great

CHAPTER
FIRST.

great troubles for about twenty years; being "without the true God, and without a teaching-priest, and without law: and in those times there was no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great vexations were upon all the inhabitants of the countries, and nation was destroyed of nation, and city of city, for God did vex them with all adversity."

² Chron. xiv.
1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12.

But when Shishak was dead, and Egypt fell into troubles, Judah had quiet ten years; and in that time Aza built fenced cities in Judah, and got up an army of 580000 men; with which, in the 15th year of his reign, he met and overcame Zerah the Ethiopian; who had conquered Egypt and Libya, and Troglodytica, and came out with an army of 1000000 Libyans and Ethiopians, to recover the countries conquered by Sefac. And after this victory Aza dethroned his mother for idolatry; and he renewed the altar, and brought new vessels of gold and silver into the temple; and he and the people entered into a new covenant to seek the Lord God of their fathers, upon pain of death to those who worshipped other gods; and his son Jehoshaphat took away the high places; and in the third year of his reign sent some of his princes, and of the priests and Levites, to teach in the cities of Judah; and they had the book of the Law with them, and went about throughout all the cities of Judah, and taught the people. This is that book of the Law which was afterwards lost in the reign of Manasses, and found again in the reign of Josiah; and therefore it was written before the third year of Jehoshaphat.

² Kings xvii.
27, 28, 32, 33.

III. The same book of the Law was preserved and handed down to posterity by the Samaritans; and therefore was received by the ten tribes before their captivity. For when the ten tribes were captivated, a priest of the captivity was sent back to Bethel, by order of the king of Assyria, to instruct the new inhabitants of Samaria, in "the manner of the God of the land;" and the Samaritans had the Pentateuch from this priest, as containing the law or "manner of the God of the land," which he was to teach them. For they persevered in the religion which he taught them, joining with it the worship of their own gods; and by persevering in what they had been taught, they preserved this book

² Kings xvii.
34, 41.

book of their law in the original character of the Hebrews; while the two tribes, after their return from Babylon, changed the character to that of the Chaldees, which they had learned at Babylon.

IV. And since the Pentateuch was received as the book of the Law, both by the two tribes and by the ten tribes; it follows, that they received it before they became divided into two kingdoms. For after the division, they received not laws from one another, but continued at variance. Judah could not reclaim Israel from the sin of Jeroboam, and Israel could not bring Judah to it. The Pentateuch therefore was the book of the Law in the days of David and Solomon. The affairs of the tabernacle and temple were ordered by David and Solomon, according to the law of this book; and David in the 78th Psalm, admonishing the people to give ear to the law of God, means the law of this book. For in describing how their forefathers kept it not, he quotes many historical things out of the books of Exodus and Numbers.

V. The race of the kings of Edom, before there reigned any king over Israel, is set down in the book of Genesis; and therefore that book was not written, entirely in the form now extant, before the reign of Saul. The writer set down the race of those kings till his own time; and therefore wrote, before David conquered Edom. The Pentateuch is composed of the law and the history of God's people together; and the history hath been collected from several books: such as were the History of the Creation composed by Moses, Gen. ii. 4; the Book of the Generations of Adam, Gen. v. i; and the Book of the Wars of the Lord, Num. xxi. 14. This Book of Wars contained what was done at the Red Sea, and in the journeying of Israel through the Wilderness, and therefore was begun by Moses: and Joshua might carry it on to the conquest of Canaan. For Joshua wrote some things in the book of the law of God (Josh. xxiv. 26.) and therefore might write his own wars in the Book of Wars; those being the principal wars of God. These were public books; and therefore not written without the authority of Moses and Joshua. And Samuel had leisure in the reign of Saul to put them into the form

form of the books of Moses and Joshua now extant, inserting into the book of Genesis the race of the kings of Edom, until there reigned a king in Israel.

VI. The book of the Judges is a continued history of the Judges down to the death of Sampson; and therefore was compiled after his death out of the acts of the Judges. Several things in this book are said to be done "when there was no king in Israel," (Judg. xvii. 6. xviii. 1. xix. 1. xxi. 25.) and therefore this book was written after the beginning of the reign of Saul. When it was written, the Jebusites dwelt in Jerusalem (Jud. i. 21); and therefore it was written before the eighth year of David (2 Sam. v. 8. and 1 Chron. xi. 6.) The books of Moses, Joshua, and Judges, contain one continued history, down from the creation to the death of Sampson. Where the Pentateuch ends, the book of Joshua begins; and where the book of Joshua ends, the book of Judges begins. Therefore all these books have been composed out of the writings of Moses, Joshua, and other records, by one and the same hand, after the beginning of the reign of Saul, and before the eighth year of David. And Samuel was a sacred writer (1 Sam. x. 25.) acquainted with the history of Moses and the Judges (1 Sam. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.) and had leisure in the reign of Saul, and sufficient authority to compose these books. He was a prophet, and judged Israel all the days of his life, and was in the greatest esteem with the people; and the law, by which he was to judge the people, was not to be published by less authority than his own, the law-maker being not inferior to the judge. And the book of Jasher, which is quoted in the book of Joshua (Josh. x. 13.) was in being at the death of Saul (2 Sam. i. 18.)

VII. At the dedication of the temple of Solomon, when the Ark was brought into the most holy place, there was nothing in it but the two tables (1 Kings viii. 9.) and therefore when the Philistines took the Ark, they took out of it the book of the law, and the golden pot of manna, and Aaron's rod. And this and other losses in the desolation of Israel, by the conquering Philistines, might give occasion to Samuel, after some respite from those enemies, to recollect the scattered writings of Moses and Joshua,

Joshua, and the records of the patriarchs and judges, and compose them in the form now extant. JEWISH
CANON.

VIII. The book of Ruth is a history of things done in the days of the Judges, and may be looked upon as an addition to the book of the Judges, written by the same author, and at the same time. For it was written after the birth of David (Ruth iv. 17, 22.) and not long after; because the history of Boaz and Ruth, the great-grandfather and great-grandmother of David, and that of their contemporaries, could not be well remembered above two or three generations. And since this book derives the genealogy of David from Boaz and Ruth, and omits David's elder brothers and his sons; it was written in honour of David, after he was anointed king by Samuel, and before he had children in Hebron, and by consequence in the reign of Saul. It proceeds not to the history of David; and therefore seems to have been written, presently after he was anointed. They judge well, therefore, who ascribe to Samuel the books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth.

IX. Samuel is also reputed the author of the first book of Samuel, till the time of his death. The two books of Samuel cite no authors, and therefore seem to be originals. They begin with his genealogy, birth, and education, and might be written partly in his life-time by himself, or his disciples the prophets at Naioth in Ramah (1 Sam. xix. 18, 19, 20.) and partly after his death by the same disciples.

X. The books of the Kings cite other authors; as the book of the Acts of Solomon; the book of the Chronicles of the kings of Israel; and the book of the Chronicles of the kings of Judah. The books of the Chronicles cite the book of Samuel the seer; the book of Nathan the prophet; and the book of Gad the seer, for the acts of David: the book of Nathan the prophet; the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite; and the visions of Iddo the seer, for the acts of Solomon: the book of Shemajah the prophet; and the book of Iddo the seer concerning genealogies, for the acts of Rehoboam and Abijah: the book of the kings of Judah and Israel for the acts of Asa, Joash, Amaziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, Manasseh, and Josiah: the book of Hanani the

the seer, for the acts of Jehosaphat; and the visions of Isaiah for the acts of Uzziah and Hezekiah. These books were therefore collected out of the historical writings of the antient seers and prophets. And because the books of the Kings and Chronicles quote one another, they were written at one and the same time: and this time was after the return from the Babylonian captivity; because they bring down the history of Judah, and the genealogies of the kings of Judah, and of the high-priests, to that captivity. The book of Ezra was originally a part of the book of the Chronicles, and has been divided from it: for it begins with the two last verses of the books of Chronicles; and the first book of Esdras begins with the two last chapters thereof. Ezra was therefore the compiler of the books of Kings and Chronicles, and brought down the history to his own time. He was a ready scribe in the law of God; and for assisting him in this work Nehemias founded a library, and "gathered together the acts of the kings and the prophets, and of David, and the epistles of the kings concerning the holy gifts" (2 Maccab. ii. 13.) By the Acts of David, I understand here the two books of Samuel, or at least the second book. Out of the Acts of the Kings, written from time to time by the prophets, he composed the books of the kings of Judah and Israel, the Chronicles of the kings of Judah, and the Chronicles of the kings of Israel. And in doing this he joined those acts together in due order of time, copying the very words of the authors; as is manifest from hence, that the books of the Kings and Chronicles frequently agree with one another in words for many sentences together: where they agree in sense, there they agree in words also.

XI. So the prophecies of Isaiah, written at several times, he has collected into one body: and the like he did for those of Jeremiah, and the rest of the prophets, down to the days of the second temple. The book of Jonah is the history of Jonah, written by another hand. The book of Daniel is a collection of papers written at several times. The six last chapters contain prophecies, written at several times by Daniel himself; the six first are a collection of historical papers written by others: the fourth

fourth chapter is a decree of Nebuchadnezzar: the first chapter was written after Daniel's death; for the author saith, that Daniel continued to the first year of Cyrus; that is, to his first year over the Persians and Medes, and third year over Babylon: and, for the same reason, the fifth and sixth chapters were also written after his death; for they end with these words: "So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian:" yet these words might be added by the collector of the papers, whom I take to be Ezra.

XII. The psalms composed by Moses, David, and others, seem to have been also collected by Ezra into one volume. I reckon him the collector, because in this collection I meet with psalms as late as the Babylonian captivity, but with none later.

XIII. After these things Antiochus Epiphanes spoiled the temple; commanded the Jews to forsake the Law upon pain of death; and caused the sacred books to be burnt wherever they could be found: and in these troubles the book of the Chronicles of the kings of Israel was entirely lost. But upon recovering from this oppression, Judas Maccabæus gathered together all those writings that were to be met with (2 Maccab. ii. 14.) and in reducing them into order, part of the prophecies of Isaiah, or some other prophet, have been added to the end of the prophecies of Zechariah; and the book of Ezra has been separated from the book of Chronicles, and set together in two different orders; in one order in the book of Ezra, received into the canon, and in another order in the first book of Esdras.

XIV. After the Roman captivity, the Jews, for preserving their traditions, put them in writing in their Talmud; and for preserving their scriptures, agreed upon an edition; and pointed it, and counted the letters of every sort in every book: and by preserving only this edition, the antienter various lections, except what can be discovered by means of the Septuagint version, are now lost; and such marginal notes, or other corruptions, as by the errors of the transcribers, before this edition was made, had crept into the text, are now scarce to be corrected.

XV. The Jews, before the Roman captivity, distinguished the sacred books into the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, or holy

holy writings; and read only the law and the prophets in their synagogues. And Christ and his apostles laid the stress of religion upon the law and the prophets (Matt. vii. 12. xxii. 4. Luke xvi. 16, 29, 31. xxiv. 44. Acts xxiv. 14. xxvi. 22. Rom. iii. 21.) By the Hagiographa they meant the historical books, called Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, the book of Job, the Psalms, the books of Solomon, and the Lamentations. The Samaritans read only the Pentateuch: and when Jehosaphat sent men to teach in the cities, they had with them only the book of the law; for the prophecies now extant were not then written. And upon the return from the Babylonian captivity, Ezra read only the book of the law to the people, from morning to noon, on the first day of the seventh month; and from day to day in the feast of tabernacles: for he had not yet collected the writings of the prophets into one volume now extant; but instituted the reading of them after the collection was made. By reading the law and the prophets in the synagogues, those books have been kept freer from corruption than the Hagiographa.

XVI. In the infancy of the nation of Israel, when God had given them a law, and made a covenant with them to be their God if they would keep his commandments, he sent prophets to reclaim them, as often as they revolted to the worship of other gods: and upon their returning to him, they sometimes renewed the covenant which they had broken. These prophets he continued to send till the days of Ezra: but after their prophecies were read in the synagogues, those prophecies were thought sufficient. For if the people would not hear Moses and the old prophets, they would hear no new ones, no not "though they should rise from the dead." At length when a new treaty was to be preached to the Gentiles, namely, "that Jesus was the Christ," God sent new prophets and teachers: but after their writings were also received and read in the synagogues of the Christians, prophecy ceased a second time. We have Moses, the prophets, and apostles, and the words of Christ himself; and if we will not hear them, we shall be more inexcusable than the Jews. For the prophets and apostles have foretold, that as Israel often re-

volted and brake the covenant, and upon repentance renewed it; ^{JEWISH CANON.} so there should be a falling away among the Christians, soon after the days of the apostles; and that in the latter days God would destroy the impenitent revolvers, and make a new covenant with his people: and the giving ear to the prophets is a fundamental character of the true church. For God has so ordered the prophecies, that in the latter days "the wise may understand, " but the wicked shall do wickedly, and none of the wicked " shall understand," (Dan. xii. 9, 10.) The authority of emperors, kings, and princes, is human. The authority of councils, synods, bishops, and presbyters, is human. The authority of the prophets is divine, and comprehends the sum of religion, reckoning Moses and the apostles among the prophets; and "if " an angel from heaven preach any other gospel *than what they " have preached*, let him be accursed." Their writings contain the covenant between God and his people, with instructions for keeping this covenant; instances of God's judgments upon them that break it; and predictions of things to come. While the people of God keep the covenant, they continue to be his people: when they break it, they cease to be his people or church, and become "the synagogue of God, who say they are Jews and are "not." And no power on earth is authorized to alter this covenant.

XVII. The predictions of things to come relate to the state of the church in all ages: and amongst the old prophets, Daniel is most distinct in order of time, and easiest to be understood: and therefore in those things which relate to the last times, he must be made the key to the rest.

C H A P. II.

OF THE PROPHETIC LANGUAGE.

CHAPTER
SECOND.

FOR understanding the prophecies, we are, in the first place, to acquaint ourselves with the figurative language of the prophets. This language is taken from the analogy between the world natural, and an empire or kingdom considered as a world politic.

II. Accordingly, the whole world natural consisting of Heaven and Earth, signifies the whole world politic, consisting of Thrones and People; or so much of it as is considered in the prophecy: and the things in that world signify the analogous things in this. For the Heavens, and the things therein, signify thrones and dignities, and those who enjoy them; and the Earth, with the things thereon, the inferior people; and the lowest parts of the Earth, called Hades, or Hell, the lowest or most miserable part of them. Whence ascending towards heaven, and descending to the earth, are put for rising and falling in power and honour: rising out of the earth, or waters, and falling into them, for the rising up to any dignity or dominion, out of the inferior state of the people, or falling down from the same into that inferior state; descending into the lower parts of the earth, for descending to a very low and unhappy state; speaking with a faint voice out of the dust, for being in a weak and low condition; moving from one place to another, for translation from one office, dignity, or dominion, to another; great earthquakes, and the shaking of heaven and earth, for the shaking of dominions, so as to distract or overthrow them; the creating a new heaven and earth, and the passing away of an old one, or the beginning

ning and end of the world, for the rise and ruin of the body politic signified thereby.

III. In the heavens, the Sun and Moon are, by interpreters of dreams, put for the persons of kings and queens. But in sacred prophecy, which regards not single persons, the Sun is put for the whole species and race of kings, in the kingdom or kingdoms of the world politic, shining with regal power and glory; the Moon for the body of the common people, considered as the king's wife; the Stars for subordinate princes and great men, or for bishops and rulers of the people of God, when the Sun is Christ; Light for the glory, truth, and knowledge, wherewith great and good men shine and illuminate others; Darknefs for obscurity of condition, and for error, blindness, and ignorance; darkening, smiting, or setting of the sun, moon, and stars, for the ceasing of a kingdom, or for the desolation thereof, proportional to the darknefs; darkening the sun, turning the moon into blood, and falling of the stars, for the same; new moons, for the return of a dispersed people into a body politic or ecclesiastic.

IV. Fire and meteors refer to both heaven and earth, and signify as follows; burning any thing with fire, is put for the consuming thereof by war; a conflagration of the earth, or turning a country into a lake of fire, for the consumption of a kingdom by war; the being in a furnace, for the being in slavery under another nation; the ascending up of the smoke of any burning thing for ever and ever, for the continuation of a conquered people under the misery of perpetual subjection and slavery; the scorching heat of the sun, for vexatious wars, persecutions and troubles inflicted by the king; riding on the clouds, for reigning over much people; covering the sun with a cloud, or with smoke, for oppression of the king by the armies of an enemy; tempestuous winds, or the motion of clouds, for wars; thunder, or the voice of a cloud, for the voice of a multitude; a storm of thunder, lightening, hail, and overflowing rain, for a tempest of war descending from the heavens and clouds politic, on the heads of their enemies; rain, if not immoderate, and dew,

dew, and living water, for the graces and doctrines of the Spirit; and the defect of rain, for spiritual barrenness.

V. In the earth, the dry land and congregated waters, as a sea, a river, a flood, are put for the people of several regions, nations, and dominions; embittering of waters, for great affliction of the people by war and persecution; turning things into blood, for the mystical death of bodies politic, that is, for their dissolution; the overflowing of a sea or river, for the invasion of the earth politic, by the people of the waters; drying up of waters, for the conquest of their regions by the earth; fountains of waters for cities, the permanent heads of rivers politic; mountains and islands, for the cities of the earth and sea politic, with the territories and dominions belonging to those cities; dens and rocks of mountains, for the temples of cities; the hiding of men in those dens and rocks, for the shutting up of idols in their temples; houses and ships, for families, assemblies, and towns, in the earth and sea politic; and a navy of ships of war, for an army of that kingdom that is signified by the sea.

VI. Animals also and Vegetables are put for the people of several regions and conditions; and particularly trees, herbs, and land animals, for the people of the earth politic: flags, reeds, and fishes, for those of the waters politic; birds and insects, for those of the politic heaven and earth; a forest, for a kingdom; and a wilderness, for a desolate and thin people.

VII. If the world politic, considered in prophecy, consists of many kingdoms; they are represented by as many parts of the world natural; as the noblest by the celestial frame, and then the moon and clouds are put for the common people; the less noble, by the earth, sea, and rivers, and by the animals or vegetables, or buildings therein; and then the greater and more powerful animals and taller trees, are put for kings, princes, and nobles. And because the whole kingdom is the body politic of the king; therefore the sun, or a tree, or a beast, or bird, or a man, whereby the king is represented, is put in a large signification for the whole kingdom; and several animals, as a lion, a bear, a leopard, a goat, according to their qualities, are put for several

several kingdoms and bodies politic; and sacrificing of beasts, for slaughtering and conquering of kingdoms; and friendship between beasts, for peace between kingdoms. Yet sometimes vegetables and animals are, by certain epithets or circumstances, extended to other significations; as a tree, when called the "tree of life" or "of knowledge," and a beast, when called "the old serpent," or worshiped.

VIII. When a beast or man is put for a kingdom, his parts and qualities are put for the analogous parts and qualities of the kingdom: as the head of a beast, for the great men who precede and govern; the tail for the inferior people, who follow and are governed; the heads, if more than one, for the number of capital parts, or dynasties, or dominions in the kingdom, whether collateral or successive, with respect to the civil government; the horns on any head, for the number of kingdoms in that head, with respect to military power; seeing, for understanding; and the eyes, for men of understanding and policy; and in matters of religion, for *Επισκοποι*, bishops; speaking, for making laws; the mouth, for a law-giver, whether civil or sacred; the loudness of the voice, for might and power; the faintness thereof, for weakness; eating and drinking, for acquiring what is signified by the things eaten and drank; the hairs of a beast or man, and the feathers of a bird, for people; the wings, for the number of kingdoms represented by the beast; the arm of a man, for his power, or for any people wherein his strength and power consists; his feet, for the lowest of the people, or for the latter end of the kingdom; the feet, nails, and teeth of beasts of prey, for armies and squadrons of armies; the bones, for strength, and for fortified places; the flesh, for riches and possessions; and the days of their acting, for years; and when a tree is put for a kingdom, its branches, leaves, and fruit, signify as do the wings, feathers, and food of a bird or beast.

IX. When a man is taken in a mystical sense; his qualities are often signified by his actions, and by the circumstances of things about him. So a ruler is signified by his riding on a beast; a warrior and conqueror, by his having a sword and bow; a potent man, by his gigantic stature; a judge, by weights and measures;

tures; a sentence of absolution, or condemnation, by a white or a black stone; a new dignity, by a new name; moral or civil qualifications, by garments; honour and glory, by splendid apparel; royal dignity, by purple or scarlet, or by a crown; righteousness, by white and clean robes; wickedness, by spotted and filthy garments; affliction, mourning, and humiliation, by clothing in sack-cloth; dishonour, shame, and want of good works, by nakedness; error and misery, by drinking a cup of his or her wine that causeth it; propagating any religion for gain, by exercising traffick and merchandize with that people whose religion it is; worshipping or serving the false gods of any nation, by committing adultery with their princes, or by worshipping them; a council of a kingdom, by its image; idolatry, by blasphemy; overthrow in war, by a wound of man or beast; a durable plague of war, by a fore and pain; the affliction or persecution which a people suffers in labouring to bring forth a new kingdom, by the pain of a woman in labour to bring forth a man-child; the dissolution of a body politic or ecclesiastic, by the death of a man or beast; and the revival of a dissolved dominion, by the resurrection of the dead.

C H A P.

C H A P. III.

O F T H E V I S I O N O F T H E I M A G E C O M P O S E D O F
F O U R M E T A L S.

THE prophecies of Daniel are all of them related to one IMAGE OF
FOUR
METALS. another, as if they were but several parts of one general prophecy, given at several times. The first is the easiest to be understood, and every following prophecy adds something new to the former. The first was given in a dream to Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, in the second year of his reign; but the king forgetting his dream, it was given again to Daniel in a dream, and by him revealed to the king. And thereby Daniel presently became famous for wisdom, and revealing of secrets: inasmuch, that Ezekiel his contemporary, in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, spake thus of him to the king of Tyre: "Behold," saith he, "thou art wiser than Daniel, there is no secret that they can hide from thee" (Ezek. xxviii. 3.) And the same Ezekiel, in another place, joins Daniel with Noah and Job, as most high in the favour of God (Ezek. xiv. 14, 16, 18, 20.) And in the last year of Belshazzar, the queen-mother said of him to the king: "Behold there is a man in thy kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy gods; and in the days of thy father, light and understanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, was found in him; whom the king, Nebuchadnezzar thy father, the king, I say, thy father made master of the magicians, astrologers, Chaldeans and soothsayers: forasmuch as an excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, interpreting of dreams, and shewing of hard sentences, and dissolving of doubts, were found in the same," Daniel,

"Daniel, whom the king named Belteshazzar" (Dan. v. 11, 12.) Daniel was in the greatest credit amongst the Jews, till the reign of the Roman emperor Hadrian: and to reject his prophecies, is to reject the Christian religion. For this religion is founded upon his prophecy concerning the Messiah.

II. Now in this vision of the image composed of four metals, the foundation of all Daniel's prophecies is laid. It represents a body of four great nations, which should reign over the earth successively, viz. the people of Babylonia, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans. And by a stone cut out without hands, which fell upon the feet of the image, and brake all the four metals to pieces, and "became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth;" it further represents that a new kingdom should arise, after the four, and conquer all those nations, and grow very great, and last to the end of all ages.

III. The head of the image was of Gold; and signifies the nations of Babylonia, who reigned first, as Daniel himself interprets. "Thou art this head of gold," saith he to Nebuchadnezzar. These nations reigned till Cyrus conquered Babylon, and within a few months after that conquest revolted to the Persians, and set them up above the Medes. The breast and arms of the image were of Silver; and represent the Persians, who reigned next. The belly and thighs of the image were of Brass; and represent the Greeks, who, under the dominion of Alexander the Great, conquered the Persians, and reigned next after them. The legs were of Iron; and represent the Romans, who reigned next after the Greeks, and began to conquer them in the eighth year of Antiochus Epiphanes. For in that year they conquered Perseus king of Macedon, the fundamental kingdom of the Greeks; and from thenceforward grew into a mighty empire, and reigned with great power till the days of Theodosius the Great. Then by the incursion of many northern nations, they brake into many smaller kingdoms, which are represented by the feet and toes of the image, composed part of iron, and part of clay. For then, saith Daniel, "the kingdom shall be divided, and there shall be in it of the strength of iron, but they shall not cleave one to another."

"And in the days of these kings, saith Daniel, shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall not be left to other people; but it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever. Forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountains without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver and the gold."

C H A P. IV.

Of the Vision of the Four Beasts.

IN the next vision, which is of the Four Beasts, the prophecy ^{DANIEL'S} of the four empires is repeated, with several new additions; ^{FOUR} such as are the two wings of the Lion; the three ribs in the ^{BEASTS.} mouth of the Bear; the four wings and four heads of the Leopard; the eleven horns of the fourth Beast; and the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven, to the antient of days sitting in judgment.

II. The first Beast was like a lion, and had eagle's wings, to denote the kingdoms of Babylon and Media, which overthrew the Assyrian empire, and divided it between them; and thereby became considerable, and grew into great empires. In the former prophecy, the empire of Babylonia was represented by the head of gold; in this both empires are represented together by the two wings of the lion. "And I beheld," saith Daniel (⁴), "till" ^{Chap. vii.} "the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made to stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart

"heart was given to it;" that is, till it was humbled and subdued, and made to know its human state.

III. The second beast was like a bear; and represents the empire which reigned next after the Babylonians, that is, the empire of the Persians. "Thy kingdom is divided," or broken, saith Daniel to the last king of Babylon, "and given to the Medes and Persians" (Dan. v. 28.). This beast "raised itself up on one side;" the Persians being under the Medes at the fall of Babylon, but presently rising up above them. "And it had three ribs in the mouth of it, between the teeth of it^(a)," to signify the kingdoms of Sardes, Babylon, and Egypt, which were conquered by it, but did not belong to its proper body. And it devoured much flesh, the riches of those three kingdoms.

IV. The third beast was the kingdom which succeeded the Persian; and this was the empire of the Greeks (Dan. viii. 6, 7, 20, 21.) It was "like a Leopard," to signify its fierceness; and had four heads and four wings, to signify that it should become divided into four kingdoms (Dan. viii. 22.) for it continued in a monarchical form during the reign of Alexander the Great, and his brother Arridaeus, and young sons Alexander and Hercules; and then brake into four kingdoms, by the governors of provinces putting crowns on their own heads, and by mutual consent reigning over their provinces. Cassander reigned over Macedon, Greece, and Epirus; Lyfimachus over Thrace and Bithynia; Ptolemy over Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Coelosyria, and Palestine; and Seleucus over Syria.

V. The fourth beast was the empire which succeeded that of the Greeks; and this was the Roman. This beast was exceeding dreadful and terrible, and had great iron teeth, and devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with its feet; and such was the Roman empire. It was larger, stronger, and more formidable and lasting than any of the former. It conquered the kingdom of Macedon, with Illyricum and Epirus, in the eighth year of Antiochus Epiphanes, anno Nabonass. 580; and inherited that of Pergamus, anno Nabonass. 615; and conquered that of Syria, anno Nabonass. 679, and that of Egypt, anno Nabonass. 718. And by these and other conquests it be-

came

came greater and more terrible than any of the three former ^{DANIEL'S} beasts. This empire continued in its greatness till the reign of ^{FOUR} Theodosius the Great; and then brake into ten kingdoms, represented by the ten horns of this beast; and continued in a broken form till the antient of days sat in a throne like fiery flame, and "the judgment was set, and the books were opened, and the beast was slain and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flames; and one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the ancient of days^(a)," ^{Chap. vii. 13.} and received dominion over all nations, and judgment was given to the saints of the most High, and the time came that they possessed the kingdom.

VI. "I beheld," saith Daniel^(b), "till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flames. As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away: yet their lives were prolonged for a season and a time." And therefore all the four beasts are still alive, though the dominion of the three first be taken away. The nations of Chaldaea and Assyria are still the first beast: those of Media and Persia are still the second beast: those of Macedon, Greece, and Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt, are still the third: and those of Europe, on this side Greece, are still the fourth. Seeing therefore the body of the third beast is confined to the nations on this side the river Euphrates, and the body of the fourth beast is confined to the nations on this side Greece; we are to look for all the four heads of the third beast among the nations on this side of the river Euphrates; and for all the eleven horns of the fourth beast, among the nations on this side of Greece. And therefore, at the breaking of the Greek empire into four kingdoms of the Greeks, we include no part of the Chaldeans, Medes, and Persians, in those kingdoms, because they belonged to the bodies of the two first beasts. Nor do we reckon the Greek empire seated at Constantinople, among the horns of the fourth beast, because it belonged to the body of the third.

C H A P. V.

Of the kingdoms represented by the feet of the image composed of iron and clay.

DACIA was a large country bounded on the south by the Danube; on the east, by the Euxine Sea; on the north, by the river Neister and the mountain Crapac; and on the west, by the river Tibesis, or Teys, which runs southward into the Danube a little above Belgrade. It comprehended the countries now called Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia, and the eastern part of the upper Hungary. Its antient inhabitants were called Getæ by the Greeks, Daci by the Latins, and Goths by themselves. Alexander the Great attacked them, and Trajan conquered them, and reduced their country into a province of the Roman empire: and thereby the propagation of the Gospel among them was much promoted. They were composed of several Gothic nations, called Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Vandals, Gepides, Lombards, Burgundians, Alans, &c. who all agreed in their manners, and spake the same language, as Procopius represents (*). While they lived under the Romans, the Goths or Ostrogoths were seated in the eastern parts of Dacia; the Vandals, in the western part upon the river Teys, where the rivers Mareftr and Keresfr run into it: the Visigoths were between them: the Gepides, according to Jornandes, were upon the Vistula: the Burgundians, a Vandalic nation, were between the Vistula and the southern fountain of the Boristhenes, at some distance from the mountain Crapac northwards; where Ptolemy places them, by the names of Phrugundiones and Burgiones: the Alans, another Gothic nation, were between the northern fountain of the Boristhenes and the mouth of the river Tanais; where Pto-

lemy

*Procop.
lib. 1. de
Bell. Vandal.

Jemy placeth the mountain Alanus, and western side of the Pannus Mæotis.

FEET OF
DANIEL'S
IMAGE.

II. These nations continued under the dominion of the Romans till the second year of the emperor Philip, and then for want of their military pay began to revolt; the Ostrogoths setting up a kingdom, which, under their kings Ostrogotha, Cniva, Araric, Geperic, and Hermanaric, encreased till the year of Christ 376; and then, by an incursion of the Huns from beyond the Tanais, and the death of Hermanaric, brake into several smaller kingdoms. Hunnimund, the son of Hermanaric, became king over the Ostrogoths; Frigidern over the Visigoths; Winithar, or Vinithar, over a part of the Goths, called Gruthungi by Ammian, Gothunni by Claudian, and Sarmatæ and Scythians by others: Athanaric reigned over another part of the Goths in Dacia, called Thervingi; Box, over the Antes in Sarmatia; and the Gepides had also their king. The Vandals fled over the Danube from Geberic, in the latter end of the reign of Constantine the Great, and had seats granted them in Pannonia by that emperor; where they lived quietly forty years, viz. till the year 377; when several Gothic nations, flying from the Huns, came over the Danube, and had seats granted them in Mæsia and Thrace by the Greek emperor Valens. But the next year they revolted; called in some Goths, Alans, and Huns, from beyond the Danube; and routed the Roman army; slew the emperor Valens; and spread themselves into Greece and Pannonia as far as the Alps. In the years 379 and 380 they were checked by the arms of the emperors Gratian and Theodosius, and made a submissive peace: the Visigoths and Thervingi returned to their seats in Mæsia and Thrace; the Huns retired over the Danube; and the Alans and Gruthungi obtained seats in Pannonia.

III. About the year 373, or 374, the Burgundians rose from their seats upon the Vistula, with an army of eighty thousand men to invade Gallia; and being opposed, seated themselves upon the northern side of the Rhine, over against Mentz. In the year 358 a body of the Salian Franks, with their king, coming from the river Sala, were received into the empire by the emperor Julian, and seated in Gallia between Brabant and the Rhine: and

CHAPTER
FIFTH.

and their king Mellobaudes was made *Comes domesticorum* by the emperor Gratian. Richomer, another noble Salian Frank, was made *Comes domesticorum*, and *Magister utriusque Militiæ* by Theodosius; and A. C. 384, was consul with Clearchus. He was a great favourite of Theodosius, and accompanied him in his wars against Eugenius; but died in the expedition, and left a son called Theudomir; who afterwards became king of the Salian Franks in Brabant. In the time of this war, some Franks from beyond the Rhine invaded Gallia under the conduct of Genobald, Marcomir, and Suno; but were repulsed by Stilico: and Marcomir being slain, was succeeded in Germany by his son Pharamond.

III. While these nations remained quiet within the empire, subject to the Romans, many others continued so beyond the Danube, till the death of the emperor Theodosius; and then rose up in arms. For Paulus Diaconus in his *Historia Miscell.* lib. xiv. speaking of the times next after the death of this emperor, tells us: *Eodem tempore erant Gotbi, & alie gentes maxime trans Danubium habitantes: ex quibus rationabiliores quatuor sunt, Gotbi scilicet, Huisogotbi, Gepides & Vandali; & nomen tantum & nihil aliud mutantes. Isti sub Arcadio & Honorio Danubium transeuntes, locati sunt in terrâ Romanorum: & Gepides quidem, ex quibus postea divisi sunt Longobardi & Avaras, villas, que sunt circa Singidonum & Sirnium, habitavere.* And Procopius, in the beginning of his *Historia Vandalica*, writes to the same purpose. Hitherto the Western Empire continued entire, but now broke into many kingdoms.

IV. Theodosius died A. C. 395; and then the Visigoths, under the conduct of Alaric, the successor of Fridigern, rose from their seats in Thrace, and wasted Macedon, Thessaly, Achaia, Peloponnesus, and Epirus, with fire and sword for five years together; when turning westward, they invaded Dalmatia, Illyricum, and Pannonia; and from thence went into Italy, A. C. 402; and the next year were so beaten at Pollentia and Verona, by Stilico the commander of the forces of the Western Empire, that Claudian calls the remainder of the forces of Alaric, *tantâ ex gente reliquias breves*; and Prudentius, *Gentem deletam*. Thereupon Alaric

ric made peace with the emperor, being so far humbled, that Orosius saith he did, *pro pace optimâ & quibuscumque sedibus suppliciter & simpliciter orare*. This peace was ratified by mutual hostages; Ætius was sent hostage to Alaric; and Alaric continued a free prince in the seats now granted to him.

V. When Alaric took up arms, the nations beyond the Danube began to be in motion; and the next winter, between A. C. 395 and 396, a great body of Hunns, Alans, Ostrogoths, Gepides, and other northern nations, came over the frozen Danube, being invited by Rufinus: when their brethren, who had obtained seats within the empire, took up arms also. Jerome calls this great multitude, Hunns, Alans, Vandals, Goths, Sarmatians, Quades, and Marcomans; and saith, that they invaded all places between Constantinople and the Julian Alps; wasting Scythia, Thrace, Macedon, Dardania, Dacia, Thessaly, Achaia, Epirus, Dalmatia, and all Pannonia. The Suevians also invaded Rhætia: for when Alaric ravaged Pannonia, the Romans were defending Rhætia; which gave Alaric an opportunity of invading Italy, as Claudian thus mentions.

“Non nisi perfidiâ nacti penetrabile tempus,

“Irrupere Getæ, nostras dum Rhætia vires

“Occupat, atque alio defudant Marte cohortes.”

And when Alaric went from those parts into Italy, some other barbarous nations invaded Noricum and Vindelicia, as the same poet Claudian thus writes:—

“—— Jam fœdera gentes

“Exuerant, Latique auditâ clade feroces

“Vendelicos saltus & Norica rura tenebant.”

This was in the years 402 and 403. And among these nations I reckon the Suevians, Quades, and Marcomans; for they were all in arms at this time. The Quades and Marcomans were Suevian nations; and they and the Suevians came originally from Bohemia, and the river Suevus or Sprake in Lusatia; and were now united under one common king called Ermeric, who soon after led them into Gallia. The Vandals and Alans might also

about

about this time extend themselves into Noricum. Uldin also, with a great body of Hunns, passed the Danube about the time of Chrysostom's banishment, that is, A. C. 404, and wasted Thrace and Mæsia. Radagaisus, king of the Gruthunni and successor of Winithar, inviting over more barbarians from beyond the Danube, invaded Italy with an army of above two hundred thousand Goths; and within a year or two, A. C. 405 or 406, was overcome by Stilico, and perished with his army. In this war Stilico was assisted with a great body of Hunns and Ostrogoths, under the conduct of Uldin and Sarus, who were hired by the emperor Honorius. In all this confusion it was necessary for the Lombards in Pannonia to arm themselves in their own defence, and assert their liberty, the Romans being no longer able to protect them.

VI. And now Stilico, purposing to make himself emperor, procured a military prefecture for Alaric, and sent him into the East in the service of Honorius the Western emperor; committing some Roman troops to his conduct, to strengthen his army of Goths, and promising to follow soon after with his own army. His pretence was to recover some regions of Illyricum, which the Eastern emperor was accused to detail injuriously from the Western; but his secret design was to make himself emperor, by the assistance of the Vandals and their allies: for he himself was a Vandal. For facilitating this design, he invited a great body of the barbarous nations to invade the Western Empire, while he and Alaric invaded the Eastern. And these nations under their several kings, the Vandals under Godegifulus, the Alans in two bodies, the one under Goar, the other under Resplendial, and the Suevians, Quades, and Marcomans, under Ermeric, marched through Rhætia to the side of the Rhine, leaving their seats in Pannonia to the Hunns and Ostrogoths; and joined the Burgundians under Gundicar, and ruffled the Franks in their further march. On the last of December, A. C. 406, they passed the Rhine at Ments, and spread themselves into Germania Prima and the adjacent regions; and amongst other actions the Vandals took Triers. Then they advanced into Belgium, and began to waste that country. Whereupon the Salian Franks in Brabant took
up

up arms, and under the conduct of Theudomir, the son of Richomer, or Richomer, above-mentioned, made so stout a resistance, that they slew almost twenty thousand of the Vandals, with their king Godegifulus, in battle; the rest escaping only by a party of Resplendial's Alans, which came timely to their assistance.

VIII. Then the British soldiers, alarmed by the rumour of these things, revolted, and set up tyrants there; first Marcus, whom they slew presently; then Gratian, whom they slew within four months; and lastly Constantine, under whom they invaded Gallia, A. C. 408, being favoured by Goar and Gundicar. And Constantine having possessed a good part of Gallia, created his son Constans Cæsar, and sent him into Spain to order his affairs there, A. C. 409.

IX. In the mean time Resplendial, seeing the aforesaid disaster of the Vandals, and that Goar was gone over to the Romans, led his army from the Rhine; and, together with the Suevians and residue of the Vandals, went towards Spain; the Franks in the mean time prosecuting their victory so far as to retake Triers, which, after they had plundered, they left to the Romans. The Barbarians were at first stopt by the Pyrenean Mountains; which made them spread themselves into Aquitain: but the next year they had the passage betrayed by some soldiers of Constans; and entering Spain, 4 Kal. Octob. A. C. 409, they conquered every one what he could; and at length, A. C. 411, divided their conquests by lot; the Vandals obtained Bætica, and part of Gallæcia; the Suevians the rest of Gallæcia; and the Alans, Lusitania and the Carthaginian province: the emperor for the sake of peace confirming them in those seats by grant, A. C. 413.

X. The Roman Franks above-mentioned, having made Theudomir their king, began strait, after their conquest of the Vandals, to invade their neighbours also. The first they set upon were the Gauls of Brabant^(*): but meeting with notable resistance, they deferred their alliance: and so those Gauls fell off from the Romans, and made an intimate league with the Franks to be as one people, marrying with one another, and conforming to one another's manners, till they became one without distinction. Thus

^{*} Galli Arbo-
rici: whence
the region
was named
Arboricant;
and by con-
traction,
Brabant.

by the access of these Gauls, and of the foreign Franks also, who afterwards came over the Rhine, the Salian kingdom soon grew very great and powerful.

XI. Stilico's expedition against the Greek emperor was stopt by the order of Honorius; and then Alaric came out of Epirus into Noricum, and requested a sum of money for his service. The senate was inclined to deny him; but by Stilico's mediation granted it. But after some time Stilico being accused of a traiterous conspiracy with Alaric, and slain 10 Kal. Sept. A. C. 408; Alaric was thereby disappointed of his money, and reputed an enemy to the empire. He then broke strait into Italy, with the army he brought out of Epirus, and sent to his brother Adolphus to follow him with what forces he had in Pannonia; which were not great, but yet not to be despised. Thereupon Honorius, fearing to be shut up in Rome, retired to Ravenna in October, A. C. 408. And from that time Ravenna continued to be the seat of the Western emperors. In those days the Hunns also invaded Pannonia; and seizing the deserted seats of the Vandals, Alans, and Goths, founded a new kingdom there. Alaric advancing to Rome besieged it, and, 9 Kal. Sept. A. C. 410, took it: and afterwards attempting to pass into Africa was shipwreckt. After which Honorius made peace with him, and got up an army to send against the tyrant Constantine.

XII. At the same time Gerontius, one of Constantine's captains, revolted from him, and set up Maximus emperor in Spain. Whereupon Constantine sent Edobec, another of his captains, to draw to his assistance the Barbarians under Goar and Gundicar in Gallia, and supplies of Franks and Alemans from beyond the Rhine; and committed the custody of Vienne in Gallia Narbonensis to his son Constans. Gerontius advancing, first slew Constans at Vienne, and then began to besiege Constantine at Arles. But Honorius at the same time sending Constantius with an army on the same errand, Gerontius fled; and Constantius continued the siege, strengthened by the access of the greatest part of the soldiers of Gerontius. After four months siege, Edobec having procured succours, the barbarian kings at Ments, Goar and Gundicar, constitute Jovinus emperor; and together with him set forward

forward to relieve Arles. At their approach Constantius retired. They pursued, and he beat them by surprize; but not profiting his victory, the Barbarians soon recovered themselves; yet not so as to hinder the fall of the tyrants Constantine, Jovinus and Maximus. Britain could not be recovered to the empire, but remained ever after a distinct kingdom.

XIII. The next year, A. C. 412, the Visigoths, being beaten in Italy, had Aquitain granted them to retire into: and they invaded it with much violence; causing the Alans and Burgundians to retreat, who were then depopulating of it. At the same time the Burgundians were brought to peace; and the emperor granted them for inheritance a region upon the Rhine, which they had invaded: and the same, I presume, he did with the Alans. But the Franks not long after retaking and burning Triers, Castinus, A. C. 415, was sent against them with an army, who routed them, and slew Theudomir their king. This was the second taking of Triers by the Franks. It was therefore taken four times, once by the Vandals and thrice by the Franks. Theudomir was succeeded by Pharamond, the prince or king of the Salian Franks in Germany. From thence he brought new forces, reigned over the whole, and had seats granted to his people within the empire near the Rhine.

XIV. And now the Barbarians were all quieted, and settled in several kingdoms within the empire, not only by conquest, but also by the grants of the emperor Honorius. For Rutilius in his Itinerary, written in autumn, *Anno Urbis* 1169, that is, according to Varro's computation then in use, A. C. 416, thus laments the wasted fields:

"Illa quidem longis nimium deformia bellis."

And then adds:

*"Jam tempus laceris post longa incendia fundis
"Vel pastorales edificare casas."*

And a little after;

"Æternum tibi Rhenus aret."

T t 2

And

And Orosius in the end of his history, which was finished A. C. 417, represents now a general pacification of the barbarous nations by the words *comprimere, coangustare, addicere gentes immatissimas*; terming them *imperio addictas*, because they had obtained seats in the empire by league and compact; and *coangustatas*, because they did no longer invade all regions at pleasure, but by the same compact remained quiet in the seats then granted them. And these are the kingdoms of which the feet of the image were henceforward composed; and which are represented by iron and clay intermixed, which did not stick one to another, and were of different strength.

C H A P. VI.

Of the ten kingdoms represented by the ten horns of the fourth beast.

CHAPTER
SIXTH.

NOW by the wars above-described, the Western empire of the Romans, about the time that Rome was besieged and taken by the Goths, became broken into the following ten kingdoms:

1. The kingdom of the Vandals and Alans in Spain and Africa.
2. The kingdom of the Suevians in Spain.
3. The kingdom of the Visigoths.
4. The kingdom of the Alans in Gallia.
5. The kingdom of the Burgundians.
6. The kingdom of the Franks.

7. The

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7. The kingdom of the Britains.
8. The kingdom of the Hunns.
9. The kingdom of the Lombards.
10. The kingdom of Ravenna.

II. Seven of these kingdoms are thus mentioned by Sigonius.

¹ *Honorio regnante, in Pannoniam Hunni, in Hispaniam Vandali,*
⁴ *Alani, Suevi* ⁶ *Gotbi, in Galliam Alani, Burgundiones,* ⁷ *Gotbi,*
⁶ *"certis sedibus permixtis, accepti."* Add the Franks, Britains, and Lombards, and you have the ten: for these arose about the same time with the seven. But let us view them severally.

I.

The kings of the Vandals were, A. C. 407, Godegesilus; ^{First Horn.} 407, Gunderic; 426, Geiseric; 477, Hunneric; 484, Gundemund; 496, Thrasamund; 523, Geiseric; 530, Gelimer. Godegesilus led them into Gallia, A. C. 406; Gunderic into Spain, A. C. 409; Geiseric into Africa, A. C. 427; and Gelimer was conquered by Belisarius, A. C. 533. Their kingdom lasted in Gallia, Spain, and Africa together 126 years; and in Africa they were very potent. The Alans had only two kings of their own in Spain; Resplendial, and Ataces Utacus or Othacar. Under Resplendial they went into France, A. C. 407, and into Spain, A. C. 409. Ataces was slain with almost all his army by Vallia king of the Visigoths, A. C. 419. And then the remainder of these Alans subjected themselves to Gunderic king of the Vandals in Boetica, and went afterwards with them into Africa, as I learn out of Procopius. Whence the kings of the Vandals stiled themselves kings of the Vandals and Alans; as may be seen in the edict of Hunneric, recited by Victor in his Vandalic persecution. In conjunction with the Chatti, these Alans gave the name of Cathalaunia, or Catth-Alania, to the province which is still so called. These Alans had also Gepides among them; and therefore the Gepides came into Pannonia before the Alans left it. There they became subject to the Hunns till the death of Attila, A. C. 454, and at length were conquered by the Ostrogoths.

II. The

II.

CHAPTER
SIXTH.
Second Horn.
SUEVIANS.

The kings of the Suevians were, A. C. 407, Ermeric; 438, Rechila; 448, Recharius; 458, Maldra; 460, Frumarius; 463, Regismund. And after some other kings who are unknown, reigned, A. C. 558, Theudomir; 568, Miro; 582, Euboricus; and 583, Andeca. This kingdom, after it had been once seated in Spain, remained always in Gallæcia and Lusitania. Ermeric, after the fall of the Alan kingdom, enlarged it into all Gallæcia, forcing the Vandals to retire into Bœtica and the Carthaginian province. This kingdom lasted 177 years according to Isidorus; and then was subdued by Leovigildus king of the Visigoths, and made a province of his kingdom, A. C. 585.

III.

Third Horn.
VISIGOTHS.

The kings of the Visigoths were, A. C. 400, Alaric; 410, Athaulphus; 415, Sergeric and Vallia; 419, Theoderic; 451, Thorismund; 452, Theoderic; 465, Euric; 482, Alaric; 505, Gensalaric; 526, Amalaric; 531, Theudius; 548, Theudifclus, &c. I date this kingdom from the time that Alaric left Thrace and Greece, to invade the Western Empire. In the end of the reign of Athaulphus, the Goths were humbled by the Romans, and attempted to pass out of France into Spain. Sergeric reigned but a few days. In the beginning of Vallia's reign they assaulted the Romans afresh; but were again repulsed; and then made peace on this condition, that they should, on the behalf of the empire, invade the Barbarian kingdoms in Spain: and this they did, together with the Romans, in the years 417 and 418, overthrowing the Alans and part of the Vandals. Then they received Aquitain of the emperor by a full donation, leaving their conquests in Spain to the emperor: and thereby the seats of the conquered Alans came into the hands of the Romans. In the year 455, Theoderic, assisted by the Burgundians, invaded Spain, which was then almost all subject to the Suevians, and took a part of it from them. A. C. 506, the Goths were driven out of Gallia by the Franks. A. C. 585, they conquered the Suevian kingdom, and became lords of all Spain. A. C. 713, the

the Saracens invaded them; but in time they recovered their dominions, and have reigned in Spain ever since.

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IV.

The kings of the Alans in Gallia were Goar, Sambida, Eocharic, Sangibanus, Beurgus, &c. Under Goar they invaded Gallia, A. C. 407, and had seats given them near the Rhine, A. C. 412. Under Sambida, whom Bucher makes the successor, if not the son of Goar, they had the territories of Valence given them by Ætius the emperor's general, A. C. 440. Under Eocharic they conquered a region of the rebellious Galli Arborici, given them also by Ætius. This region was from them named *Alenconium, quasi Alanorum conventus*. Under Sangibanus they were invaded, and their regal city Orleans was besieged by Attila king of the Huns, with a vast army of 500000 men. Ætius, and the Barbarian kings of Gallia, came to raise the siege, and beat the Huns in a very memorable battle, A. C. 451, in *campis Catalaunicis*, so called from these Alans mixed with the Chatti. The region is now called Campania or Champagne. In that battle were slain on both sides 162000 men. A year or two after, Attila returned with an immense army to conquer this kingdom; but was again beaten by them and the Visigoths together in a battle of three days continuance, with a slaughter almost as great as the former. Under Beurgus, or Biorgor, they infested Gallia round about, till the reign of Maximus the emperor; and then they passed the Alps in winter, and came into Liguria; but were there beaten, and Beurgus slain by Ricimer commander of the emperor's forces, A. C. 464. Afterwards they were again beaten by the joint force of Odoacer king of Italy, and Chlodwig king of the Franks, about the year 480; and again by Theudobert, king of the Austrian Franks, about the year 511.

V.

The kings of the Burgundians were, A. C. 407, Gundicar; 436, Gundioc; 467, Bilimer; 473, Gaudobaldus with his brothers; 510, Sigismund; 517, Godomar. Under Gundicar they invaded Gallia, A. C. 407; and had seats given them by

Fifth Horn.
BURGUNDIANS.

by the emperor near the Rhine in Gallia Belgica, A. C. 412. They had Saxons among them, and were now so potent, that Orosius, A. C. 417, wrote of them: "*Burgundionem esse prævalidam manum, Galliæ bodieque testes sunt; in quibus præsumptâ possessione consistunt.*" About the year 435 they received great overthrows by Ætius, and soon after by the Hunns: but five years after had Savoy granted them to be shared with the inhabitants; and from that time became again a potent kingdom, being bounded by the river Rhodanus, but afterwards extending much farther into the heart of Gallia. Gundobald conquered the regions about the rivers Araris and Rhodanus, with the territories of Marseilles; and invading Italy, in the time of the emperor Glycerius, conquered all his brethren. Godomar made Orleans his royal seat: whence the kingdom was called *Regnum Aurelianorum*. He was conquered by Clotharius and Childebert, kings of the Franks, A. C. 526. From thenceforward this kingdom was sometimes united to the kingdom of the Franks, and sometimes divided from it, till the reign of Charles the Great; who made his son Carolottus king of Burgundy. From that time, for about 300 years together, it enjoyed its proper kings; and was then broken into the dukedom of Burgundy, county of Burgundy, and county of Savoy; and afterwards those were broken into other lesser countries.

VI.

The kings of the Franks were, A. C. 407, Theudomir; 417, Pharamond; 428, Clodio; 448, Merovæus; 456, Childe-ric; 482, Clodovæus, &c. Windeline and Bucher, two of the most diligent searchers into the originals of this kingdom, make it begin the same year with the Barbarian invasions of Gallia, that is, A. C. 407. Of the first kings there is in Labbe's Bibliotheca M. S. this record.

" HISTORICA QUÆDAM EXCERPTA

" EX VETERI STEMMATE GENEALOGICO REGUM FRANCIE.

" GENOBALDUS, MARCOMERUS, SUNO, THEODEMERIS. *Isti*
" *duces, vel reguli extiterunt à principio gentis Francorum diversis*
" *tem-*

" *temporibus. Sed incertum relinquunt historici, quali sibi procrea-*
" *tionis lineâ successerunt.*

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" PHARAMUNDUS: *sub hoc rege suo primo Franci legibus se sub-*
" *dunt; quas primores eorum tulerunt Wisogastus, Atrogastus, Sa-*
" *legastus.*

" CHLOCHILLO. *Iste, transito Rbeno, Romanos in Carbonariâ*
" *sylvâ devicit; Camaracum cepit & obtinuit; annis 20 regnavit.*
" *Sub hoc rege Franci usque summam progressi sunt.*

" MEROVECHUS. *Sub hoc rege Franci Trevirim destruunt;*
" *Metim succendunt; usque Aurelianum perveniunt.*"

2. Now for Genobaldus, Marcomer, and Suno, they were captains of the Transrhenane Franks in the reign of Theodosius, and concern us not. We are to begin with Theudomir, the first king of the rebelling Sali, called Didio by Ivo Carnotensis, and Thiedo and Theudemerus by Rhenanus. His face is extant in a coin of gold found with this inscription, THEUDEMIR REX, published by Petavius, and still, or lately, extant, as Windeline testifies: which shews that he was a king, and that in Gallia; seeing that rude Germany understood not then the coining of money, nor used either Latin words or letters. He was the son of Ricimer, or Richomer, the favourite of the emperor Theodosius; and so being a Roman Frank, and of the Salian royal blood, they therefore upon the rebellion made him king. The whole time of his reign you have stated in *Excerptis Gregorii Turonensis à Fredigario, cap. 5, 6, 7, 8*; where the making him king, the tyranny of Jovinus, the slaughter of the associates of Jovinus, the second taking of Triers by the Franks, and their war with Castinus, in which this king was slain, are as a series of successive things thus set down in order. "*Extinctis Ducibus in Francis, denuo Reges creantur, ex eadem stirpe quâ prius fuerant. Eodem tempore Jovinus ornatus regis assumpsit. Constantinus fugam versus Italiam dirigit; missis à Jovino Principe percussoribus, super Mentio flumine, capite truncatur. Multi nobilium jussu Jovini apud Avernis capti, & à ducibus Honorii crudeliter interempti sunt. Trevirorum civitas, factione unius ex senatoribus nomine Lucii, à Francis capta & incensa est.—*
" *Castinus Domesticorum Comes expeditionem accipit contra Francos,*
" *VOL. V. U u "c."*

“&c.” Then returning to speak of Theudomir, he adds: “*Franci electum à se regem, sicut prius fuerat, crinitum inquirentes diligenter ex genere Priami, Frigi & Francionis, super se creârunt, nomine Theudemerum filium Ricbemeris; qui in hoc prælio, quod supra memini, à Romanis interfectus est:*” that is, in the battle with Castinus’s army. Of his death, Gregory Turo-nensis makes this further mention: “*In consularibus legimus Theodemerem regem Francorum, filium Ricimeris quondam, & Ascliam matrem ejus, gladio interfectos.*”

3. Upon the victory of the Romans, the Franks and rebelling Gauls, who in the time of Theudomir were at war with one another, united to strengthen themselves; as Ordericus Vitalis thus mentions: “*Cùm Galli prius contra Romanos rebellassent, Franci iis sociati sunt; & pariter juncti, Ferramundum Sunonis ducis filium, sibi regem præfecerunt.*” Prosper sets down the time; anno 25 Honorii, Pharamundus regnat in Franciâ. This, Bucher well observes, refers to the end of the year 416, or the beginning of the next year, dating the years of Honorius from the death of Valentinian; and argues well, that at this time Pharamond was not only king by the constitution of the Franks, but crowned also by the consent of Honorius, and had a part of Gallia assigned him by covenant. And this might be the cause that Roman writers reckoned him the first king: which some not understanding, have reputed him the founder of this kingdom by an army of the Transrhene Franks. He might come with such an army, but he succeeded Theudomir by right of blood and consent of the people. For the above-recited passage of Fredigarius, “*Extinctis Ducibus, in Francis denuo Reges creantur ex eadem stirpe quâ prius fuerant,*” implies, that the kingdom continued to this new-elected family, during the reign of more kings than one. If you date the years of Honorius from the death of his father, the reign of Pharamond might begin two years later than is assigned by Bucher. The Salique laws made in his reign, which are yet extant, shew by their name that it was the kingdom of the Salii over which he reigned; and, by the pecuniary mulcts in them, that the place where he reigned abounded much with money, and consequently was with-

in

in the empire; rude Germany knowing not the use of money till they mixed with the Romans. In the preface also to the Salique laws, written and prefixed to them soon after the conversion of the Franks to the Christian religion, that is, in the end of the reign of Merovæus, or soon after, the original of this kingdom is thus described: “*Hæc enim gens, quæ, fortis dum esset & robore valida, Romanorum jugum durissimum de suis cervicibus excussit pugnando, &c.*” This kingdom therefore was erected, not by invasion but by rebellion, as was described above. Prosper, in registering their kings in order, tells us: “*Pharamundus regnat in Franciâ; Clodio regnat in Franciâ; Merovæus regnat in Franciâ.*” And who can imagine but that in all these places he meant one and the same Francia? And yet it is certain that the Francia of Merovæus was in Gallia.

4. Yet the father of Pharamond being king of a body of Franks in Germany in the reign of the emperor Theodosius, as above; Pharamond might reign over the same Franks in Germany, before he succeeded Theudomir in the kingdom of the Salians within the empire, and even before Theudomir began his reign; suppose in the first year of Honorius; or when those Franks, being repulsed by Stilico, lost their kings Marcomir and Suno; one of which was the father of Pharamond: and the Roman Franks, after the death of Theudomir, might invite Pharamond with his people from beyond the Rhine. But we are not to regard the reign of Pharamond in Germany: we are to date this reign from its rise within the empire, and to look upon it as strengthened by the access of other Franks coming from beyond the Rhine, whether in the reign of this king or in that of his successor Clodio. For in the last year of Pharamond’s reign, Ætius took from him a part of his possession in Gallia: but his successor Clodio, whom Fredigarius represents as the son of Theudomir, and some call Clogio, Cloio, and Claudius, inviting from beyond the Rhine a great body of Franks, recovered all, and carried on their conquests as far as the river Soame. Then those Franks, dividing conquests with them, erected certain new kingdoms at Cologne and Cambray, and some other cities: all which were afterwards conquered by Clodovæus; who also drove the Goths out of Gal-

lia, and fixed his seat at Paris, where it has continued ever since. And this was the original of the present kingdom of France.

VII.

The kings of Britain were, A. C. 407 or 408, Marcus, Gratian, and Constantine, successively; A. C. 425, Vortigern; 466, Aurelius Ambrosius; 498, Uther Pendraco; 508, Arthur; 542, Constantinus; 545, Aurelius Cunanus; 578, Vortiporeus; 581, Malgo; 586, Careticus; 613, Cadwan; 635, Cadwalin; 676, Cadwalladar. The three first were Roman tyrants, who revolted from the empire. Orosius, Prosper, and Zosimus, connect their revolt with the irruptions of the Barbarians into Gallia, as consequent thereunto. Prosper, with whom Zosimus agrees, puts it in the year which began the day after that irruption. The just time I thus recollect: Marcus reigned not many days; Gratian four months; and Constantine three years. He was slain the year after the taking of Rome, that is, A. C. 411, 14 Kal. Octob. Whence the revolt was in spring, A. C. 408. Sozomen joins Constantine's expedition into Gallia with Arcadius's death, or the times a little after; and Arcadius died A. C. 408, May the 1st. Now though the reign of these tyrants was but short, yet they gave a beginning to the kingdom of Britain, and so may be reckoned the three first kings; especially since the posterity of Constantine, viz. his sons Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uther Pendraco, and his grandson Arthur, reigned afterwards. For from the time of the revolt of these tyrants, Britain continued a distinct kingdom, absolved from subjection to the empire; the emperor not being able to spare soldiers, to be sent thither to receive and keep the island, and therefore neglecting it; as we learn by unquestionable records. For Prosper tells us: "A. C. 410, *Variane Cos. Hâc tempestate præ valetudine Romanorum, vires funditus attenuata Britannia.*" And Sigebert, conjoining this with the siege of Rome, saith: "*Britannorum vires attenuata, & subtrahunt se à Romanorum dominatione.*" And Zosimus, lib. 6: "The Transrhenane Barbarians invading all places, reduced the inhabitants of the island of Britain, and also certain Celtic nations to that pass, that they fell off from
" the

" the Roman empire; and being no longer obedient to the Roman laws, καὶ ἑαυτὸν βιολεύειν, they lived in separate bodies after their own pleasure. The Britons therefore took up arms; and hazarding themselves for their own safety, freed their cities from the imminent Barbarians. In like manner all Brabant, and some other provinces of the Gauls imitating the Britons, freed themselves also; ejecting the Roman prefects, and forming themselves into a sort of commonwealth according to their own pleasure. This rebellion of Britain and the Celtic nations happened when Constantine usurped the kingdom." So also Procopius, lib. 1. Vandal. speaking of the same Constantine, saith: "Constantine being overcome in battle, was slain with his children: Βρετανίαν μὲν τοι Ρωμαῖοι ἀνασώσασθαι ἐκέτι ἔχον· ἀλλ' ὅσα ὑπὸ τυραννέας ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἔμενε. Yet the Romans could not recover Britain any more, but from that time it remained under tyrants." And Beda, l. 1. c. 11. "*Fraçta est Roma à Gotbis anno 1164 suæ conditionis; ex quo tempore Romani in Britannia regnare cessaverunt.*" And Ethelwaldus: "*A tempore Romæ à Gotbis expugnata, cessavit imperium Romanorum à Britannia insulâ, & ab aliis, quas sub jugo servitutis tenebant, multis terris.*" And Theodoret, ferm. 9. de curand. Græc. affect. about the year 424, reckons the Britons among the nations which were not then in subjection to the Roman empire. Thus Sigonius: "*Ad annum 411, Imperium Romanorum, post excessum Constantini, in Britannia nullum fuit.*"

2. Between the death of Constantine and the reign of Vortigern was an interregnum of about 14 years; in which the Britons had wars with the Picts and Scots; and twice obtained the assistance of a Roman legion; who drove out the enemy, but told them positively at their departure, that they would come no more. Of Vortigern's beginning to reign, there is this record in an old chronicle in Nennius, quoted by Camden and others: "*Guortigernus tenuit imperium in Britannia, Theodosio & Valentiniano Cos. [viz. A. C. 425.] & in quarto anno regni sui Saxonum ad Britanniam venerunt, Felice & Tauro Cos. [viz. A. C. 428.]*" This coming of the Saxons, Sigebert refers to the 4th year of Valentinian; which falls in with the year 428 assigned by

by this chronicle: and two years after the Saxons, together with the Picts, were beaten by the Britons. Afterwards, in the reign of Martian the emperor, that is, between the years 450 and 456, the Saxons under Hengist were called in by the Britons; but six years after revolted from them; made war upon them with various success; and by degrees succeeded them (*). Yet the Britons continued a flourishing kingdom till the reign of Careticus; and the war between the two nations continued till the pontificate of Sergius, A. C. 688.

VIII.

The kings of the Hunns were, A. C. 406, Ostar and Rugila; 433, Bleda and Attila. Ostar and Rugila were the brothers of Munzuc king of the Hunns, in Gothia beyond the Danube; and Bleda and Attila were his sons, and Munzuc was the son of Balamir. The two first, as Jornandes tells us, were kings of the Hunns, but not of them all; and had the two last for their successors. I date the reign of the Hunns in Pannonia from the time that the Vandals and Alans relinquished Pannonia to them, A. C. 407: Sigonius, from the time that the Visigoths relinquished Pannonia, A. C. 408. "*Constat*," saith he, "*quod Gothis, ex Illyrico profectis, Hunni successerunt; atque imprimis Pannoniam tenuerunt. Neque enim Honorius, viribus ad resistendum in tantis difficultatibus destitutus, prorsus eos prohibere potuit; sed meliore consilio, animo ad pacem converso, fœdus cum eis, datis acceptisque obsidibus, fecit; ex quibus qui dati sunt, Ætius, qui etiam Alarico tributus fuerat, præcipue memoratur.*" How Ætius was hostage to the Goths and Hunns is related by Frigeridus; who, when he had mentioned that Theodosius, emperor of the East, had sent grievous commands to John, who after the death of Honorius had usurped the crown of the Western Empire, he subjoins: "*His permotus Johannes, Ætium, id tempus curam palatii gerentem, cum ingenti auri pondere ad Chunnos transmisi, notos sibi obsidiatus sui tempore, & familiari amicitia devincios.*" And a little after: "*Ætius tribus annis Alarici obses, debinc Chunnorum, postea Carpilionis gener ex Comite domesticorum & Joannis curopalate.*" Now Bucher shews, that

that Ætius was hostage to Alaric till the year 410, when Alaric died; and to the Hunns, between the years 411 and 415; and son-in-law to Carpilio about the year 417 or 418; and Curopalates to John about the end of the year 423. Whence it is probable that he became hostage to the Hunns about the year 412 or 413; when Honorius made leagues with almost all the barbarous nations, and granted them seats: but I had rather say with Sigonius, that Ætius became hostage to Alaric A. C. 403. It is further manifest out of Prosper, that the Hunns were in quiet possession of Pannonia in the year 432. For in the first book of Eusebius's chronicle Prosper writes: "*Anno decimo post obitum Honorii, cum ad Chunnorum gentem, cui tunc Rugila præerat, post prælium cum Bonifacio se Ætius contulisset, impetrato auxilio ad Romanorum solum regreditur.*" And in the second book: "*Ætio & Valerio Coss. Ætius, deposita potestate, profugus ad Hunnos in Pannonia pervenit; quorum amicitia auxilioque usus, pacem principum interpellata potestatis obtinuit.*" Hereby it appears, that at this time Rugila, or as Maximus calls him Rechilla, reigned over the Hunns in Pannonia; and that Pannonia was not now so much as accounted within the soil of the empire, being formerly granted away to the Hunns; and that these were the very same body of Hunns with which Ætius had, in the time of his being an hostage, contracted friendship: by virtue of which, as he solicited them before to the aid of John the Tyrant, A. C. 424, so now he procured their intercession for himself with the emperor. Ostar died A. C. 430; for Socrates tells us, that about that time the Burgundians, having been newly vexed by the Hunns, upon intelligence of Ostar's death, seeing them without a leader, set upon them suddenly with so much vigour, that 3000 Burgundians slew 10000 Hunns. Of Rugila's being now king in Pannonia, you have already heard. He died A. C. 433, and was succeeded by Bleda; as Prosper and Maximus inform us. This Bleda, with his brother Attila, were before this time kings of the Hunns beyond the Danube, their father Munzuc's kingdom being divided between them; and now they united the kingdom of Pannonia to their own. Whence Paulus Diaconus saith, they did "*regnum intra Pannonium Daciamque*"

"*ciamque gerere.*" In the year 441, they began to invade the empire afresh, adding to the Pannonian forces new and great armies from Scythia. But this war was presently composed; and then Attila, seeing Bleda inclined to peace, slew him, A. C. 444; inherited his dominions; and invaded the empire again. At length, after various great wars with the Romans, Attila perished A. C. 454; and his sons quarrelling about his dominions, gave occasion to the Gepides, Ostrogoths, and other nations who were their subjects, to rebel and make war upon them. The same year the Ostrogoths had seats granted them in Pannonia by the emperors Marcian and Valentinian; and with the Romans ejected the Hunns out of Pannonia, soon after the death of Attila, as all historians agree. This ejection was in the reign of Avitus, as is mentioned in the *Chronicum Boiorum*, and in Sidonius, *Carm. 7. in Avitum*, which speaks thus of that emperor.

" — *Cujus solum amissas post secula multa*

" *Pannonia revocavit iter; jam credere promptum est*

" *Quid faciet bellis.*"

The poet means, that by the coming of Avitus, the Hunns yielded more easily to the Goths. This was written by Sidonius in the beginning of the reign of Avitus: and his reign began in the end of the year 455, and lasted not one full year.

2. Jornandes tells us: "*Duodecimo anno regni Valiæ, quando ☿ Hunni post pene quinquaginta annos invasâ Pannoniâ, à Romanis ☿ Gotbis expulsi sunt.*" And Marcellinus: "*Hierio ☿ Ardarurio Coss. Pannoniæ, quæ per quinquaginta annos ab Hunnis retinebantur, à Romanis recepta sunt.*" Whence it should seem that the Hunns invaded and held Pannonia from the year 378 or 379 to the year 427, and then were driven out of it. But this is a plain mistake: for it is certain that the emperor Theodosius left the empire entire; and we have shewed out of Prosper, that the Hunns were in quiet possession of Pannonia in the year 432. The Visigoths in those days had nothing to do with Pannonia, and the Ostrogoths continued subject to the Hunns till the death of Attila, A. C. 454; and Valia king of the Visigoths did

did not reign twelve years. He began his reign in the end of the year 415; reigned three years; and was slain A. C. 419; as Idacius, Isidorus, and the Spanish manuscript chronicles seen by Grotius testify. And Olympiodorus, who carries his history only to the year 425, sets down therein the death of Valia king of the Visigoths, and conjoins it with that of Constantius, which happened A. C. 420. Wherefore the Valia of Jornandes, who reigned at the least twelve years, is some other king. And I suspect, that this name hath been put by mistake for Valamir king of the Ostrogoths: for the action recorded was of the Romans and Ostrogoths driving the Hunns out of Pannonia after the death of Attila; and it is not likely, that the historian would refer the history of the Ostrogoths to the years of the Visigothic kings. This action happened in the end of the year 455; which I take to be the twelfth year of Valamir in Pannonia; and which was almost fifty years after the year 406, in which the Hunns succeeded the Vandals and Alans in Pannonia. Upon the ceasing of the line of Hunnimund, the son of Hermaneric, the Ostrogoths lived without kings of their own nation about forty years together, being subject to the Hunns. And when Alaric^a began to make war upon the Romans, which was in the year 444, he made Valamir, with his brothers Theodomir and Videmir, the grandsons of Vinethar, captains or kings of these Ostrogoths under him. In the twelfth year of Valamir's reign, dated from thence, the Hunns were driven out of Pannonia.

3. Yet the Hunns were not so ejected, but that they had further contests with the Romans, till the head of Denfix the son of Attila was carried to Constantinople, A. C. 469, in the consulship of Zeno and Marcian, as Marcellinus relates. Nor were they yet totally ejected the empire: for besides their reliques in Pannonia, Sigonius tells us, that when the emperors Marcian and Valentinian granted Pannonia to the Goths, which was in the year 454, they granted part of Illyricum to some of the Hunns and Sarmatians. And in the year 526, when the Lombards, removing into Pannonia, made war there with the Gepides; the Avars, a part of the Hunns, who had taken the name of Avars from one of their kings, assisted the Lombards

in that war: and the Lombards afterwards, when they went into Italy, left their seats in Pannonia to the Avars in recompence of their friendship. From that time the Huns grew again very powerful; their kings, whom they called Chagan, troubling the empire much in the reigns of the emperors Mauritius, Phocas, and Heraclius: and this is the original of the present kingdom of Hungary, which from these Avars and other Huns mixed together, took the name of Hun-Avaria, and by contraction Hungary.

IX.

The Lombards, before they came over the Danube, were commanded by two captains, Ibor and Ayon: after whose death they had kings, Agilmund, Lamiff, Lechu, Hildehoc, Gudehoc, Claffo, Tato, Wacho, Walter, Audoin, Albain, Cleophis, &c. Agilmund was the son of Ayon, who became their king, according to Prosper, in the consulship of Honorius and Theodosius, A. C. 389; reigned thirty-three years, according to Paulus Warnefridus; and was slain in battle by the Bulgarians. Prosper places his death in the consulship of Marinius and Asclepiodorus, A. C. 423. Lamiff routed the Bulgarians, and reigned three years; and Lechu almost forty. Gudehoc was contemporary to Odoacer king of the Heruli in Italy, and led his people from Pannonia into Rugia, a country on the north side of Noricum next beyond the Danube; from whence Odoacer then carried his people into Italy. Tato overthrew the kingdom of the Heruli beyond the Danube. Wacho conquered the Suevians, a kingdom then bounded on the east by Bavaria, on the west by France, and on the south by the Burgundians. Audoin returned into Pannonia A. C. 526, and there overcame the Gepides. Albain, A. C. 551, overthrew the kingdom of the Gepides, and slew their king Chunnimund; A. C. 563, he assisted the Greek emperor against Totila king of the Ostrogoths in Italy; and, A. C. 568, led his people out of Pannonia into Lombardy, where they reigned till the year 774.

2. According to Paulus Diaconus, the Lombards, with many other Gothic nations, came into the empire from beyond the Danube

nube in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, that is, between the years 395 and 408. But they might come in a little earlier: for we are told that the Lombards, under their captains Ibor and Ayon, beat the Vandals in battle; and Prosper placeth this victory in the consulship of Ausonius and Olybrius, that is, A. C. 379. Before this war, the Vandals had remained quiet forty years, in the seats granted them in Pannonia by Constantine the Great. And therefore if these were the same Vandals, this war must have been in Pannonia; and might be occasioned by the coming of the Lombards over the Danube into Pannonia, a year or two before the battle; and so have put an end to that quiet which had lasted forty years. After Gratian and Theodosius had quieted the Barbarians, they might either retire over the Danube, or continue quiet under the Romans till the death of Theodosius; and then either invade the empire anew, or throw off all subjection to it. By their wars, first with the Vandals, and then with the Bulgarians, a Scythian nation so called from the river Volga whence they came, it appears, that even in those days they were a kingdom not contemptible.

X.

These nine kingdoms being rent away, we are next to consider the residue of the Western Empire. While this empire continued entire, it was the beast itself: but the residue thereof is only a part of it. Now if this part be considered as a horn, the reign of this horn may be dated from the translation of the imperial seat from Rome to Ravenna, which was in October, A. C. 408. For then the emperor Honorius, fearing that Alaric would besiege him in Rome, if he staid there, retired to Millan, and thence to Ravenna: and the ensuing siege and sacking of Rome confirmed his residence there; so that he and his successors ever after made it their home. Accordingly Macchiavel, in his Florentine history, writes, that Valentinian having left home, translated the seat of the empire to Ravenna.

2. Rætia belonged to the Western emperors, so long as that empire stood; and then it descended, with Italy and the Roman

senate, to Odoacer king of the Heruli in Italy; and after him, to Theoderic king of the Ostrogoths, and his successors, by the grant of the Greek emperors. Upon the death of Valentinian the Second, the Alemans and Suevians invaded Rhætia, A. C. 455. But I do not find they erected any settled kingdom there: for in the year 457, while they were yet depopulating Rhætia, they were attacked and beaten by Burto, master of the horse to the emperor Majoranus; and I hear nothing more of their invading Rhætia. Clodovæus king of France, in or about the year 496, conquered a kingdom of the Alemans, and slew their last king Ermeric. But this kingdom was seated in Germany, and only bordered upon Rhætia: for its people fled from Clodovæus into the neighbouring kingdom of the Ostrogoths under Theoderic; who received them as friends, and wrote a friendly letter to Clodovæus in their behalf: and by this means they became inhabitants of Rhætia, as subjects under the dominion of the Ostrogoths.

3. When the Greek emperor conquered the Ostrogoths, he succeeded them in the kingdom of Ravenna, not only by right of conquest, but also by right of inheritance; the Roman senate still going along with this kingdom. Therefore we may reckon that this kingdom continued in the exarchate of Ravenna and senate of Rome: for the remainder of the Western Empire went along with the senate of Rome, by reason of the right which this senate still retained, and at length exerted, of choosing a new Western emperor.

4. I have now enumerated the ten kingdoms into which the Western Empire became divided at its first breaking; that is, at the time of Rome's being besieged and taken by the Goths. Some of these kingdoms at length fell, and new ones arose: but whatever was their number afterwards, they are still called the Ten Kings from their first number.

C H A P.

C H A P. VII.

Of the eleventh horn of Daniel's Fourth Beast.

NOW Daniel considered the horns, and behold there came up among them another horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots; and behold in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things^(*),—and his look was more stout than his^{Chap. vii. 8.} fellows,—and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them^(b): and one who stood by, and made Daniel^{Ver. 20, 21.} know the interpretation of these things, told him, that the ten horns were ten kings that should arise, and another should arise after them, and be diverse from the first, and he should subdue three kings^(c), and speak great words against the most^{Ver. 24.} High, and wear out the saints, and think to change times and laws: and that they should be given into his hands until a time and times and half a time^(d). Kings are put for kingdoms,^{Ver. 23.} as above; and therefore the little horn is a little kingdom. It was a horn of the fourth beast, and rooted up three of his first horns; and therefore we are to look for it among the nations of the Latin empire, after the rise of the ten horns. But it was a kingdom of a different kind from the other ten kingdoms, having a life or soul peculiar to itself, with eyes and a mouth. By its eyes, it was a seer; and by its mouth speaking great things and changing times and laws, it was a prophet as well as a king. And such a seer, a prophet and a king, is the church of Rome.

II. A seer, Ἐπίσκοπος, is a bishop in the literal sense of the word; and this church claims the universal bishoprick.

III. With his mouth he gives laws to kings and nations as an oracle; and pretends to infallibility, and that his dictates are binding.

ing to the whole world; which is to be a prophet in the highest degree.

IV. In the eighth century, by rooting up and subduing the exarchate of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards, and the senate and dukedom of Rome, he acquired Peter's patrimony out of their dominions; and thereby rose up as a temporal prince or king, or horn of the fourth beast.

V. In a small book printed at Paris, A. C. 1689, entitled, "*An historical dissertation upon some coins of Charles the Great, Ludovicus Pius, Lotharius, and their successors, stamped at Rome*," it is recorded, that in the days of pope Leo X. there was remaining in the Vatican, and till those days exposed to public view, an inscription in honour of Pipin, the father of Charles the Great, in these words: "*Pipinum pium, primum fuisse qui amplificandæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ viam aperuerit, Exarchatu Ravennate, & plurimis aliis oblatis*." "That Pipin the Pius was the first who opened a way to the grandeur of the church of Rome, conferring upon her the exarchate of Ravenna, and many other oblations." In and before the reign of the emperors Gratian and Theodosius, the bishop of Rome lived splendidly; but this was by the oblations of the Roman ladies, as Ammianus describes. After those reigns Italy was invaded by foreign nations, and did not get rid of her troubles before the fall of the kingdom of Lombardy. It was certainly by the victory of the see of Rome over the Greek emperor, the king of Lombardy, and the senate of Rome, that she acquired Peter's patrimony, and rose up to her greatness. The donation of Constantine the Great is a fiction; and so is the donation of the *Alpes Cottiae* to the pope by Aripert king of the Lombards: for the *Alpes Cottiae* were a part of the exarchate; and, in the days of Aripert, belonged to the Greek emperor.

VI. The invocation of the dead, and veneration of their images, being gradually introduced in the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th centuries; the Greek emperor Philippicus declared against the latter, A. C. 711 or 712^(a). And the emperor Leo Isaurus, to put a stop to it, called a meeting of counsellors and bishops in his palace, A. C. 726; and by their advice put out an edict against that worship,

^a Sigonius de Regno Italiae, ad ann. 726.

worship, and wrote to pope Gregory II. that a general council might be called. But the pope thereupon called a council at Rome; confirmed the worship of images; excommunicated the Greek emperor; absolved the people from their allegiance; and forbade them to pay tribute, or otherwise be obedient to him. Then the people of Rome, Campania, Ravenna, and Pentapolis, with the cities under them, revolted; and laid violent hands upon their magistrates, killing the exarch Paul at Ravenna, and laying aside Peter duke of Rome, who was become blind: and when Exhilaratus, duke of Campania, incited the people against the pope; the Romans invaded Campania, and slew him with his son Hadrian. Then a new exarch, Eutychius, coming to Naples, sent some secretly to take away the lives of the pope and the nobles of Rome: but the plot being discovered, the Romans revolted absolutely from the Greek emperor, and took an oath to preserve the life of the pope; to defend his state; and be obedient to his authority in all things. Thus Rome with its duchy, including part of Tuscany and part of Campania, revolted in the year 726, and became a free state under the government of the senate of this city. The authority of the senate in civil affairs was henceforward absolute; the authority of the pope extending hitherto no farther than to the affairs of the church only.

VII. At that time the Lombards^(a) also being zealous for the worship of images, and pretending to favour the cause of the pope, invaded the cities of the exarchate: and at length, viz. A. C. 752, took Ravenna, and put an end to the exarchate. And this was the first of the three kingdoms which fell before the little horn.

VIII. In the year 751 pope Zachary deposed Childeric^(b), a slothful and useless king of France, and the last of the race of Merovingians; and, absolving his subjects from their oath of allegiance, gave the kingdom to Pipin the major of the palace; and thereby made a new and potent friend. His successor, pope Stephen III^(c) knowing better how to deal with the Greek emperor than with the Lombards, went the next year to the king of the Lombards, to persuade him to return the exarchate to the emperor. But this not succeeding, he went into France; and persuaded Pipin.

^a Sigonius
ibid. ad ann.
726, 752.

^b Sigon. ibid.
ann. 750.

^c Sigon. ibid.
ann. 753,
754, 755.

Pipin to take the exarchate and Pentapolis from the Lombards, and give it to St. Peter. Accordingly Pipin, A. C. 754, came with an army into Italy, and made Aistulphus king of the Lombards promise to surrender: but the next year Aistulphus, on the contrary, to revenge himself on the pope, besieged the city of Rome. Whereupon the pope sent letters to Pipin, wherein he told him, that if he came not speedily against the Lombards, "*pro datâ sibi potentiâ, alienandum fore à regno Dei & vitâ æternâ;*" he should be excommunicated. Pipin therefore, fearing a revolt of his subjects, and being indebted to the church of Rome, came speedily with an army into Italy; raised the siege; besieged the Lombards in Pavia; and forced them to surrender the exarchate and region of Pentapolis to the pope, for a perpetual possession. Thus the pope became lord of Ravenna, and the exarchate, some few cities excepted; and the keys were sent to Rome, and laid upon the confession of St. Peter, that is, upon his tomb at the high altar, "*in signum veri perpetuique domini, sed pietate Regis gratuita;*" as the inscription of a coin of Pipin hath it. This was in the year of Christ 755. And henceforward the popes, being temporal princes, left off in their epistles and bulls to note the years of the Greek emperors, as they had hitherto done.

* Sigon. ib.
ann. 773.

IX. After this (*) the Lombards invading the pope's countries, pope Adrian sent to Charles the Great, the son and successor of Pipin, to come to his assistance. Accordingly Charles entered Italy with an army; invaded the Lombards; overthrew their kingdom; became master of their countries; and restored to the pope not only what they had taken from him, but also the rest of the exarchate, which they had promised Pipin to surrender to him, but had hitherto detained; and also gave him some cities of the Lombards; and was in return himself made *Patricius* by the Romans, and had the authority of confirming the elections of the popes conferred upon him. These things were done in the years 773 and 774. This kingdom of the Lombards was the second kingdom which fell before the little horn. But Rome, which was to be the seat of his kingdom, was not yet his own.

X. In the year 796, Leo III. being made pope, notified his election to Charles the Great by his legates; sending to him for a present, the golden keys of the confession of Peter, and the banner of the city of Rome⁽²⁾: the first, as an acknowledgment of the pope's holding the cities of the exarchate and Lombardy by the grant of Charles; the other, as a signification that Charles should come and subdue the senate and people of Rome, as he had done the exarchate and the kingdom of the Lombards. For the pope at the same time desired Charles to send some of his princes to Rome, who might subject the Roman people to him, and bind them by oath *in fide & subjectione*, in fealty and subjection, as his words are recited by Sigonius. An anonymous poet, published by Boeclerus at Strasburg, expresseth it thus:

" *Admonuitque piis precibus, qui mittere vellet*
 " *Ex propriis aliquos primoribus, ac sibi plebem*
 " *Subdere Romanam, servandaque fœdera cogens*
 " *Hanc fidei sacramentis promittere magnis.*"

XI. Hence arose a misunderstanding between the pope and the city: and the Romans about two or three years after, by assistance of some of the clergy, raised such tumults against him, as gave occasion to a new state of things in all the West. For two of the clergy accused him of certain crimes; and with an armed force of the Romans seized him; stripped him of his sacerdotal habit; and imprisoned him in a monastery. But by assistance of his friends he made his escape, and fled into Germany to Charles the Great; to whom he complained of the Romans for acting against him out of a design to throw off all authority of the church, and to recover their antient freedom. In his absence, his accusers with their forces ravaged the possessions of the church, and sent the accusations to Charles; who, before the end of the year, sent the pope back to Rome with a large retinue. The nobles and bishops of France who accompanied him, examined the chief of his accusers at Rome, and sent them into France in custody. This was in the year 799. The next year Charles himself went to Rome; and, upon a day appointed, presided in a

council of Italian and French bishops to hear both parties. But when the pope's adversaries expected to be heard; the council declared, that he who was the supreme judge of all men, was above being judged by any other than himself^(a): whereupon the pope made a solemn declaration of his innocence before all the people; and by doing so was looked upon as acquitted.

XII. Soon after, upon Christmas-day, the people of Rome, who had hitherto elected their bishop, and reckoned that they and their senate inherited the rights of the antient senate and people of Rome; voted Charles their emperor, and subjected themselves to him in such manner, as the old Roman empire and their senate were subjected to the old Roman emperors. The pope crowned him, and anointed him with holy oil, and worshiped him on his knees after the manner of adoring the old Roman emperors; as the aforesaid poet thus relates:

"Post laudes igitur dictas, & summus eundem

"Præful adoravit; sicut mos debitus olim

"Principibus fuit antiquis."

The emperor, on the other hand, took the following oath to the pope: "*In nomine Christi spondeo atque polliceor, Ego Carolus Imperator coram Deo & beato Petro Apostolo, me protectorem ac defensorem fore hujus sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ in omnibus utilitatibus, quatenus divino fultus fuero adjutorio, prout sciero potero-que.*" The emperor was also made consul of Rome, and his son Pipin crowned king of Italy: and henceforward the emperor stiled himself "*Carolus serenissimus, Augustus, à Deo coronatus, magnus, pacificus, Romæ gubernans imperium,* or *Imperator Romanorum;*" and was prayed for in the churches of Rome. His image was henceforward put upon the coins of Rome. And the enemies of the pope, to the number of three hundred Romans and two or three of the clergy, were sentenced to death. The three hundred Romans were beheaded in one day in the Lateran fields: but the clergymen, at the intercession of the pope, were pardoned, and banished into France. And thus the right of the Roman emperors, which had hitherto been in the Greek emperors,

perors, was by this act transferred in the West to the kings of France. ELEVENTH HORN.

XIII. After these things Charles (*) gave the city and duchy of Rome to the pope, subordinately to himself as emperor of the Romans; spent the winter in ordering the affairs of Rome, and those of the apostolic see, and of all Italy, both civil and ecclesiastical, and in making new laws for them; and returned the next summer into France; leaving the city under its senate, and both under the pope and himself. And hearing that his new laws were not observed by the judges in dictating the law, nor by the people in hearing it; and that the great men took servants from free men, and from the churches and monasteries, to labour in their vineyards, fields, pastures and houses; and continued to exact cattle and wine of them, and to oppress those that served the churches: he wrote to his son Pipin to remedy these abuses; to take care of the church; and see his laws executed.

XIV. Now the senate and people, and principality of Rome, I take to be the third king the little horn overcame, and even the chief of the three. For this people elected the pope and the emperor; and now, by electing the emperor and making him consul, was acknowledged to retain the authority of the old Roman senate and people. This city was the metropolis of the old Roman empire, represented in Daniel by the fourth beast; and by subduing the senate and people and duchy, it became the metropolis of the little horn of that beast, and compleated Peter's patrimony, which was the kingdom of that horn. Besides, this victory was attended with greater consequences, than those over the other two kings. For it set up the Western Empire, which continues to this day. It set up the pope above the judicature of the Roman senate, and above that of a council of Italian and French bishops, and even above all human judicature; and gave him the supremacy over the Western churches and their councils, in a high degree. It gave him "a look more stout than his fellows;" so that when this new religion began to be established in the minds of men, he grappled not only with kings, but even with the Western emperor himself. It is observable also, that

that the custom of kissing the pope's feet, an honour superior to that of kings and emperors, began about this time. There are some instances of it in the ninth century: Platina tells us, that the feet of pope Leo IV. were kissed, according to ancient custom, by all who came to him: and some say that Leo III. began this custom; pretending, that his hand was infected by the kiss of a woman. The popes began also about this time to canonize saints; and to grant indulgences and pardons: and some represent, that Leo III. was the first author of all these things. It is further observable, that Charles the Great, between the years 775 and 796, conquered all Germany, from the Rhine and Danube northward to the Baltic Sea, and eastward to the river Teis; extending his conquests also into Spain, as far as the river Eber: and by these conquests he laid the foundation of the new empire; and, at the same time, he propagated the Roman-Catholic religion into all his conquests; obliging the Saxons and Huns, who were heathens, to receive the Roman faith; and distributing his northern conquests into bishopricks, granting tithes to the clergy and Peter-pence to the pope: by all which the church of Rome was highly enlarged, enriched, exalted, and established.

XV. In the before-mentioned "Dissertation upon some coins of Charles the Great, Ludovicus Pius, Lotharius, and their successors, stamped at Rome," there is a draught of a piece of Mosaic work, which pope Leo III. caused to be made in his palace near the church of John Lateran, in memory of his sending the standard or banner of the city of Rome, curiously wrought, to Charles the Great; and which still remained there, at the publishing of the said book. In the Mosaic work there appeared Peter with three keys in his lap, reaching the Pallium to the pope, with his right-hand, and the banner of the city to Charles the Great, with his left. By the pope was this inscription, *SCISSIMUS D. N. LEO PP.* by the king, this; *D. N. CARULO REGI:* and under the feet of Peter, this; *BEATE PETRE, DONA VITAM LEONI PP, ET VICTORIAM CARULO REGI DONA.* This monument gives the title of king to Charles; and therefore was erected, before he was emperor. It was erected, when Peter was reaching the Pallium to the pope, and the pope was sending the banner of the city

city to Charles, that is, A. C. 796. The words above, viz. "*Sanc-* ELEVENTH HORN.
tissimus Dominus noster Leo Papa Domino nostro Carolo Regi," relate to the message; and the words below, viz. "*Beate Petre, dona vitam Leoni Pape, & victoriam Carolo regi dona,*" are a prayer, that in this undertaking God would preserve the life of the pope, and give victory to the king over the Romans. The three keys, in the lap of Peter, signify the keys of the three parts of his patrimony; that of Rome with its duchy, which the pope claimed and was conquering; those of Ravenna, with the exarchate, and of the territories taken from the Lombards; both which he had newly conquered. These were the three dominions, whose keys were in the lap of St. Peter; and whose crowns are now worn by the pope; and by the conquest of which he became the little horn of the fourth beast. By Peter's giving the Pallium to the pope with his right-hand, and the banner of the city to the king with his left, and by naming the pope before the king in the inscription, may be understood, that the pope was then reckoned superior in dignity to the kings of the earth.

XVI. After the death of Charles the Great, his son and successor Ludovicus Pius, at the request of the pope ('), confirmed the donations of his grandfather and father to the see of Rome. And in the confirmation he names first Rome, with its duchy extending into Tuscany and Campania; then the exarchate of Ravenna, with Pentapolis; and, in the third place, the territories taken from the Lombards. These are his three conquests; and he was to hold them of the emperor for the use of the church, *sub integritate*, entirely; without the emperor's meddling therewith, or with the jurisdiction or power of the pope therein, unless called thereto in certain cases. This ratification the emperor Ludovicus made under an oath: and as the king of the Ostrogoths, for acknowledging that he held his kingdom of Italy of the Greek emperor, stamped the effigies of the emperor on one side of his coins, and his own on the reverse; so the pope made the like acknowledgment to the Western emperor. For the pope began now to coin money: and the coins of Rome are henceforward found with the heads of the emperors (Charles, Ludovicus Pius,

Lotharius) and their successors, on the one side, and the pope's inscription on the reverse, for many years.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the power of the eleventh Horn of Daniel's fourth Beast, to change times and laws.

CHAPTER EIGHTH.

IN the reign of the Greek emperor Justinian, and again in the reign of Phocas, the bishop of Rome obtained some dominion over the Greek churches, but of no long continuance. His standing dominion was only over the nations of the Western Empire, represented by Daniel's fourth beast. And this jurisdiction was set up by the following edict of the emperors Gratian and Valentinian.——“*Volumus (*)*, ut quicumque iudicio Damasi, quod ille cum Concilio quinque vel septem habuerit Episcoporum, vel eorum, qui Catholici sunt, iudicio vel Concilio condemnatus fuerit; si iuste voluerit Ecclesiam retentare, ut qui ad sacerdotale iudicium per contumeliam non iussit: ut ab illustribus viris Præfectoris Prætorio Gallie atque Italie, auctoritate adhibita, ad Episcopale iudicium remittatur; sive à Consularibus vel Vicariis, ut ad Urbem Romanam sub prosecutione perveniat. Aut si in longinquiore partibus alicujus ferocitas talis emerferit, omnis ejus causæ editio ad Metropolitanam in eadem Provinciâ Episcopi deducatur ex amen. Vel si ipse Metropolitanus est, Romanam necessariò, vel ad eos quos Romanus Episcopus iudices dederit, sine delatione contendat.—Quod si vel Metropolitanus Episcopus, vel cujuscunque sacerdotis, iniquitas est suspecta, aut gratia; ad Romanum Episcopum,

* See the Annals of Baronius, anno 381. sect. 6.

“*pum, vel ad Concilium quindecim finitimorum Episcoporum accessitum liceat provocare; modò ne post examen habitum, quod definitum fuerit, integretur.*” This edict wanting the name of both Valens and Theodosius in the title, was made in the time between their reigns; that is, in the end of the year 378, or the beginning of 379. It was directed to the *Præfectori Prætorio Italie & Gallie*; and therefore was general. For the *Præfectori Prætorio Italie* governed Italy, *Illyricum occidentale*, and Africa; and the *Præfectori Prætorio Gallie* governed Gallia, Spain, and Britain.

II. The granting of this jurisdiction to the pope gave several bishops occasion to write to him for his resolutions upon doubtful cases; and to his answering them by decretal epistles: and henceforward he gave laws to the Western churches by such epistles. Himerius bishop of Tarraco, the head city of a province in Spain, writing to pope Damasus for his direction about certain ecclesiastical matters, and the letter not arriving at Rome till after the death of Damasus, A. C. 384; his successor Siricius answered the letter with a legislative authority, telling him of one thing: “*Cùm hoc fieri—missa ad Provincias, à venerande memorie prædecessore meo Liberio, generalia decreta prohibeant.*” Of another: “*Noverint se ab omni ecclesiastico honore, quo indigne usi sunt, Apostolicæ Sedis auctoritate, dejectos.*” Of another: “*Scituri posthac omnium Provinciarum summi Antistites, quòd si ultro ad sacros ordines quenquam de talibus esse assumendum, & de suo & de aliorum statu, quos contra Canones & interdicta nostra provexerint, congruam ab Apostolicâ Sede promendam esse sententiam.*” And the epistle he concludes thus: “*Explicuimus ut arbitror, frater charissime, universâ quæ digesta sunt in querelam; & ad singulas causas, de quibus ad Romanam Ecclesiam, utpote ad caput tui corporis, retulisti; sufficientia, quantum oportet, responsa reddidimus. Nunc fraternitatis tuæ animum ad servandos canones, & tenenda decretalia constituta, magis ac magis incitamus: adhuc quæ ad tua consulta rescripsimus, in omnium Coepiscoporum perferri facias notionem; & non solum eorum, qui in tuâ sunt diocesi constituti, sed etiam ad universos Cartaginenses, ac Bæticos, Lusitanos atque (*) Gallicos, vel eos qui*

* Populi Gallicie.

"qui vicinis tibi collimitant hinc inde Provinciis, hæc, quæ à nobis sunt salubri ordinatione disposita, sub literarum tuarum prosecutione mittantur. Et quanquam statuta sedis Apostolicæ, vel Canonum venerabilia definita, nulli Sacerdotum Domini ignorare sit liberum: utilius tamen, atque pro antiquitate sacerdotii tui, dissectioni tuæ esse admodum poterit gloriosum; si ea, quæ ad te specialium nomine generaliter scripta sunt, per unanimis tue sollicitudinem, in universorum fratrum nostrorum notitiam perferantur; quatenus & quæ à nobis, non inconsultè, sed providè, sub nimia cautela & deliberatione, sunt salubriter constituta, intemerata permaneat; & omnibus in posterum excusationibus aditus, qui jam nulli apud nos patere poterit, obstruatur. Dat. 3 Id. Febr. Arcadio & Bautone viris clarissimis Consulibus, A. C. 385." Pope Liberius, in the reign of Jovian, or Valentinian I. sent general decrees to the provinces, ordering that the Arians should not be rebaptized: and this he did in favour of the council of Alexandria; that nothing more should be required of them, than to renounce their opinions. Pope Damasus is said to have decreed in a Roman council, that tithes and tenths should be paid upon pain of an Anathema; and that "Glory be to the Father, &c." should be said or sung at the end of the Psalms. But the first decretal epistle, now extant, is this of Siricius to Himerius; and by this epistle the pope made Himerius his vicar over all Spain for promulging his decrees, and seeing them observed. The bishop of Seville was also the pope's vicar sometimes; for pope Simplicius wrote thus to Zeno, bishop of Seville: "Talibus idcirco gloriæ, congruum duximus vicariâ Sedis nostræ te auctoritate fulciri: cujus vigore munitus, Apostolicæ institutionis Decreta, vel sanctorum terminos Patrum, nullatenus transcendendi permittas." And Pope Hormisdas (*) made the bishop of Seville his vicar over Boetica and Lusitania; and the bishop of Tarraco his vicar over all the rest of Spain, as appears by his epistles to them.

III. Pope Innocent the First, in his decretal epistle to Victorius, bishop of Rouen in France, A. C. 404, in pursuance of the edict of Gratian, made this decree: "Si quæ autem causæ vel contentiones inter Clericos, tam superioris ordinis quàm etiam inferioris, fuerint exortæ; ut secundum Synodum Nicenam congregatis ejusdem

* Hormisd.
Epi. 24, 26.

"dem Provincia Episcopis, jurgium terminetur: nec alicui liceat, Romanæ (*) Ecclesiæ, cujus in omnibus causis debet reverentia custodiri, relictis his sacerdotibus, qui in eadem Provinciâ Dei Ecclesiam nutu Divino gubernant, ad alias convolare Provincias. Quod si quis forte præsumperit; & ab officio Clericatus summo- tus, & injuriarum reus judicetur. Si autem majores causæ in medium fuerint devolutæ, ad Sedem Apostolicam, sicut Synodus statuit, & beata consuetudo exigit, post judicium Episcopale referantur." By these letters it appears to me that Gallia was now subject to the pope; and had been so for some time; and that the bishop of Rouen was then his vicar, or one of them: for the pope directs him, to refer the greater causes to the see of Rome, according to custom. But the bishop of Arles soon after became the pope's vicar over all Gallia: for pope Zosimus, A. C. 417, ordaining that none should have access to him without the credentials of his vicars, conferred upon Patroclus, the bishop of Arles, this authority over all Gallia by the following decree.

"Zosimus universis Episcopis per Gallias & septem Provincias constitutis.

"Placuit Apostolicæ Sedi, ut si quis ex quâlibet Galliarum parte sub quolibet ecclesiastico gradu, ad nos Romæ venire contendit, vel alio terrarum ire disponit; non aliter proficiscatur, nisi Metropolitani Episcopi Formatas acceperit; quibus sacerdotium suum, vel locum ecclesiasticum quem habet, scriptorum ejus ad stipulationem perdoceat: quod ex gratiâ statuimus: quia plures episcopi, sive presbyteri, sive ecclesiastici simulantes, quia nullum documentum Formatarum extat, per quod valeant confutari, in nomen venerationis irrepunt, & indebitam reverentiam promerentur. Quisquis igitur, fratres charissimi, prætermittâ supradicti Formatâ, sive episcopus, sive presbyter, sive diaconus, aut deinceps inferiori gradu sit, ad nos venerit; sciat se omnino suscipi non posse. Quam auctoritatem ubique nos misisse manifestum est; ut cunctis regionibus innotescat, id quod statuimus omnimodis esse servandum. Si quis autem hæc salubriter constituta temerare tentaverit sponte suâ, se à nostrâ noverit communione discretum. Hoc autem

"*privilegium Formatarum sancto Patrolo, fratri & coepiscopo nostro, meritum ejus speciali contemplatione, concessimus.*" And that the bishop of Arles was sometimes the pope's vicar over all France, is affirmed also by all the bishops of the diocese of Arles, in their letter to pope Leo I. "*Cui id etiam honoris dignitatisque collatum est,*" say they, "*ut non tantum has Provincias potestate propria gubernaret; verum etiam omnes Gallias, sibi Apostolica Sedis vice mandatâ, sub omni ecclesiastica regulâ contineret.*" And pope Pelagius I. A. C. 556, in his epistle to Sapaudus bishop of Arles: "*Majorum nostrorum, operante Dei misericordiâ, cupientes inherere vestigiis, & eorum actus divino examine in omnibus imitari: Charitati tue per universam Galliam, sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ, cui divinâ gratiâ præsidemus, vices injungimus.*"

IV. By the influence of the same imperial edict, not only Spain and Gallia, but also Illyricum became subject to the pope. Damascus made Ascholius, or Acholius, bishop of Thessalonica, the metropolis of Oriental Illyricum, his vicar for hearing of causes; and in the year 382, Acholius, being summoned by pope Damascus, came to a council at Rome. Pope Siricius, the successor of Damascus, decreed, that no bishop should be ordained in Illyricum without the consent of Anyfius, the successor of Acholius. And the following popes gave Rufus, the successor of Anyfius, a power of calling provincial councils: for in the collections of Holstenius, there is an account of a council of Rome convened under pope Boniface II. in which were produced letters of Damascus, Siricius, Innocent I. Boniface I. and Cælestine bishops of Rome, to Ascholius, Anyfius, and Rufus, bishops of Thessalonica; in which letters they commend to them the hearing of causes in Illyricum, granted by the lord and the holy canons to the apostolic see throughout that province. And pope Siricius saith in his epistle to Anyfius: "*Etiam dudum, frater charissime, per Candidianum Episcopum, qui nos præcessit ad Dominum, hujusmodi literas dederamus; ut nulla licentia esset, sine consensu tuo in Illyrico Episcopos ordinare præsumere; quæ utrum ad te pervenerint, scire non potui. Multa enim gesta sunt per contentionem ab Episcopis in ordinationibus faciendis, quod tua melius caritas*"

"*novit.*"

"*novit.*" And a little after: "*Ad omnem enim hujusmodi audaciam comprimendam vigilare debet instantia tua, Spiritu in te Sancto fervente: ut vel ipse, si potes, vel quos judicaveris Episcopos idoneos, cum literis dirigas, dato consensu qui possit, in ejus locum qui defunctus vel depositus fuerit, Catholicum Episcopum vitâ & moribus probatum, secundum Nicænæ Synodi statuta, vel Ecclesiæ Romanæ, Clericum de Clero meritum ordinare.*" And pope Innocent I. saith in his epistle to Anyfius: "*Cui [Anyfio] etiam anteriores tanti ac tales viri prædecessores mei Episcopi, id est, sanctæ memoriæ Damasus, Siricius, atque supra memoratus vir, ita detulerunt; ut omnia quæ in omnibus illis partibus gererentur, Sanctitati tuæ, quæ plena justitiæ est, traderent cognoscenda.*" And in his epistle to Rufus, the successor of Anyfius: "*Ita longis intervallis determinatis à me ecclesiis discat consulendum; ut prudentiâ gravitatique tuæ committendam curam, causasque, siquæ exoriantur, per Achaïæ, Thessaliæ, Epiri veteris, Epiri novæ, & Crætæ, Daciæ Mediterraneæ, Daciæ Ripensis, Mæsiæ, Dardaniæ, & Prævali ecclesias, Christo domino annuente, censeam. Verè enim ejus sacratissimis monitis, leatissimæ sinceritatis tuæ providentiæ & virtuti banc injungimus sollicitudinem: non primitus hæc statuentes, sed Præcessores nostros Apostolicos imitati; qui beatissimis Acholio & Anyfio injungi pro meritis ista voluerunt.*" And Boniface I. in his decretal epistle to Rufus, and the rest of the bishops in Illyricum: "*Nullus, ut frequenter dixi, alicujus ordinationem citra ejus [Episcopi Thessalonicensis] conscientiam celebrare præsumat: cui, ut supra dictum est, vice nostra cuncta committimus.*" And pope Cælestine, in his decretal epistle to the bishops throughout Illyricum, saith: "*Vicem nostram per vestram Provinciam noveritis [Ruso] esse commissam; ita ut ad eum, fratres carissimi, quicquid de causis agitur, referatur. Sine ejus consilio nullus ordinetur. Nullus usurpet, eodem inconscio, commissam illi Provinciam; colligere, nisi cum ejus voluntate, Episcopus non præsumat.*" And in the cause of Perigenes, in the title of his epistle, he thus enumerates the provinces under this bishop: "*Ruso & cæteris Episcopis per Macedoniam, Achaïam, Thessaliam, Epirum veterem, Epirum novam, Prævalin, & Daciæ constitutis.*" And pope Xistus, in a decretal

cretal epistle to the same bishops: "*Illyricana omnes Ecclesie, ut à decessoribus nostris recepimus, & nos quoque fecimus, ad curam nunc pertinent Theſſalonicenſis Antistitis; ut sua sollicitudine, siquæ inter fratres nascentur, ut assolent, actiones, distinguat atque definiat; & ad eum, quicquid à singulis sacerdotibus agitur, referatur. Sit Concilium, quotiens cause fuerint; quotiens ille, pro necessitatibus emergentium ratione, decreverit.*" And pope Leo I. in his decretal epistle to Anastasius bishop of Theſſalonica: "*Singulis autem Metropolitanis sicut potestas ista committitur, ut in suis provinciis jus babeant ordinandi; ita eos Metropolitanos à te volumus ordinari; maturo tamen & decocto iudicio.*"

V. Occidental Illyricum comprehended Pannonia Prima and Secunda, Savia, Dalmatia, Noricum Mediterraneum, and Noricum Ripense; and its metropolis was Sirmium, till Attila destroyed this city. Afterwards Laureacum became the metropolis of Noricum, and both Pannonias, and Salona the metropolis of Dalmatia.

Now the bishops of Laureacum and Salona (*) received the *Pallium* from the pope: and Zosimus, in his decretal epistle to Hefychius bishop of Salona, directed him to denounce the apostolic decrees as well to the bishops of his own, as to those of the neighbouring provinces. The subjection of these provinces to the see of Rome seems to have begun in Anemius; who was ordained bishop of Sirmium by Ambrose bishop of Millan, and who, in the council of Aquileia under pope Damasus, A. C. 381, declared his sentence in these words: "*Caput Illyrici non nisi civitas Sirmiensis; ego igitur illius civitatis episcopus sum. Eum, qui non confitetur filium Dei æternum, & coeternum patri, qui est sempiternus, anathema dico.*" The next year Anemius and Ambrose, with Valerian bishop of Aquileia, Acholius bishop of Theſſalonica, and many others, went to the council of Rome, which met for over-ruling the Greek church by majority of votes, and exalting the authority of the apostolic see, as was attempted before in the council of Sardica.

VI. Aquileia was the second city of the Western Empire, and by some called the second Rome. It was the metropolis of Istria, Forum Julium, and Venetia; and its subjection to the see of Rome is manifest by the decretal epistle of Leo I. directed to Nicetas,

cetas, bishop of this city. For the pope begins his epistle thus: "*Regressus ad nos filius meus Adeodatus Diaconus Sedis nostræ, dilectionem tuam poposcisse memorat, ut de his à nobis auctoritatem Apostolicæ Sedis acciperes; quæ quidem magnam difficultatem judicationis videntur asferre.*" Then he sets down an answer to the questions proposed by Nicetas, and concludes thus: "*Hanc autem epistolam nostram, quam ad consultationem tuæ fraternitatis emisimus, ad omnes fratres & comprovinciales tuos episcopos facies pervenire, ut in omnium observantiâ data profitorbitas. Data 12 Kal. Apr. Majorano Aug. Cos. A. C. 458.*" Gregory (°) the Great, A. C. 591, cited Severus, bishop of Aquileia, to appear before him in judgment in a council at Rome.

VII. The bishops of Aquileia and Millan created one another; and therefore were of equal authority, and alike subject to the see of Rome. Pope Pelagius (°), about the year 557, testified this in the following words: "*Mos antiquus fuit,*" saith he, "*ut quia pro longinquitate vel difficultate itineris, ab Apostolico illis onerosum fuerit ordinari; ipsi se invicem, Mediolanensis & Aquileiensis, ordinare episcopos debuissent.*" These words imply, that the ordination of these two bishops belonged to the see of Rome. When Laurentius bishop of Millan had excommunicated Magnus, one of his presbyters, and was dead; Gregory the Great (°) absolved Magnus, and sent the *Pallium* to the new-elected bishop Constantius; whom (d) the next year he reprehended of partiality in judging Fortunatus, and commanded him to send Fortunatus to Rome to be judged there. Four years after he appointed the bishops of Millan and Ravenna to hear the cause of one Maximus; and two years after, viz. A. C. 601, when Constantius was dead, and the people of Millan had elected Deusdedit his successor, and the Lombards had elected another; Gregory (f) wrote to the notary, clergy, and people of Millan, that, by the authority of his letters, Deusdedit should be ordained; and that he, whom the Lombards had ordained, was an unworthy successor of Ambrose. Whence I gather, that the church of Millan had continued in this state of subordination to the see of Rome, ever since the days of Ambrose; for Ambrose himself acknowledged the authority of the see of Rome. "*Ecclesia Romana* (°), saith he, c. 1.

CHANGE OF
TIMES AND
LAWS.

Greg. M.
lib. 1. Indic.
9. epist. 16.

Apud Gratianum de
Mediolanensi
& Aquileiensis
Episcopis.

Greg. M. lib.
3. epist. 26.
& lib. 4.
epist. 1.
Greg. lib.
5. epist. 4.

Greg. lib. 9.
epist. 10.
& 67.

Greg. lib.
11. epist.
3. 4.

Ambros. l.
3. de sacra-
mentis, c. 1.

* Vide Caroli
à S. Paulo
Geographiam
Sacram,
p. 72, 73.

saith he, "*hanc consuetudinem non habet, cujus typum in omnibus sequimur & formam.*" And a little after: "*In omnibus cupio sequi Ecclesiam Romanam.*" And in his Commentary upon i Tim. iii. "*Cum totus mundus Dei sit, tamen domus ejus ecclesia dicitur; cujus bodie rector est Damasus.*" In his oration on the death of his brother Satyrus, he relates how his brother coming to a certain city of Sardinia, "*advocavit episcopum loci; percontatusque est ex eo, utrum cum episcopis Catholicis, hoc est cum Romanâ ecclesiâ, conveniret?*" And in conjunction with the synod of Aquileia, A. C. 381, in a synodical epistle to the emperor Gratian, he saith: "*Totius orbis Romani caput Romanam ecclesiam, atque illam sacrosanctam Apostolorum fidem, ne turbari sineretur, obsecranda fuit clementia vestra; inde enim in omnes venerandæ communionis jura dimanant.*" The churches therefore of Aquileia and Millan were subject to the see of Rome from the days of the emperor Gratian. Auxentius, the predecessor of Ambrose, was not subject to the see of Rome; and consequently the subjection of the church of Millan began in Ambrose. This diocese of Millan contained Liguria with Insubria, the Alpes Cottiae, and Rhætia; and was divided from the diocese of Aquileia by the river Addua. In the year 844, the bishop of Millan broke off from the see of Rome; and continued in this separation about 200 years, as is thus mentioned by Sigonius^(*):

^{*} Sigonius de Regno Italiae, lib. 5.

"*Eodem anno Angilbertus, Mediolanensis Archiepiscopus, ab ecclesiâ Romanâ parum compertâ de causâ descivit; tantumque exemplo in posterum valuit, ut non nisi post ducentos annos ecclesia Mediolanensis ad Romanæ obedientiam auctoritatemque redierit.*"

VIII. The bishop of Ravenna, the metropolis of Flaminia and Æmilia, was also subject to the pope. For pope Zosimus, A. C. 417, excommunicated some of the presbyters of that church; and wrote a commonitory epistle about them to the clergy of that church, as a branch of the Roman church: "*In suâ,*" saith he, "*hoc est, in ecclesiâ nostrâ Romanâ.*" And when those of Ravenna, having elected a new bishop, gave notice thereof to pope Sixtus^(b); the pope set him aside, and ordained Peter Chrysologus in his room. Chrysologus, in his epistle to Eutyches, extant in the acts of the council of Chalcedon, wrote thus: "*Nos pro studio*

^b See Baronius, anno 433, sect. 24.

"*pacis*

"*pacis & fidei, extra consensum Romanæ civitatis episcopi, causas fidei audire non possumus.*" And pope Leo I. being consulted by Leo, bishop of Ravenna, about some questions, answered him by a decretal epistle, A. C. 451. And pope Gregory the Great, reprehending John bishop of Ravenna about the use of the *Pallium*^(c); tells him of a precept of one of his predecessors, pope John, commanding that all the privileges formerly granted to the bishop and church of Ravenna should be kept: and this bishop John returned a submissive answer; and after his death pope Gregory ordered a visitation of the church of Ravenna; sent the *Pallium* to his successor Marinian, as of antient custom; and confirmed the privileges heretofore granted to this church. Yet this church revolted sometimes from the church of Rome, but returned again to its obedience.

CHANGE OF
TIMES AND
LAWS.

Greg. M.
lib. 3. epist.
56, 57, &
lib. 5. epist.
25, 26, 56.

IX. The rest of Italy, with the islands adjacent, containing the *suburbicarian* regions, or ten provinces under the temporal vicar of Rome, viz. Campania, Tuscany and Umbria, Picenum *suburbicarium*, Sicily, Apulia and Calabria, Brutii and Lucania, Samnium, Sardinia, Corsica, and Valeria, constituted the proper province of the bishop of Rome. For the council of Nice, in their fifth canon, ordained, that councils should be held every spring and autumn in every province; and, according to this canon, the bishops of this province met every half year at Rome. For in this sense, pope Leo I. applied this canon to Rome, in a decretal epistle to the bishops of Sicily, written *Alippio & Ardabure Coss.* A. C. 447. "*Quia saluberrimè,*" saith he, "*à sanctis patribus constitutum est, binos in annis singulis episcoporum debere esse conventus; terni semper ex vobis, ad diem tertium kalendarum Octobrium, Romanæ æterno concilio sociandi occurrant. Et indissimulante à vobis hæc consuetudo servetur; quoniam adjuvante Dei gratiâ facilius poterit provideri, ut in ecclesiis Christi nulla scandala, nulli nascantur errores, cum coram apostolo Petro semper in communione retractatum fuerit, ut omnia canonum Decreta apud omnes domini sacerdotes inviolata permaneant.*" The province of Rome therefore comprehended Sicily, with so much of Italy

Italy and the neighbouring islands, as sent bishops to the annual councils of Rome; but extended not into the provinces of Ravenna, Aquileia, Millan, Arles, &c. those provinces having councils of their own. The bishops in every province of the Roman empire were convened in council by the metropolitan, or bishop of the head-city of the province; and this bishop presided in that council: but the bishop of Rome did not only preside in his own council of the bishops of the *suburbicarian* regions, but also gave orders to the metropolitans of all the other provinces in the Western Empire, as their usual governor; as may be further perceived by the following instances.

X. Pope Zosimus, A. C. 417, cited Proculus, bishop of Marseilles, to appear before a council at Rome for illegitimate ordinations; and condemned him, as he mentions in several of his epistles. Pope Boniface I. A. C. 419, upon a complaint of the clergy of Valentia against Maximus a bishop, summoned the bishops of all Gallia, and the seven provinces, to convene in a council against him; and saith in his epistle, that his predecessors had done the like. Pope Leo I. called a general council of all the provinces of Spain to meet in Gallæcia, against the Machinees and Priscillianists, as he says in his decretal epistle to Turribius, a Spanish bishop. And in one of his decretal epistles to Nicetas bishop of Aquileia, he commands him to call a council of the bishops of that province against the Pelagians; which might ratify all the synodal decrees, which had been already ratified by the see of Rome against this heresy. And in his decretal epistle to Anastasius bishop of Thessalonica, he ordained that that bishop should hold two provincial councils every year, and refer the harder causes to the see of Rome: and if upon any extraordinary occasion it should be necessary to call a council, he should not be troublesome to the bishops under him, but content himself with two bishops out of every province, and not detain them above fifteen days. And in the same epistle he describes the form of church-government, then set up, to consist in a subordination of all the churches to the see of Rome: "*De quâ formâ,*" saith he, "*episcoporum quæ est orta distinctio; & magnâ dispositione provisum est, ne omnes sibi omnia vindicarent; sed essent in singulis Provinciis singuli*"

"*quorum*"

"*quorum inter fratres haberetur prima sententia; & rursus qui-* CHANGE OF
"*dam, in majoribus urbibus constituti, sollicitudinem sumerent am-* TIMES AND
"*pliolem; per quos ad unam Petri Sedem universalis ecclesiæ cura* LAWS.
"*conflueret, & nihil usque à suo capite dissideret. Qui ergo scit se*
"*quibusdam esse præpositum, non molestè ferat aliquem sibi esse præ-*
"*positum; sed obedientiam, quam exigit, etiam ipse dependat; et si-*
"*cut non vult gravis oneris sarcinam ferre, ita non audeat aliis*
"*importabile pondus imponere.*" These words sufficiently shew the monarchical form of government, then set up in the churches of the Western Empire under the bishop of Rome, by means of the imperial decree of Gratian, and the appeals and decretal epistles grounded thereupon.

XI. The same pope Leo, having in a council at Rome passed sentence upon Hilary bishop of Arles, for what he had done by a provincial council in Gallia, took occasion from thence to procure the following edict from the Western emperor Valentinian III. for establishing more absolutely the authority of his see over all the churches of the Western Empire.

*Impp. Theodosius & Valentinianus AA. Aetio Viro illustri, Comiti
& Magistro utriusque militiae & Patricio.*

"*Certum est, & nobis & imperio nostro unicum esse præsidium*
"*in supernæ Divinitatis favore; ad quem promerendum præcipue*
"*Christianæ fides, & veneranda nobis religio, suffragatur. Cum*
"*igitur Sedis Apostolicæ Primatum sancti Petri meritum, qui prin-*
"*ceps est episcopalis coronæ, & Romanæ dignitas civitatis, sacræ*
"*etiam Synodi firmavit auctoritas; ne quid præter auctoritatem*
"*Sedis istius illicitum præsumptio attemperare nitatur: tunc enim*
"*demum ecclesiarum pax ubique servabitur, si Rectorem suum ag-*
"*noscat Universitas. Hæc cum hætenus inviolabiliter fuerint cus-*
"*todita, Hilarius Arelatensis, sicut venerabilis viri Leonis Romani*
"*Papæ fideli relatione comperimus, contumaci ausu illicita quadam*
"*præsumenda tentavit; & ideo Transalpinas ecclesias abominabilis*
"*tumultus invasit; quod recens maxime testatur exemplum. Hi-*
"*larius enim, qui episcopus Arelatensis vocatur, ecclesiæ Romanæ*
"*urbis inconsulto Pontifice, indebitas sibi ordinationes episcoporum*"

Vol. V. A a a "fold

“*sola temeritate usurpans invasit. Nam alios incompetenter re-*
“*movit; indecenter alios, invitis & repugnantibus civibus, ordi-*
“*navit. Qui quidem, quoniam non facile, ab his qui non elegerant,*
“*recipiebantur; manum sibi contrabebat armatam, & clausura*
“*murorum in hostilem morem vel obsidione cingebat, vel aggressionem*
“*reſerabat, & ad sedem quietis, pacem predicaturus, per bella du-*
“*cebat. His talibus contra imperii majestatem, & contra reve-*
“*rentiam Apostolicæ Sedis admissis, per ordinem religiosi viri Urbis*
“*Papæ cognitione discussis, certa in eum, ex his quos male ordina-*
“*verat, lata sententia est. Erat quidem ipsa sententia per Gallias*
“*etiam sine Imperiali Sanctione valitura: quid enim Pontificis auc-*
“*toritate non liceret? Sed nostram quoque præceptionem hæc ratio*
“*provocavit. Nec ulterius vel Hilario, quem adhuc episcopum*
“*nuncupare sola mansueta Præſulis permittit humanitas, nec cui-*
“*quam alteri ecclesiasticis rebus arma miscere, aut præceptis Ro-*
“*mani Antistitis liceat obviare: ausibus enim talibus fides & reve-*
“*rentia nostri violatur Imperii. Nec hoc solum, quod est maximi*
“*criminis, submovemus: verum ne levis saltem inter ecclesias turba-*
“*nascatur, vel in aliquo minui religionis disciplina videatur, hoc*
“*perenni sanctione discernimus; nequid tam episcopis Gallicanis,*
“*quam aliarum Provinciarum, contra consuetudinem veterem li-*
“*ceat, sine viri venerabilis Papæ Urbis æternæ auctoritate, tentare.*
“*Sed illis omnibusque pro lege sit, quicquid sanxit vel sanxerit Apo-*
“*stolicæ Sedis auctoritas: ita ut quisquis episcoporum, ad judicium*
“*Romani Antistitis evocatus venire neglexerit, per Moderatorem*
“*ejusdem Provinciæ adesse cogatur; per omnia servatis, quæ Divi pa-*
“*rentes nostri Romanæ Ecclesiæ retulerunt, Aeti pater carissimæ*
“*Augusti. Unde illustris & præclara magnificentia tua præſentis*
“*Edictalis Legis auctoritate faciet, quæ sunt superius statuta servari;*
“*decem librarum auri multâ protinus exigendâ ab unoquoque ju-*
“*dice, qui passus fuerit præcepta nostra violari. Divinitas te servet*
“*per multos annos, parens carissime. Dat. viii. Id. Jun. Romæ,*
“*Valentiniano A. vi. Consule, A. C. 455.”* By this edict, the
emperor Valentinian enjoined an absolute obedience to the will of
the bishop of Rome, throughout all the churches of his empire;
and declares, that for the bishops to attempt any thing without
the pope's authority, is contrary to ancient custom; and that the
bishops

bishops summoned to appear before his judicature, must be carried thither by the governor of the province; and he ascribes these privileges of the see of Rome to the concessions of his dead ancestors; that is, to the edict of Gratian and Valentinian II. as above: by which reckoning, this dominion of the church of Rome was now of 66 years standing: and if in all this time it had not been sufficiently established, this new edict was enough to settle it, beyond all question, throughout the Western Empire.

XII. Hence all the bishops of the province of Arles, in their letter to pope Leo, A. C. 450, in petitioning the pope for a restitution of the privileges of their metropolitan, say: “*Per beatum*
“*Petrum, Apostolorum principem, sacrosancta ecclesia Romana tene-*
“*bat supra omnes totius mundi ecclesias principatum.*” And Ceretius, Salonius and Veranus, three bishops of Gallia, say, in their epistle to the same pope: “*Magnâ præterea & ineffabili quâdam nos, pe-*
“*culiaries tui, gratulatione succrescimus, quod illa specialis doctrinæ*
“*vestræ pagina ita per omnium ecclesiarum conventicula celebratur,*
“*ut verè consonâ omnium sententiâ declaretur, merito illic princi-*
“*patum Sedis Apostolicæ constitutum, unde adhuc apostolici spiritus*
“*oracula referuntur.*” And pope Leo himself, in his epistle to the metropolitan bishops throughout all Illyricum (*): “*Quia per om-*
“*nes ecclesias cura nostra distenditur; exigente hoc à nobis Domino,*
“*qui Apostolicæ dignitatis beatissimo Apostolo Petro primatum, fidei*
“*sui remuneratione commisit, universalem ecclesiam in fundamenti*
“*ipsius soliditate constituens.*”

XIII. While this ecclesiastical dominion was rising up, the northern barbarous nations invaded the Western Empire; and founded several kingdoms therein, of different religions from the church of Rome. But these kingdoms by degrees embraced the Roman faith, and at the same time submitted to the pope's authority. The Franks in Gaul submitted in the end of the fifth century; the Goths in Spain in the end of the sixth; and the Lombards in Italy were conquered by Charles the Great, A. C. 774. And between the years 775 and 794, the same Charles extended the pope's authority over all Germany and Hungary, as far to as the river Teis and the Baltic sea; and then set him above all human

judicature, and at the same time assisted him in subduing the city and duchy of Rome. By the conversion of the ten kingdoms to the Roman religion, the pope only enlarged his spiritual dominion, and did not yet rise up as a horn of the beast. It was his temporal dominion, which made him one of the horns: and this kingdom he acquired in the latter half of the eighth century, by subduing three of the former horns as above. And now being arrived at a temporal dominion, and a power above

- * Dan. vii. 20. all human judicature, he reigned “(a) with a look more stout than his fellows,—and times and laws were *henceforward* given.”
- * Ver. 25. “into his hands, for a time times and half a time (b),” or three times and a half; that is, for 1260 solar years, reckoning a time for a calendar year of 360 days, and a day for a solar year. After which “(c) the judgment is to fit, and they shall take away his dominion, *not at once, but by degrees*, to consume, and to destroy it unto the end.—(d) And the kingdom and dominion, and greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall, *by degrees*, be given unto the people of the saints of the most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.”

C H A P.

C H A P. IX.

Of the kingdoms represented in Daniel by the Ram and He-Goat.

THE second and third empires, represented by the Bear and Leopard, are again represented by the Ram and He-Goat; <sup>DANIEL'S
RAM AND
HE-GOAT.</sup> but with this difference, that the Ram represents the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians from the beginning of the four empires; and the Goat represents the kingdom of the Greeks to the end of them. By this means, under the type of the ram and he-goat, the times of all the four empires are again described: “(a) I ^{Chap. viii. 3.} lifted up mine eyes,” saith Daniel, “and saw, and behold there stood before the river [Ulai] a Ram which had two horns; and the two horns were high, but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last.—And the ram having two horns, are the kings of Media and Persia.” Not two persons, but two kingdoms, the kingdoms of Media and Persia; and the kingdom of Persia was the higher horn, and came up last. The kingdom of Persia rose up, when Cyrus having newly conquered Babylon, revolted from Darius king of the Medes, and beat him at Pasargadæ, and set up the Persians above the Medes. This was the horn which came up last. And the horn which came up first was the kingdom of the Medes, from the time that Cyaxares and Nebuchadnezzar overthrew Nineveh, and shared the empire of the Assyrians between them. The empires of Media and Babylon were contemporary, and rose up together by the fall of the Assyrian empire; and the prophecy of the four beasts begins with one of them, and that of the ram and he-goat with the other. And as the Ram represents the kingdom of Media and Persia from the beginning of the four empires; so the

the He-Goat represents the empire of the Greeks to the end of those monarchies. In the reign of his great horn, and of the four horns which succeeded it, he represents this empire during the reign of the Leopard: and in the reign of his little horn, which stood up in the latter time of the kingdom of the four, and after their fall became mighty, but not by his own power, he represents it during the reign of the fourth beast.

"II. The rough goat," saith Daniel, "is the king of Græcia, *that is, the kingdom*; and the great horn between his eyes is the "first king." Not the first monarch, but the first kingdom; that which lasted during the reign of Alexander the Great, and his brother Aridæus and two young sons, Alexander and Hercules. "(* Now that [*born*] being broken off, whereas four [*borns*] stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the "nation [*of the Greeks*], but not in his [*the first born's*] power." The four horns are therefore four kingdoms; and by consequence, the first great horn which they succeeded, is the first great kingdom of the Greeks; that which was founded by Alexander the Great, ann. Nabonass. 414, and lasted till the death of his son Hercules, ann. Nabonass. 441. And the four are those of Cassander, Lyfimachus, Antigonus, and Ptolemy, as above.

III. "And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king [*or new kingdom*] of fierce "countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand "up^(b): and his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power." This king was the last horn of the goat; the little horn which came up out of one of the four horns, and waxed exceeding great. The latter time of their kingdom, was when the Romans began to conquer them; that is, when they conquered Perseus king of Macedonia, the fundamental kingdom of the Greeks. And at that time the transgressors came to the full: for then the high-priesthood was exposed to sale; the vessels of the temple were sold to pay for the purchase; and the high-priest, with some of the Jews, procured a licence from Antiochus Epiphanes to do after the ordinances of the heathen; and set up a school at Jerusalem for teaching those ordinances. Then Antiochus took Jerusalem with an armed force; slew 4000 Jews; took as many prisoners

prisoners and sold them; spoiled the temple; interdicted the worship; commanded the law of Moses to be burnt; and set up the worship of the heathen gods in all Judea. In the very same year, ann. Nabonass. 580, the Romans conquered Macedonia, the chief of the four horns. Hitherto the goat was mighty by its own power; but henceforward began to be under the Romans. Daniel distinguishes the times, by describing very particularly the actions of the kings of the north and south, those two of the four horns which bordered upon Judea, until the Romans conquered Macedonia; and thenceforward only touching upon the main revolutions, which happened within the compass of the nations represented by the goat. In this latter period of time the little horn was to stand up and grow mighty, but not by his own power.

IV. The three first of Daniel's beasts had their dominions taken away, each of them at the rise of the next beast; but their lives were prolonged, and they are all of them still alive. The third beast, or leopard, reigned in his four heads, till the rise of the fourth beast, or empire of the Latins; and his life was prolonged under their power. This Leopard reigning in his four heads, signifies the same thing with the He-Goat reigning in his four horns: and therefore the He-Goat reigned in his four horns till the rise of Daniel's fourth beast, or empire of the Latins: then its dominion was taken away by the Latins, but its life was prolonged under their power. The Latins are not comprehended among the nations represented by the He-Goat in this prophecy: their power over the Greeks is only named in it, to distinguish the times in which the He-Goat was mighty by his own power, from the times in which he was mighty, but not by his own power. He was mighty by his own power till his dominion was taken away by the Latins; after that, his life was prolonged under their dominion, and this prolonging of his life was in the days of his last horn: for in the days of this horn the Goat became mighty, but not by his own power.

V. Now because this horn was a horn of the Goat; we are to look for it, among the nations which composed the body of the goat. Among those nations he was to rise up, and grow mighty: he grew.

CHAPTER
NINTH.
*Chap. viii. 9.

grew mighty “(“) towards the south, and towards the east, and “towards the pleasant land;” and therefore he was to rise up in the north-west parts of those nations, and extend his dominion towards Egypt, Syria, and Judea. In the latter time of the kingdom of the four horns, it was to rise up out of one of them and subdue the rest, but not by its own power. It was to be assisted by a foreign power, a power superior to itself; the power which took away the dominion of the third beast, the power of the fourth beast. And such a little horn was the kingdom of Macedonia, from the time that it became subject to the Romans. This kingdom, by the victory of the Romans over Perseus king of Macedonia, ann. Nabonass. 580, ceased to be one of the four horns of the goat, and became a dominion of a new sort: not a horn of the fourth beast, for Macedonia belonged to the body of the third; but a horn of the third beast of a new sort; a horn of the Goat which grew mighty, but not by his own power; a horn which rose up and grew potent under a foreign power, the power of the Romans.

VI. The Romans, by the legacy of Attalus, the last king of Pergamus, ann. Nabonass. 615, inherited that kingdom, including all Asia Minor on this side mount Taurus. Ann. Nabonass. 684 and 685 they conquered Armenia, Syria, and Judea; ann. Nabonass. 718, they subdued Egypt. And by these conquests the little horn “waxed exceeding great towards the south, and to-

*Chap. viii.
9-10.

wards the east, and towards the pleasant land.—(b) And it “waxed great even to the host of heaven; and cast down some “of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon “them,” that is, upon the people and great men of the Jews.

*Ver. 11.

“(c) Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host, “the Messiah, the prince of the Jews,” whom he put to death, ann. Nabonass. 780. “And by him the daily sacrifice was taken

*Ver. 12.

“away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down,” viz. in the wars, which the armies of the Eastern nations, under the conduct of the Romans, made against Judea, when Nero and Vespasian were emperors, ann. Nabonass. 816, 817, 818. “(d) And “an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of “transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and “it

“it practised and prospered.” This transgression is in the next words called “the transgression of desolation;” and in Dan. xi. 31. “the abomination which maketh desolate;” and in Matth. xxiv. 15. “the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel “the prophet, standing in the holy place.” It may relate chiefly to the worship of Jupiter Olympius in the temple built by the emperor Hadrian, in the place of the temple of the Jews, and to the revolt of the Jews under Barchochab occasioned thereby, and to the desolation of Judea which followed thereupon; all the Jews being thenceforward banished Judea upon pain of death. “(e) Then I heard,” saith Daniel, “one saint speak-^{Ver. 13, 14} ing, and another saint said unto him which spake, How “long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, and the “transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the “host to be trodden under feet? And he said unto me, Unto “two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctua- “ry be cleansed.” Daniel’s days are years; and these years may perhaps be reckoned either from the destruction of the temple by the Romans in the reign of Vespasian; or from the pollution of the sanctuary by the worship of Jupiter Olympius; or from the desolation of Judea made in the end of the Jewish war by the banishment of all the Jews out of their own country; or from some other period which time will discover. Henceforward the last horn of the Goat continued mighty under the Romans, till the reign of Constantine the Great and his sons: and then by the division of the Roman empire between the Greek and Latin emperors, it separated from the Latins, and became the Greek empire alone, but yet under the dominion of a Roman family; and at present it is mighty under the dominion of the Turks.

VII. This last horn is by some taken for Antiochus Epiphanes, but not very judiciously. A horn of a beast is never taken for a single person: it always signifies a new kingdom, and the kingdom of Antiochus was an old one. Antiochus reigned over one of the four horns, and the little horn was a fifth under its proper kings. This horn was at first a little one, and waxed exceeding great; and so did not Antiochus. It is described great above all the former horns; and so was not Antiochus. His

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king-

kingdom, on the contrary, was weak, and tributary to the Romans, and he did not enlarge it. The horn was a "king of fierce countenance, and destroyed wonderfully, and prospered and practised;" that is, he prospered in his practices against the holy people: but Antiochus was frightened out of Egypt by a mere message of the Romans, and afterwards routed and baffled by the Jews. The horn was mighty by another's power; Antiochus acted by his own. The horn stood up against the prince of the host of heaven, the prince of princes; and this is the character not of Antiochus, but of Antichrist. The horn cast down the sanctuary to the ground; and so did not Antiochus; he left it standing. The sanctuary and host were trampled under foot 2300 days; and in Daniel's prophecies days are put for years: but the profanation of the temple in the reign of Antiochus did not last so many natural days. These were to last till the time of the end, till the last end of the indignation against the Jews; and this indignation is not yet at an end. They were to last till the sanctuary which had been cast down should be cleansed; and the sanctuary is not yet cleansed.

VIII. This prophecy of the Ram and He-Goat is repeated in the last prophecy of Daniel. There the angel tells Daniel (*), that "he stood up to strengthen Darius the Mede, and that there should stand up yet three kings in Persia [Cyrus, Cambyſes, and Darius Hystaspis], and the fourth [Xerxes] should be far richer than they all; and by his wealth through his riches he should stir up all against the realm of Grecia." This relates to the Ram, whose two horns were the kingdoms of Media and Persia. Then he goes on to describe the horns of the goat by the " (b) standing up of a mighty king, which should rule with great dominion, and do according to his will;" and by the breaking of his kingdom into four smaller kingdoms, and not descending to his own posterity. Then he describes the actions of two of those kingdoms, which bordered on Judea, viz. Egypt and Syria, calling them the kings of the South and North, that is, in respect of Judea; and he carries on the description till the latter end of the kingdoms of the four, and till the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, when transgressors were come to the full.

In

In the eighth year of Antiochus, the year in which he profaned the temple and set up the heathen gods in all Judea, and the Romans conquered the kingdom of Macedon; the prophetic angel leaves off describing the affairs of the kings of the South and North, and begins to describe those of the Greeks under the dominion of the Romans, in these words: " (a) And after him Arms [the Romans] shall stand up, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength." As מלך signifies "after the king" (Dan. xi. 8); so here ממנו may signify "after him:" and so מדרגתם may signify "after one of them" [Dan. viii. 9.] Arms are every where in these prophecies of Daniel put for the military power of a kingdom, and they stand up when they conquer and grow powerful. The Romans conquered Illyricum, Nabonass. 580; and thirty-five years after, by the last will and testament of Attalus, the last king of Pergamus, they inherited that rich and flourishing kingdom, that is, all Asia on this side mount Taurus: and sixty-nine years after, they conquered the kingdom of Syria, and reduced it into a province: and thirty-four years after they did the like to Egypt. By all these steps the Roman arms stood up over the Greeks. And after 95 years more, by making war upon the Jews, "they polluted the sanctuary of strength, and took away the daily sacrifice, and, in its room soon after, placed the abomination which made the land desolate:" for this abomination was placed after the days of Christ (Matth. xxiv. 15.) In the 16th year of the emperor Hadrian, A. C. 132, they placed this abomination by building a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, where the temple of God in Jerusalem had stood. Thereupon the Jews, under the conduct of Barchochab, rose up in arms against the Romans, and in that war had 50 cities demolished, 985 of their best towns destroyed, and 580000 men slain by the sword: and in the end of the war, A. C. 136, they were all banished Judea upon pain of death; and that time the land hath remained desolate of its old inhabitants.

IX. Now that the prophetic angel passes in this manner from the four kingdoms of the Greeks to the Romans reigning over the Greeks, is confirmed from hence; that in the next place he describes the affairs of the Christians unto the time of the end, in

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these

* Chap. xi.
33, &c.

these words: “(a) “And they that understand among the people shall instruct many; yet they shall fall by the sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil many days. Now when they shall fall they shall be holpen with a little help,” viz. in the reign of Constantine the Great; “but many shall cleave to them with dissimulation. And some of them of understanding there shall fall to try them, and to purge *them from the dissemblers*; and to make them white even to the time of the end.” And a little after, the time of the end is said to be “a time, times, and half a time:” which is the duration of the reign of the last horn of Daniel’s fourth beast, and of the Woman and her Beast in the Apocalyps.

C H A P. X.

Of the prophecy of the Seventy Weeks.

CHAPTER
TENTH.

THE vision of the image composed of four metals was given first to Nebuchadnezzar, and then to Daniel, in a dream: and Daniel began then to be celebrated for revealing of secrets (Ezek. xxviii. 3.) The vision of the Four Beasts, and of the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven, was also given to Daniel in a dream. That of the Ram and He-Goat appeared to him in the day-time, when he was by the bank of the river Ulay; and was explained to him by the prophetic angel Gabriel.

(a) *Cut upon.* A phrase in Hebrew, taken from the practice of numbering by cutting notches.
(b) Heb. *To seal*, i. e. to finish or consummate: a metaphor taken from sealing what is finished. So the Jews compute, *ad obignatum Misna*, *ad obignatum Talmud*, that is, *ad absolutum*.

It concerns the Prince of the Host, and the Prince of Princes: DANIEL’S SEVENTY WEEKS. and now in the first year of Darius the Mede over Babylon, the same prophetic angel appears to Daniel again, and explains to him what is meant by the Son of man, by the Prince of the host, and the Prince of princes. The prophecy of the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven, relates to the second coming of Christ; that of the Prince of the host, relates to his first coming: and this prophecy of the Messiah, in explaining them, relates to both comings, and assigns the times thereof.

II. This prophecy, like all the rest of Daniel’s, consists of two parts, an introductory prophecy, and an explanation thereof; the whole I thus translate and interpret.

III. “(c) Seventy weeks are (α) cut out upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish transgression, and (β) to make an end of sins, to expiate iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, to consummate the vision and (γ) the prophet, and to anoint the most Holy.”

“Know also and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to cause to return and to build Jerusalem, unto (δ) the Anointed the Prince, shall be seven weeks.

“Yet threescore and two weeks shall (ε) it return, and the street be built and the wall; but in troublesome times: and after the threescore and two weeks, the Anointed shall be cut off, and (ε) it shall not be his; but the people of a prince to come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary: and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war, desolations are determined.

“Yet shall he confirm the covenant with many for one week: and in half a week he shall cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease: and upon a wing of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that which is determined be poured upon the desolate.”

(γ) Heb. *The Prophet*, not the prophecy.

(δ) Heb. *The Messiah*, that is, in Greek, the Christ; in English, the Anointed. I use the English word, that the relation of this clause to the former may appear.

(ε) Jerusalem.

“Seventy

IV. "Seventy weeks are cut out upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish transgression, &c." Here, by putting a week for seven years, as in Gen. xxix. 17, 18. are reckoned 490 years from the time that the dispersed Jews should be re-incorporated into (*) a people and a holy city, until the death and resurrection of Christ; "whereby transgression should be finished, and sins ended, iniquity be expiated, and everlasting righteousness brought in, and this vision be accomplished, and the prophet consummated;" that Prophet whom the Jews expected, and whereby the most Holy should be anointed; he who is therefore in the next words called the Anointed, that is, the Messiah, or the Christ. For by joining the accomplishment of the vision with the expiation of sins, the 490 years are ended with the death of Christ. Now the dispersed Jews became a people and city when they first returned into a polity or body politic; and this was in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, when Ezra returned with a body of Jews from captivity, and revived the Jewish worship; and by the king's commission created magistrates in all the land, to judge and govern the people according to the laws of God and the king (Ezra vii. 25.) There were but two returns from captivity, Zerubbabel's and Ezra's; in Zerubbabel's they had only commission to build the temple, in Ezra's they became a polity or city by a government of their own. Now the years of this Artaxerxes began about two or three months after the summer solstice, and his seventh year fell in with the third year of the eightieth olympiad; and the latter part thereof, wherein Ezra went up to Jerusalem, was in the year of the Julian Period 4257. Count the time from thence to the death of Christ, and you will find it just 490 years. If you count in Judaic years, commencing in autumn, and date the reckoning from the first autumn after Ezra's coming to Jerusalem. when he put the king's decree in execution; the death of Christ will fall on the year of the Julian Period 4747, anno Domini 34; and the weeks will be Judaic weeks, ending with sabbatical years; and this I take to be the truth: but if you had rather place the death of Christ in the year before, as is commonly done, you may take the year of Ezra's journey into the reckoning.

"Know

V. "Know also and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to cause to return and to build Jerusalem, unto the Anointed the Prince, shall be seven weeks." The former part of the prophecy related to the first coming of Christ, being dated to his coming as a prophet; this being dated to his coming to be prince or king, seems to relate to his second coming. There, the prophet was consummate, and the most Holy anointed: here, he that was anointed comes to be prince and to reign. For Daniel's prophecies reach to the end of the world; and there is scarce a prophecy in the Old Testament concerning Christ, which doth not in something or other relate to his second coming. If divers of the antients, as (a) Irenæus, (b) Julius Africanus, Hippolytus the Martyr, and Apollinaris bishop of Laodicea, applied the half week to the times of Antichrist; why may not we, by the same liberty of interpretation, apply the seven weeks to the time when Antichrist shall be destroyed by the brightness of Christ's coming?

VI. The Israelites in the days of the antient prophets, when the ten tribes were led into captivity, expected a double return; and that at the first the Jews should build a new temple inferior to Solomon's, until the time of that age should be fulfilled; and afterwards they should return from all places of their captivity, and build Jerusalem and the temple gloriously (Tobit xiv. 4, 5, 6): and to express the glory and excellence of this city, it is figuratively said to be built of precious stones (Tobit xiii. 16, 17, 18. Isa. liv. 11, 12. Rev. xi.) and called the New Jerusalem, the Heavenly Jerusalem, the Holy City, the Lamb's Wife, the City of the Great King, the City into which the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour. Now while such a return from captivity was the expectation of Israel, even before the times of Daniel, I know not why Daniel should omit it in his prophecy. This part of the prophecy being therefore not yet fulfilled, I shall not attempt a particular interpretation of it, but content myself with observing, that as the seventy and the sixty-two weeks were Jewish weeks, ending with sabbatical years; so the seven weeks are the compass of a Jubilee, and begin and end with actions proper for a Jubilee, and of the highest nature.

for which a Jubilee can be kept: and that since the commandment to return and to build Jerusalem, precedes the Messiah the Prince 49 years; it may perhaps come forth not from the Jews themselves, but from some other kingdom friendly to them, and precede their return from captivity, and give occasion to it; and, lastly, that this rebuilding of Jerusalem and the waste places of Judah is predicted in Micah vii. 11. Amos ix. 11, 14. Ezek. xxxvi. 33, 35, 36, 38. Isa. liv. 3, 11, 12. lv. 12. lxi. 4. lxv. 18, 21, 22. and Tobit xiv. 5. and that the return from captivity and coming of the Messiah and his kingdom are described in Daniel vii. Rev. xix. Acts i. Matth. xxiv. Joel iii. Ezek. xxxvi. xxxvii. Isa. lx. lxii. lxiii. lxv. and lxvi. and many other places of scripture. The manner I know not. Let time be the interpreter.

VII. "Yet threescore and two weeks shall it return, and the street be built and the wall, but in troublesome times: and after the threescore and two weeks the Messiah shall be cut off, and it shall not be his; but the people of a prince to come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, &c." Having foretold both comings of Christ, and dated the last from their returning and building Jerusalem; to prevent the applying that to the building Jerusalem by Nehemiah, he distinguishes this from that, by saying that from this period to the Anointed shall be, not seven weeks, but threescore and two weeks, and this not in prosperous but in troublesome times; and at the end of these weeks the Messiah shall not be the prince of the Jews, but be cut off; and Jerusalem not be his, but the city and sanctuary be destroyed. Now Nehemiah came to Jerusalem in the 20th year of this same Artaxerxes, while Ezra still continued there (Nehem. xii. 36.) and found the city lying waste, and the houses and wall unbuilt, (Nehem. ii. 17. vii. 4.) and finished the wall the 25th day of the month Elul (Nehem. vi. 15.) in the 28th year of the king, that is, in September, in the year of the Julian Period 4278. Count now from this year threescore and two weeks of years, that is 434 years, and the reckoning will end in September in the year of the Julian Period 4712, which is the year in which Christ was born, according to Clemens Alexandrinus, Irenæus,

(a) Iren. l. 5. Hæc. c. 25.

(b) Apud Hieron. in h. l.

Eusebius,

Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome, Orosius, Cassiodorus, and other antients: for this was the general opinion, till Dionysius Exiguus invented the vulgar account, in which Christ's birth is placed two years later. If with some you reckon that Christ was born three or four years before the vulgar account; yet his birth will fall in the latter part of the last week, which is enough. How after these weeks Christ was cut off, and the city and sanctuary destroyed by the Romans, is well known.

VI. "Yet shall he confirm the covenant with many for one week." For he kept it, notwithstanding his death, till the rejection of the Jews, and calling of Cornelius and the Gentiles in the seventh year after his passion.

VII. "And in half a week he shall cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease;" that is, by the war of the Romans upon the Jews: which war, after some commotions, began in the 13th year of Nero, A. D. 67, in spring, when Vespasian with an army invaded them; and ended in the second year of Vespasian, A. D. 70, in autumn, Sept. 7, when Titus took the city, having burnt the temple 27 days before: so that it lasted three years and an half.

VIII. "And upon a wing of abominations he shall cause desolation, even until the consummation, and that which is determined be poured upon the desolate." The prophets, in representing kingdoms by beasts and birds, put their wings, stretched out over any country, for their armies sent out to invade and rule over that country. Hence a wing of abominations is an army of false gods: for an abomination is often put in scripture for a false god; as where Chemosh is called the abomination of Moab, and Molech the abomination of Ammon. The meaning therefore is, that the people of a prince to come shall destroy the sanctuary, and abolish the daily worship of the true God, and overspread the land with an army of false gods; and by setting up their dominion and worship, cause desolation to the Jews, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled. For Christ tells us, that the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel was to be set up in the times of the Roman Empire (Matth. xxiv. 15.)

IX. Thus have we in this short prophecy, a prediction of all the main periods relating to the coming of the Messiah: the time of his birth; that of his death; that of the rejection of the Jews; the duration of the Jewish war, whereby he caused the city and sanctuary to be destroyed; and the time of his second coming: and so the interpretation here given is more full and complete and adequate to the design, than if we should restrain it to his first coming only, as interpreters usually do. We avoid also the doing violence to the language of Daniel, by taking the seven weeks and sixty-two weeks for one number. Had that been Daniel's meaning, he would have said sixty and nine weeks, and not seven weeks and sixty-two weeks; a way of numbering used by no nation. In our way the years are Jewish luni-solar years, as they ought to be; and the seventy weeks of years are Jewish weeks ending with sabbatical years, which is very remarkable. For they end either with the year of the birth of Christ, two years before the vulgar account, or with the year of his death, or with the seventh year after it: all which are sabbatical years. Others either count by lunar years, or by weeks not Judaic: and, which is worst, they ground their interpretations on erroneous chronology, excepting the opinion of Funcius about the seventy weeks, which is the same with ours. For they place Ezra and Nehemiah in the reign of Artaxerxes Mneumon, and the building of the temple in the reign of Darius Nothus, and date the weeks of Daniel from those two reigns.

X. The grounds of the chronology here followed, I will now set down as briefly as I can.

The Peloponnesian war began in spring, ann. 1. olymp. 87; as Diodorus, Eusebius, and all other authors agree. It began two months before Pythodorus ceased to be archon (Thucyd. l. 2.) that is, in April, two months before the end of the olympic year. And the years of this war are most certainly determined by the 50 years distance of its first year from the transit of Xerxes inclusively; (Thucyd. l. 2.) or 48 years exclusively; (Eratosth. apud Clem. Alex.) by the 69 years distance of its end, or 27th year, from the beginning of Alexander in Greece; by the acting of the olympic games in its 4th and 12th years; (Thucyd. l.

5.) and by three eclipses of the sun, and one of the moon, mentioned by Thucydides and Xenophon. Now Thucydides, an unquestionable witness, tells us, that the news of the death of Artaxerxes Longimanus was brought to Ephesus, and from thence by some Athenians to Athens, in the 7th year of this Peloponnesian war, when the winter half year was running; and therefore he died ann. 4. olymp. 88, in the end of ann. J. P. 4289, suppose a month or two before mid-winter; for so long the news would be in coming. Now Artaxerxes Longimanus reigned 40 years, by the consent of Diodorus, Eusebius, Jerome, Sulpitius; or 41, according to Ptol. in can. Clem. Alexand. l. 1. Strom. Chron. Alexand. Abulpharagius, Nicephorus, including therein the reign of his successors Xerxes and Sogdian, as Abulpharagius informs us. After Artaxerxes reigned his son Xerxes two months, and Sogdian seven months; but their reign is not reckoned apart in summing up the years of the kings, but is included in the 40 or 41 years reign of Artaxerxes: omit these nine months, and the precise reign of Artaxerxes will be thirty-nine years and three months. And therefore since his reign ended in the beginning of winter, ann. J. P. 4289, it began between midsummer and autumn, ann. J. P. 4250.

XI. The same thing I gather also thus. Cambyfes began his reign in spring, ann. J. P. 4185, and reigned eight years, including the five months of Smerdes; and then Darius Hystaspis began in spring, ann. J. P. 4193, and reigned thirty-six years, by the unanimous consent of all chronologers. The reigns of these two kings are determined by three eclipses of the moon observed at Babylon, and recorded by Ptolemy; so that it cannot be disputed. One was in the seventh year of Cambyfes, ann. J. P. 4191, Jul. 16, at 11 at night; another in the 20th year of Darius, ann. J. P. 4212, Nov. 19, at 11^h. 45'. at night; a third in the 31st year of Darius, ann. J. P. 4223, Apr. 25, at 11^h. 30 at night. By these eclipses, and the prophecies of Haggai and Zachary compared together, it is manifest that his years began after the 24th day of the 11th Jewish month, and before the 25th day of April, and by consequence about March. Xerxes therefore began in spring, ann. J. P. 4229: for Darius

died in the fifth year after the battle at Marathon, as Herodotus, lib. 7, and Plutarch mention; and that battle was in October, ann. J. P. 4224, ten years before the battle at Salamis. Xerxes therefore began within less than a year after October, ann. J. P. 4228, suppose in the spring following: for he spent his first five years, and something more, in preparations for his expedition against the Greeks; and this expedition was in the time of the olympic games, ann. 1. olymp. 75, *Calliade Atbenis Archonte*; 28 years after the Regifuge, and consulship of the first consul Junius Brutus, *anno urbis conditæ* 273, *Fabio & Furio Coss.* The passage of Xerxes's army over the Hellespont began in the end of the fourth year of the 74th olympiad, that is, in June, ann. J. P. 4234, and took up one month: and in autumn, after three months more, on the full moon, *die 16 Munychionis, plenilunio*, was the battle at Salamis; and a little after that an eclipse of the sun, which by the calculation fell on Oct. 2. His sixth year therefore began a little before June, suppose in spring, ann. J. P. 4234; and his first year consequently in spring, ann. J. P. 4229, as above. Now he reigned almost twenty-one years, by the consent of all writers. Add the 7 months of Artabanus, and the sum will be 21 years and about four or five months; which end between Midsummer and autumn, ann. J. P. 4250. At this time therefore began the reign of his successor Artaxerxes, as was to be proved.

XII. The same thing is also confirmed by Julius Africanus; who informs us out of former writers, that the 20th year of this Artaxerxes was the 115th year from the beginning of the reign of Cyrus in Persia, and fell in with ann. 4. olymp. 83. It began therefore with the olympic year, soon after the summer solstice, ann. J. P. 4269. Subtract nineteen years, and his first year will begin at the same time of the year, ann. J. P. 4250, as above.

XIII. His 7th year therefore began after Midsummer, ann. J. P. 4256; and the journey of Ezra to Jerusalem, in the spring following, fell on the beginning of ann. J. P. 4257, as above.

CHRONOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS UPON THE FOREGOING
INTERPRETATION.

DANIEL'S
SEVENTY
WEEKS.

I.

That the years used by DANIEL are Jewish lunifolar years.

1. THE antient solar years of the eastern nations consisted of 12 months, and every month of 30 days: and hence came the division of a circle into 360 degrees. This year seems to be used by Moses, in his history of the Flood: and by John, in the Apocalypse; where a time, times and half a time, 42 months, and 1260 days, are put equipollent. But in reckoning by many of these years together an account is to be kept of the odd days, which were added to the end of these years. For the Egyptians added five days to the end of this year; and so did the Chaldeans long before the times of Daniel, as appears by the æra of Nabonassar: and the Persian Magi used the same year of 365 days, till the empire of the Arabians. The antient Greeks also used the same solar year of 12 equal months, or 360 days; but every other year added an intercalary month, consisting of 10 and 11 days alternately.

2. The year of the Jews, even from their coming out of Egypt, was luni-solar. It was solar; for the harvest always followed the Passover, and the fruits of the land were always gathered before the feast of Tabernacles (Levit. xxiii.) But the months were lunar; for the people were commanded by Moses in the beginning of every month to blow with trumpets, and offer burnt-offerings with their drink-offerings (Num. x. 10. xxviii. 11, 14.) and this solemnity was kept on the new moons (Psal. lxxxi. 3, 4, 5. 1 Chron. xxiii. 31.) These months were called by Moses the first, second, third, fourth month, &c. and the first month was also called Abib, the second Zif, the seventh Ethanim, the eighth Bull (Exod. xiii. 4. 1 Kings vi. 37, 38. viii. 2.) But in the Babylonian captivity the Jews used the names of the Chaldean

Chaldean months, and by those names understood the months of their own year; so that the Jewish months then lost their old names, and are now called by those of the Chaldeans.

3. The Jews began their civil year from the autumnal equinox, and their sacred year from the vernal: and the first year of the first month was on the visible new moon, which was nearest the equinox.

4. Whether Daniel used the Chaldaic or Jewish year, is not very material; the difference being but six hours in a year, and 4 months in 480 years. But I take his months to be Jewish: first, because Daniel was a Jew; and the Jews even by the names of the Chaldean months understood the months of their own year: secondly, because this prophecy is grounded on Jeremiah's concerning the 70 years captivity, and therefore must be understood of the same sort of years with the seventy; and those are Jewish, since that prophecy was given in Judea before the captivity: and, lastly, because Daniel reckons by weeks of years, which is a way of reckoning peculiar to the Jewish years. For as their days ran by sevens, and the last day of every seven was a sabbath; so their years ran by sevens, and the last year of every seven was a sabbatical year, and such seven weeks of years made a Jubilee.

II.

That EZRA and NEHEMIAH flourished under ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS.

1. For clearing up the history of the Jews, contained in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, I lay down the following considerations.

2. First, that the book of Nehemiah, from the fifth verse of the seventh chapter to the ninth verse of the twelfth chapter, was copied by Nehemiah out of the chronicles of the Jews; and contains the history of the Jews at their return from captivity under Zerubbabel, in the first year of Cyrus. For this will appear

pear by reading the place, and considering that the men who sealed the covenant in the 24th day of the seventh month, were the very same with the men who returned from captivity with Zerubbabel in the first year of Cyrus, as you may perceive by the following comparison of their names.

Here should follow the comparison of the names, which is wanting in the MS. but the defect may be supplied from the Chronology, chap. VI. § XI.

3. Secondly, I consider that soon after these things the temple was finished in the sixth year of Darius Hystaspis. For it was finished in the high-priesthood of Jeshuah; and Jeshuah was not long-lived beyond the usual age of men; for he out-lived not the age of his contemporaries. For in the first year of Cyrus, the chief-priests were Serajah, Jeremiah, Ezra, Amariah, Malluch, Shemaiah, Rehum, Meremoth, Iddo, Ginetho, Abijah, Miamin, Maadiah, Bilgah, Shemaiah, Jojarib, Jedaiah, Sallu, Amock, Hilkiyah, Jedaiah; and the eldest sons of them all (Merajah the son of Serajah, Hananiah the son of Jeremiah, Meshullam the son of Ezra) were chief-priests in the days of Jojakim the son of Jeshuah (Nehem. xii.) and therefore the high-priesthood of Jeshuah was but of an ordinary length. *****

Much seems wanting; but the defect may be supplied from Chronology, chap. VI. § X—XVI.

C H A P. XI.

Of the times of the birth and passion of Christ.

CHAPTER
ELEVENTH.

THE times of the birth and passion of Christ, with such like niceties, being not material to religion, were little regarded by the Christians of the first age. They who began first to celebrate them, placed them in the cardinal periods of the year; as the annunciation of the Virgin Mary, on the 25th of March, which, when Julius Cæsar corrected the calendar, was the vernal equinox; the feast of John Baptist on the 24th of June, which was the summer solstice; the feast of St. Michael on Sept. 29, which was the autumnal equinox; and the birth of Christ on the winter solstice, Decemb. 25, with the feasts of St. Stephen, St. John and the Innocents, as near it as they could place them. And because the solstice in time removed from the 25th of December to the 24th, the 23d, the 22d, and so on backwards; hence some in the following centuries placed the birth of Christ on Decemb. 23, and at length on Decemb. 20: and for the same reason they seem to have set the feast of St. Thomas on Decemb. 21, and that of St. Matthew on Sept. 21. So also at the entrance of the sun into all the signs in the Julian calendar, they placed the days of other saints; as the conversion of Paul on Jan. 25, when the sun entered ♈; St. Matthias on Feb. 25, when ☉ entered ♈; St. Mark on Apr. 25, when ☉ entered ♈; Corpus Christi on May 26, when ☉ entered ♈; St. James on July 25, when ☉ entered ♈; St. Bartholomew on Aug. 24, when ☉ entered ♈; Simon and Jude on Octob. 28, when ☉ entered ♈: and if there were any other remarkable days in the Julian calendar, they placed the saints upon them; as St. Barnabas on June 11, where Ovid seems to place the feast of Vesta and Fortuna, and the goddess Matuta; and St. Philip and James

James on the first of May, a day dedicated both to the *Bona Dea*, NATIVITY or *Magna Mater*, and to the goddess Flora, and still celebrated AND with her rites. All which shews, that these days were fixed in the first Christian calendar by mathematicians at pleasure, without any ground in tradition; and that the Christians afterwards took up with what they found in the calendars.

II. Neither was there any certain tradition about the years of Christ. For the Christians who first began to enquire into these things, as Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Tertullian, Julius Africanus, Lactantius, Jerome, St. Austin, Sulpicius Severus, Prosper, and as many as place the death of Christ in the 15th or 16th year of Tiberius, make Christ to have preached but one year, or at most but two. At length Eusebius discovered four successive passovers in the gospel of John, and thereupon set on foot an opinion that he preached three years and an half; and so died in the 19th year of Tiberius. Others afterwards, finding the opinion that he died in the equinox, Mar. 25, more consonant to the times of the Jewish passover, in the 17th and 20th years, have placed his death in one of those two years. Neither is there any greater certainty in the opinions about the time of his birth. The first Christians placed his baptism near the beginning of the 15th year of Tiberius; and thence reckoning thirty years backwards, placed his birth in the 43d Julian year, the 42d of Augustus, and 28th of the Actiac victory. This was the opinion which obtained in the first ages; till Dionysius Exiguus, placing the baptism of Christ in the 16th year of Tiberius, and misinterpreting the text of Luke iii. 23, as if Jesus was only beginning to be 30 years old when he was baptized, invented the vulgar account, in which his birth is placed two years later than before. So then as to these things, there is nothing in tradition worth considering; and therefore laying aside these prejudices, let us see whether any thing can be gathered from records of good account.

III. The fifteenth year of Tiberius began Aug. 28, ann. J. P. 4727. So soon as the winter was over, and the weather became warm enough, we may reckon that John began to baptize; and that before next winter his fame went abroad, and all the people

came to his baptism, and Jesus among the rest. Whence the first passover after his baptism, mentioned John ii. 13, was in the 16th year of Tiberius. After this feast Jesus came into the land of Judea, and staid there baptizing, whilst John was baptizing in Enon (John iii. 22, 23.) But when he heard that John was cast into prison, he departed into Galilee (Matth. iv. 12.) being afraid, because the Pharisees had heard that he baptized more disciples than John (John iv. 1.) and in his journey he passed through Samaria four months before the harvest (John iv. 35.) that is, about the time of the winter solstice. For their harvest was between Easter and Whitsunday, and began about a month after the vernal equinox. "Say not ye," saith he, "there are yet four months, and then cometh harvest? Behold I say unto you, lift up your eyes, and look on the fields, for they are white already to harvest;" meaning, that the people in the fields were ready for the gospel, as his next words shew (a).

John
(a) I observe, that Christ and his forerunner John in their parabolical discourses were wont to allude to things present. The old prophets, when they would describe things emphatically, did not only draw parables from things which offered themselves, as from the rent of a garment (1 Sam. xv.) from the sabbatic year (Isa. xxxvii.) from the vessels of a potter (Jer. xviii, &c.) but also when such subjects were wanting, they supplied them by their own actions, as by rending a garment (1 Kings xi.) by shooting (2 Kings xiii.) by making bare their body (Isa. xx.) by imposing significant names to their sons (Isa. viii. Hof. i.) by hiding a girdle in the bank of Euphrates (Jer. xiii.) by breaking a potter's vessel (Jer. xix.) by potting on fetters and yokes (Jer. xxvii.) by binding a book to a stone, and casting them both into Euphrates (Jer. li.) by besieging a painted city (Ezek. iv.) by dividing hair into three parts (Ezek. v.) by making a chain (Ezek. vii.) by carrying out household stuff like a captive and trembling (Ezek. xii, &c.) By such kind of types the prophets loved to speak. And Christ being endued with a nobler prophetic spirit than the rest, excelled also in this kind of speaking; yet so as not to speak by his own actions; that was less grave and decent; but to turn into parables such things as offered themselves. On occasion of the harvest approaching, he admonishes his disciples once and again of the spiritual harvest (John iv. 35: Matth. ix. 37.) Seeing the lilies of the field, he admonishes his disciples about gay clothing (Matth. vi. 28.) In allusion to the present season of fruits, he admonishes his disciples about knowing men by their fruits (Matth. vii. 16.) In the time of the passover, when trees put forth leaves, he bids his disciples learn a parable from "the fig-tree: when its branch is yet tender and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh, &c." (Matth. xxiv. 32. Luke xxi. 29.) The same day, alluding both to the season of the year and to his passion, which was to be two days after, he formed a parable of the time of fruits approaching, and the murdering of the heir (Matth. xxi. 33.) At the same time alluding both to the money-changers whom he had newly driven out of the temple, and to his passion at hand; he made a parable of a nobleman going into a far country to receive a kingdom and return, and delivering his goods to his servants, and at his return condemning the slothful servant because he put not his money to the exchangers (Matth. xxv. 14. Luke xix. 12.) Being near the temple where sheep were kept in folds to be sold for the sacrifices, he spake many things parabolically of sheep, of the shepherd, and of the door of the sheep-fold; and discovers that he alluded to the sheep-fold, which were to be hired in the market-place, by speaking of

John therefore was imprisoned about November, in the 17th year of Tiberius; and Christ thereupon went from Judea to Cana of Galilee in December, and was received there of the Galileans, who had seen all he did at Jerusalem at the passover: and when a nobleman of Capernaum heard he was returned into Galilee, and went to him, and desired him to come and cure his son; he went not thither yet, but only said, "Go thy way, thy son liveth; and the nobleman returned and found it so, and believed, he and his house," (John iv.) This is the beginning of his miracles in Galilee; and thus far John is full and distinct in relating the actions of his first year, omitted by the other evangelists. The rest of his history is from this time related more fully by the other evangelists than by John; for what they relate he omits.

IV. From this time therefore Jesus taught in the synagogues of Galilee on the sabbath-days, being glorified of all: and coming to his own city Nazareth, and preaching in their synagogue,

of such folds as a thief could not enter by the door, nor the shepherd himself open, but a porter opened to the shepherd (John x. 1, 3.) Being in the mount of Olives (Matth. xxxvi. 30. John xiv. 31.) a place so fertile that it could not want vines, he spake many things mystically of the husbandman, and of the vine and its branches (John xv.) Meeting a blind man, he admonished of spiritual blindness (John ix. 39.) At the sight of little children, he described once and again the innocence of the elect (Matth. xviii. 2, xix. 13.) Knowing that Lazarus was dead and should be raised again, he discoursed of the resurrection and life eternal (John xi. 25, 26.) Hearing of the slaughter of some whom Pilate had slain, he admonished of eternal life (Luke xiii. 1.) To his fishermen he spake of fishers of men (Matth. iv. 10.) and composed another parable about fishes (Matth. xiii. 47.) Being by the temple, he spake of the temple of his body (John ii. 19.) At supper he spake a parable about the mystical supper to come in the kingdom of heaven (Luke xiv.) On occasion of temporal food, he admonished his disciples of spiritual food, and of eating his flesh and drinking his blood mystically (John vi. 27, 53.) When his disciples wanted bread, he bad them beware of the leaven of the Pharisees (Matth. xvi. 6.) Being desired to eat, he answered that he had other meat (John iv. 31.) In the great day of the feast of tabernacles, when the Jews, as their custom was, brought a great quantity of waters from the river Shiloah into the temple, Christ stood and cried, saying, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth in me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water" (John vii. 37.) The next day, in allusion to the servants who, by reason of the sabbatical year, were newly set free, he saith, "If he continue in my word, the truth shall make you free." Which the Jews understanding literally with respect to the present manumission of servants, answered, "We be Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man: how sayest thou, ye shall be made free?" (John viii.) They assert their freedom by a double argument: first, because they were the seed of Abraham, and therefore newly made free, had they been even in bondage; and then, because they never were in bondage. In the last passover, when Herod led his army through Judea against Aretas king of Arabia, because Aretas was aggressor and the stronger in military forces, as appeared by the event; Christ alluding to that state of things, composed the parable of a weaker king leading his army against a stronger, who made war upon him (Luke xiv. 31.) And I doubt not but divers other parables were formed upon other occasions, the history of which we have not.

they were offended, and thrust him out of the city, and led him to the brow of the hill on which the city was built to cast him headlong; but he, passing through the midst of them, went his way, and came and dwelt at Capernaum (Luke iv.) And by this time we may reckon the second passover was either past or at hand.

V. All this time Matthew passeth over in few words, and here begins to relate the preaching and miracles of Christ. "When," saith he, "had heard that John was cast into prison, he departed into Galilee; and leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt at Capernaum, and from that time began to preach, and say, Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Matth. iv. 12.) Afterwards he called his disciples Peter, Andrew, James and John; and then "went about all Galilee, teaching in the synagogues,—and healing all manner of sickness:—and his fame went throughout all Syria; and they brought unto him all sick people,—and there followed him great multitudes of people from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Jerusalem, and from Judea, and from beyond Jordan" (Matth. iv. 18, 25.) All this was done before the sermon in the mount: and therefore we may certainly reckon, that the second passover was past before the preaching of that sermon. The multitudes, that followed him from Jerusalem and Judea, shew that he had lately been there at the feast. The sermon in the mount was made when great multitudes came to him from all places, and followed him in the open fields; which is an argument of the summer-season: and in this sermon he pointed at the lilies of the field then in the flower before the eyes of his auditors. "Consider," saith he, "the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin; and yet Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is and to-morrow is cast into the oven, &c." (Matth. vi. 28.) So therefore the grass of the field was now in the flower; and by consequence the month of March with the passover was past.

VI. Let us see therefore how the rest of the feasts follow in order in Matthew's gospel: for he was an eye-witness of what he relates,

relates, and so tells all things in due order of time, which Mark and Luke do not.

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VII. Some time after the sermon in the mount, when the time came that he should be received, that is, when the time of a feast came, that he should be received by the Jews, he set his face to go to Jerusalem: and as he went with his disciples in the way, when the Samaritans in his passage through Samaria had denied him lodgings, and a certain scribe said unto him, "Master, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest; Jesus said unto him, The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head" (Matth. viii. 19. Luke ix. 51, 57.) The scribe told Christ he would bear him company in his journey; and Christ replied that he wanted a lodging. Now this feast I take to be the feast of tabernacles; because soon after I find Christ and his apostles on the sea of Tiberias in a storm so great, that the ship was covered with water and in danger of sinking, till Christ "rebuked the winds and the sea" (Matth. viii. 23.) For this storm shews that winter was now come on.

VIII. After this Christ did many miracles, and "went about all the cities and villages of Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness, and every disease among the people" (Matth. ix.) and sent forth the twelve to do the like (Matth. x.) and at length, when he had received a message from John and answered it, he said to the multitudes, "From the days of John the Baptist until now, the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence;" and upbraided the cities Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, wherein most of his mighty works were done, because they repented not (Matth. xi.) Both which passages shew, that from the imprisonment of John till now there was a considerable length of time past. For now the winter was past, and the next passover was at hand; for immediately after this, Matthew, in chap. xii. subjoins, that "Jesus went on the sabbath-day through the corn, and his disciples were an hungred, and began to pluck the ears of corn and to eat,—rubbing them," saith Luke, "in their hands." The corn therefore was not only in the ear, but ripe;

ripe; and consequently the passover, in which the first-fruits were always offered before the harvest, was now come or past. Luke calls this sabbath *δευτερόπρωτον*, the second prime sabbath, that is, the second of the two great feasts of the passover. As we call Easter day high Easter, and its octave low Easter or Low-sunday: so Luke calls the feast on the seventh day of the unleavened-bread, the second of the two prime sabbaths.

IX. In one of the sabbaths following he went into a synagogue, and healed a man with a withered arm (Matth. xii. 9. Luke vi. 6.) And when the Pharisees took counsel to destroy him, "he withdrew himself from thence, and great multitudes followed him; and he healed them all, and charged them that they should not make him known" (Matth. xii. 14.) Afterwards being in a ship, and the multitude standing on the shore, he spake to them three parables together, taken from the seeds-mensowing the fields (Matth. xiii.) by which we may know that it was now seed-time, and by consequence that the feast of tabernacles was past. After this he went "into his own country, and taught them in their synagogue, but did not many mighty works there because of their unbelief." Then the twelve, having been abroad a year, returned, and told Jesus all that they had done: and at the same time Herod beheaded John in prison, and his disciples came and told Jesus; and when Jesus heard it, he took the twelve and departed thence privately by ship into a desert place belonging to Bethsaida: and the people when they knew it, followed him on foot out of the cities, the winter being now past; and he healed their sick, and in the desert fed them to the number of five thousand men, besides women and children, with only five loaves and two fishes (Matth. xiv. Luke ix.) at the doing of which miracle the passover of the Jews was nigh (John vi. 4.) But Jesus went not up to this feast; but after these things walked in Galilee, because the Jews at the passover before had taken counsel to destroy him, and still sought to kill him (John vii. 1.) Henceforward therefore he is found first in the coast of Tyre and Sidon, then by the sea of Galilee, afterwards in the coast of Cæsarea Philippi; and lastly at Capernaum (Matth. xv. 21, 29. xvi. 13. xvii. 34.)

X. Afterwards when the feast of tabernacles was at hand, his brethren upbraided him for walking secretly, and urged him to go up to the feast. But he went not till they were gone, and then went up privately (John vii. 2.) and when the Jews sought to stone him, escaped (John viii. 59.) After this he was at the feast of the dedication in winter (John x. 22.) and when they sought again to take him, he fled beyond Jordan (John x. 39, 40. Matth. xix. 1.) where he stayed till the death of Lazarus; and then came to Bethany near Jerusalem, and raised him (John xi. 7, 18.) whereupon the Jews took council from that time to kill him: and "therefore he walked no more openly among the Jews, but went thence into a country near to the wilderness, into a city called Ephraim; and there continued with his disciples" till the last passover, in which the Jews put him to death (John xi. 53, 54.)

XI. Thus have we, in the gospels of Matthew and John compared together, the history of Christ's actions in continual order during five passovers. John is more distinct in the beginning and end; Matthew in the middle: what either omits, the other supplies. The first passover was between the baptism of Christ and the imprisonment of John (John ii. 13.) the second within four months after the imprisonment of John, and Christ's beginning to preach in Galilee (John iv. 35.) and therefore it was either that feast to which Jesus went up, when the scribe desired to follow him (Matth. viii. 19. Luke ix. 51, 57.) or the feast before it. The third was the next feast after it, when the corn was eared and ripe (Matth. xii. 1. Luke vi. 1.) The fourth was that which was nigh at hand, when Christ wrought the miracle of the five loaves (Matth. xiv. 15. John vi. 4, 5.) and the fifth was that in which Christ suffered (Matth. xx. 17. John xii. 1.)

XII. Between the first and second passover, John and Christ baptized together, till the imprisonment of John, which was four months before the second. Then Christ began to preach, and call his disciples; and after he had instructed them a year, sent them to preach in the cities of the Jews: at the same time John, hearing of the fame of Christ, sent to him to know who he was. At the third, the chief priests began to consult about the death

of Christ. A little before the fourth, the twelve, after they had preached a year in all the cities, returned to Christ; and at the same time Herod beheaded John in prison, after he had been in prison two years and a quarter: and therefore Christ fled into the desert for fear of Herod. The fourth, Christ went not up to Jerusalem for fear of the Jews, who at the passover before had consulted his death, and because his time was not yet come. Thenceforward therefore till the feast of tabernacles he walked in Galilee, and that secretly for fear of Herod: and after the feast of tabernacles he returned no more into Galilee, but sometimes was at Jerusalem, and sometimes retired beyond Jordan, or to the city Ephraim by the wilderness, till the passover in which he was betrayed, apprehended, and crucified.

XIII. John therefore baptized two summers, and Christ preached three. The first summer John preached to make himself known, in order to give testimony to Christ. Then, after Christ came to his baptism, and was made known to him; he baptized another summer, to make Christ known by his testimony: and Christ also baptized the same summer, to make himself the more known: and by reason of John's testimony there came more to Christ's baptism than to John's. The winter following John was imprisoned; and now his course being at an end, Christ entered upon his proper office of preaching in the cities. In the beginning of his preaching, he completed the number of the twelve apostles, and instructed them all the first year in order to send them abroad. Before the end of this year, his fame by his preaching and miracles was so far spread abroad, that the Jews at the passover following consulted how to kill him. In the second year of his preaching, it being no longer safe for him to converse openly in Judea, he sent the twelve to preach in all their cities: and in the end of the year they returned to him, and told him all they had done. All the last year the twelve continued with him to be instructed more perfectly, in order to their preaching to all nations after his death. And upon the news of John's death, being afraid of Herod as well as of the Jews, he walked this year more secretly than before; frequenting deserts, and

and spending the last half of the year in Judea, without the dominions of Herod.

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XIV. Thus have we in the gospels of Matthew and John all things told in due order, from the beginning of John's preaching to the death of Christ; and the years distinguished from one another by such essential characters, that they cannot be mistaken. The second passover is distinguished from the first, by the interposition of John's imprisonment. The third is distinguished from the second, by a double character: first, by the interposition of the feast to which Christ went up (Matth. viii. 19. Luke ix. 57.) and secondly, by the distance of time from the beginning of Christ's preaching: for the second was in the beginning of his preaching, and the third so long after, that before it came Christ said, "from the days of John the Baptist until now, &c." and upbraided the cities of Galilee for their not repenting at his preaching, and mighty works done in all that time. The fourth is distinguished from the third, by the mission of the twelve from Christ to preach in the cities of Judea in all the interval. The fifth is distinguished from all the former by the twelve's being returned from preaching, and continuing with Christ during all the interval, between the fourth and fifth, and by the passion and other infallible characters.

XV. Now since the first summer of John's baptizing fell in the fifteenth year of the emperor Tiberius, and by consequence the first of these five passovers in his sixteenth year; the last of them, in which Jesus suffered, will fall on the twentieth year of the same emperor; and by consequence in the consulship of Fabius and Vitellius, in the 79th Julian year, and year of Christ 34, which was the sabbatical year of the Jews. And that it did so, I further confirm by these arguments.

XVI. I take it for granted that the passion was on Friday the 14th day of the month Nisan; the great feast of the passover, on Saturday the 15th day of Nisan; and the resurrection on the day following. Now the 14th day of Nisan always fell on the full moon next after the vernal equinox; and the month began at the new moon before, not at the true conjunction, but at the first appearance of the new moon: for the Jews referred all the time

of the silent moon, as they phrased it, that is, of the moon's disappearing, to the old moon; and because the first appearance might usually be about 18 hours after the true conjunction, they therefore began their month from the sixth hour at evening, that is, at sun-set, next after the eighteenth hour from the conjunction. And this rule they called π Jah, designing by the letters ν and π the number 18.

XVII. I know that Epiphanius tells us, if some interpret his words rightly, that the Jews used a vicious cycle, and thereby anticipated the legal new moons by two days. But this surely he spake not as a witness; for he neither understood Astronomy nor Rabbinical learning; but as arguing from his erroneous hypothesis about the time of the passion. For the Jews did not anticipate, but postpone their months: they thought it lawful to begin their months a day later than the first appearance of the new moon, because the new moon continued for more days than one; but not a day sooner, lest they should celebrate the new moon before there was any. And the Jews still keep a tradition in their books, that the Sanhedrim used diligently to define the new moons by sight: sending witnesses into mountainous places, and examining them about the moon's appearing, and translating the new moon from the day they had agreed on to the day before, as often as witnesses came from distant regions, who had seen it a day sooner than it was seen at Jerusalem. Accordingly Josephus, one of the Jewish priests who had ministered in the temple (^a), tells us that the passover was kept "on the 14th day of Nisan, *κατὰ σεληνὴν*, according to the moon, when the sun was "in Aries." This is confirmed also by two instances, recorded by him, which totally overthrew the hypothesis of the Jews using a vicious cycle. For that year in which Jerusalem was taken and destroyed, he saith, the passover was on the 14th day of the month Xanticus, which according to Josephus is our April; and that five years before, it fell on the 8th day of the same month. Which two instances agree with the course of the moon.

XVIII. Computing therefore the new moons of the first month according to the course of the moon and the rule Jah, and thence counting

counting 14 days, I find that the 14th day of this month in the year of Christ 31, fell on Tuesday, March 27; in the year 32, on Sunday, April 13; in the year 33, on Friday, April 3; in the year 34, on Wednesday, March 24, or rather, for avoiding the equinox which fell on the same day, and for having a fitter time for harvest, on Thursday, April 22; also in the year 35, on Tuesday, April 12; and in the year 36, on Saturday, March 31.

XIX. But because the 15th and 21st days of Nisan, and a day or two of Pentecost, and the 10th, 15th, and 22d of Tifri, were always sabbatical days, or days of rest, and it was inconvenient on two sabbaths together to be prohibited burying their dead and making ready fresh meat, and in that hot region their meat would be apt in two days to corrupt: to avoid these and such like inconveniences, the Jews postponed their months a day, as often as the first day of the month Tifri, or, which is all one, the third of the month Nisan, was Sunday, Wednesday, or Friday: and this rule they called π Adu, by the letters α , γ , δ , signifying the numbers 1, 4, 6; that is, the 1st, 4th, and 6th days of the week; which days we call Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday. Postponing therefore by this rule the months found above; the 14th day of the month Nisan will fall in the year of Christ 31, on Wednesday, March 28; in the year 32, on Monday, Apr. 14; in the year 33, on Friday, Apr. 3; in the year 34, on Friday, Apr. 23; in the year 35, on Wednesday, Apr. 13; and in the year 36, on Saturday, March 31.

XX. By this computation therefore the year 32 is absolutely excluded, because the passion cannot fall on Friday without making it five days after the full moon, or two days before it; whereas it ought to be upon the day of the full moon, or the next day. For the same reason the years 31 and 35 are excluded, because in them the passion cannot fall on Friday, without making it three days after the full moon, or four days before it: errors so erroneous, that they would be very conspicuous in the heavens to every vulgar eye. The year 36 is contended for by few or none, and both this and the year 35 may be thus excluded.

XXI. Tiberius in the beginning of his reign made Valerius Gratus president of Judea; and after 11 years substituted Pontius Pilate, who governed 10 years. Then Vitellius, newly made president of Syria, deprived him of his honour, substituted Marcellus, and at length sent him to Rome: but, by reason of delays, Tiberius died before Pilate got thither. In the mean time Vitellius, after he had deposed Pilate, came to Jerusalem in the time of the passover, to visit that province as well as others in the beginning of his office; and in the place of Caiaphas, then high-priest, created Jonathas the son of Ananus, or Annas, as he is called in Scripture. Afterwards, when Vitellius was returned to Antioch, he received letters from Tiberius, to make peace with Artabanus king of the Parthians. At the same time the Alans, by the solicitation of Tiberius, invaded the kingdom of Artabanus; and his subjects also, by the procurement of Vitellius, soon after rebelled: for Tiberius thought that Artabanus, thus pressed with difficulties, would more readily accept the conditions of peace. Artabanus therefore straightway gathering a greater army, oppressed the rebels; and then meeting Vitellius at Euphrates, made a league with the Romans. After this, Tiberius commanded Vitellius to make war upon Aretas king of Arabia. He therefore leading his army against Aretas, went together with Herod to Jerusalem, to sacrifice at the public feast which was then to be celebrated. Where being received honourably, he stayed three days; and in the mean while translated the high-priesthood from Jonathas to his brother Theophilus: and the fourth day, receiving letters of the death of Tiberius, made the people swear allegiance to Caius the new emperor; and recalling his army, sent them into quarters. All this is related by Josephus Antiq. lib. 18. c. 6, 7. Now Tiberius reigned 22 years and 7 months, and died March 16, in the beginning of the year of Christ 37; and the feast of the passover fell on April 20 following, that is, 35 days after the death of Tiberius: so that there were about 36 or 38 days, for the news of his death to come from Rome to Vitellius at Jerusalem; which being a convenient time for the message, confirms that the feast which Vitellius and Herod now went up to was the passover.

For

For had it been the pentecost, as is usually supposed, Vitellius would have continued three months ignorant of the emperor's death: which is not to be supposed. However, the things done between this feast and the passover which Vitellius was at before; namely, the stirring up a sedition in Parthia, the quieting that sedition, the making a league after that with the Parthians, the sending news of that league to Rome, the receiving new orders from thence to go against the Arabians, and the putting those orders in execution; required much more time than the fifty days between the passover and pentecost of the same year: and therefore the passover which Vitellius first went up to, was in the year before. Therefore Pilate was deposed before the passover A. C. 36, and by consequence the passion of Christ was before that passover: for he suffered not under Vitellius, nor under Vitellius and Pilate together, but under Pilate alone.

XXI. Now it is observable that the high-priesthood was at this time become an annual office, and the passover was the time of making a new high-priest. For Gratus, the predecessor of Pilate, saith Josephus, made Ismael high-priest after Ananus; and a while after, suppose a year, deposed him, and substituted Eleazar, and a year after Simon, and after another year Caiaphas; and then gave way to Pilate. So Vitellius at one passover made Jonathas successor to Caiaphas; and at the next, Theophilus to Jonathas. Hence Luke tells you, that in the 15th year of Tiberius, Annas and Caiaphas were high-priests, that is, Annas till the passover, and Caiaphas afterwards. Accordingly John speaks of the high-priesthood as an annual office: for he tells you again and again, in the last year of Christ's preaching, that Caiaphas was high-priest for that year (John xi. 49, 51. xviii. 13.) And the next year Luke tells you, that Annas was high-priest (Acts iv. 6.) So then Theophilus was made high-priest in the first year of Caius; Jonathas, in the 2d year of Tiberius; and Caiaphas, in the 21st year of the same emperor: and therefore, allotting a year to each, the passion, when Annas succeeded Caiaphas, could not be later than the 20th year of Tiberius, A. C. 34.

XXIII. So

XXIII. So then there remain only the years 33 and 34 to be considered; and the year 33 I exclude by this argument. In the passover two years before the passion, when Christ went through the corn, and his disciples plucked the ears, and rubbed them with their hands to eat; this ripeness of the corn shews that the passover then fell late: and so did the passover, A. C. 32, April 14; but the passover A. C. 31, March 28th, fell very early. It was not therefore two years after the year 31, but two years after 32 that Christ suffered.

So then all the characters of the passion agree to the year 34; and that is the only year to which they all agree.

C H A P. XII.

Of the prophecy of the Scripture of Truth.

THE kingdoms represented by the second and third beasts, or the Bear and Leopard, are again described by Daniel in his last prophecy written in the third year of Cyrus over Babylon, the year in which he conquered Persia. For this prophecy is a commentary upon the vision of the Ram and He-Goat.

II. "Behold ("), saith he, "there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia [Cyrus, Cambyfes, and Darius Hystaspes] and the fourth [Xerxes] shall be far richer than they all: and by his strength and his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Greece. And a mighty king [Alexander the Great] shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity [but after their death],

"nor

"nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others besides those." DANIEL'S SCRIPTURE OF TRUTH. Alexander the Great having conquered all the Persian empire, and some part of India, died at Babylon a month before the summer solstice, in the year of Nabonassar 425; and his captains gave the monarchy to his bastard brother Philip Arridæus, a man disturbed in his understanding; and made Perdiccas administrator of the kingdom. Perdiccas with their consent made Meleager commander of the army; Seleucus, master of the horse; Craterus, treasurer of the kingdom; Antipater, governor of Macedon and Greece; Ptolemy, governor of Egypt; Antigonus, governor of Pamphylia, Lycia, Lycaonia, and Phrygia Major; Lyfimachus, governor of Thrace; and other captains governors of other provinces; as many as had been so before in the days of Alexander the Great. The Babylonians began now to count by a new æra, which they called the æra of Philip; using the years of Nabonassar, and reckoning the 425th year of Nabonassar to be the first year of Philip. Roxana, the wife of Alexander, being left big with child, and about three or four months after brought to bed of a son, they called him Alexander, saluted him king, and joined him with Philip, whom they had before placed in the throne of the kingdom. Philip reigned three years under the administrators of Perdiccas; two years more under the administrators of Antipater; and above a year more under that of Polysperchon; in all six years and four months; and then was slain with his queen Eurydice in September, by the command of Olympias the mother of Alexander the Great. The Greeks being disgusted at the cruelties of Olympias, revolted to Cassander the son and successor of Antipater. Cassander affecting the dominion of Greece, slew Olympias; and soon after shut up the young king Alexander, with his mother Roxana, in the castle of Amphipolis, under the charge of Glaucias, ann. Nabonass. 432. The next year Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lyfimachus, by means of Seleucus, formed a league against Antigonus; and after certain wars made peace with him, ann. Nabonass. 438, upon these conditions: that Cassander should command the forces of Europe till Alexander, the son of Roxana, came to age; and that Lyfimachus

chus should govern Thrace; Ptolemy, Egypt and Lybia; and Antigonus all Asia. Seleucus had possessed himself of Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Susiana, and Media, the year before. About three years after Alexander's death he was made governor of Babylon by Antipater; then was expelled by Antigonus; but now he recovered and enlarged his government over a great part of the East: which gave occasion to a new æra, called *Æra Seleucidarum*. Not long after the peace made with Antigonus (Diodorus saith the same Olympic year) Cassander, seeing that Alexander the son of Roxana grew up, and that it was discoursed throughout Macedonia, that it was fit he should be set at liberty, and take upon him the government of his father's kingdom; commanded Glaucias the governor of the castle to kill Roxana, and the young king Alexander her son, and conceal their deaths. Then Polysperchon set up Hercules, the son of Alexander the Great by Barfiné, to be king; and soon after, at the solicitation of Cassander, caused him to be slain. Soon after that, upon a great victory at sea got by Demetrius the son of Antigonus over Ptolemy, Antigonus took upon himself the title of king, and gave the same title to his son. This was ann. Nabonass. 441. After his example, Seleucus, Cassander, Lyfimachus, and Ptolemy, took upon themselves the title and dignity of kings, having abstained from this honour while there remained any of Alexander's race to inherit the crown. Thus the monarchy of the Greeks for want of an heir was broken into several kingdoms; four of which, seated to the four winds of heaven, were very eminent. For Ptolemy reigned over Egypt, Lybia, and Ethiopia; Antigonus over Syria and the lesser Asia; Lyfimachus over Thrace; and Cassander over Macedon, Greece, and Epirus, as above.

III. Seleucus at this time reigned over the nations which were beyond Euphrates, and belonged to the bodies of the two first beasts; but after six years he conquered Antigonus, and thereby became possessed of one of the four kingdoms. For Cassander being afraid of the power of Antigonus, combined with Lyfimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus, against him: and while Lyfimachus

machus invaded the parts of Asia next the Hellespont, Ptolemy subdued Phœnicia and Cœlosyria; with the sea-coasts of Asia. DANIEL'S SCRIPTURE OF TRUTH.

IV. Seleucus came down with a powerful army into Cappadocia; and joining the confederate forces, fought Antigonus in Phrygia, and slew him, and seized his kingdom, ann. Nabonass. 447. After which Seleucus built Antioch, Seleucia, Laodicea, Apamea, Berrhœa, Edeffa, and other cities in Syria and Asia; and in them granted the Jews equal privileges with the Greeks.

V. Yet Demetrius the son of Antigonus retained a small part of his father's dominions, and at length lost Cyprus to Ptolemy; but killing Alexander, the son and successor of Cassander king of Macedon, he seized his kingdom, ann. Nabonass. 454. And some time after, preparing a very great army to recover his father's dominions in Asia; Seleucus, Ptolemy, Lyfimachus, and Pyrrhus king of Epirus, combined against him: and Pyrrhus invading Macedonia, corrupted the army of Demetrius; put him to flight; seized his kingdom; and shared it with Lyfimachus. After seven months, Lyfimachus beating Pyrrhus, took Macedonia from him, and held it five years and a half, uniting the kingdoms of Macedon and Thrace. Lyfimachus in his wars with Antigonus and Demetrius, had taken from them Caria, Lydia, and Phrygia; and had a treasury in Pergamus, a castle on the top of a conical hill in Phrygia, by the river Caicus, the custody of which he had committed to one Philetærus; who was at first faithful to Lyfimachus, but in the last year of his reign revolted. For Lyfimachus, at the instigation of his wife Arsinoe, slew first his own son Agathocles, and then those that lamented him: upon which the wife of Agathocles fled with her children and brothers, and some others of their friends, and solicited Seleucus to make war upon Lyfimachus. And Philetærus also, grieving at the death of Agathocles, and being accused thereof by Arsinoe, revolted, and sided with Seleucus. On this occasion Seleucus and Lyfimachus met and fought in Phrygia; and Lyfimachus being slain in the battle, lost his kingdom to Seleucus, ann. Nabonass. 465. Thus the empire of the Greeks, which at first brake into four great kingdoms, became now reduced into two notable ones, henceforward called by Daniel the kings

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THIRTY

of the South and North. For Ptolemy now reigned over Egypt, Libya, Ethiopia, Arabia, Phœnicia, Cœloſyria, and Cyprus; and Seleucus, having united three of the four kingdoms, had a dominion ſcarce inferior to that of the Perſian empire, conquered by Alexander the Great. All which is thus represented by Daniel^(*): “And the king of the South [Ptolemy] ſhall become
“ ſtrong, and one of his princes [Seleucus, one of Alexander’s
“ princes] ſhall become ſtrong above him, and have dominion;
“ his dominion ſhall be a great dominion.”

* Chap. xi. 5.

VI. After Seleucus had reigned ſeven months over Macedon, Greece, Thrace, Aſia, Syria, Babylonia, Media, and all the Eaſt as far as India; Ptolemæus Ceraunus, the younger brother of Ptolemæus Philadelphus king of Egypt, ſlew him treacherouſly, and ſeized his dominions in Europe: and Antiochus Soter, the ſon of Seleucus, ſucceeded his father in Aſia, Syria, and moſt of the Eaſt; and after nineteen or twenty years was ſucceeded by his ſon Antiochus Theos; who having a laſting war with Ptolemæus Philadelphus, compoſed the ſame by marrying Berenice the daughter of Philadelphus: but after a reign of fifteen years, his firſt wife Laodice poiſoned him, and ſet her ſon Seleucus Callinicus upon the throne. Callinicus in the beginning of his reign, by the impuſe of his mother Laodice, beſieged Berenice in Daphne near Antioch, and ſlew her with her young ſon and many of her women. Whereupon Ptolemæus Euergetes, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Philadelphus, made war upon Callinicus; took from him Phœnicia, Syria, Cilicia, Meſopotamia, Babylonia, Suſiana, and ſome other regions; and carried back into Egypt 40000 talents of ſilver, and 2500 images of the gods; amongſt which were the gods of Egypt carried away by Cambyſes. Antiochus Hierax at firſt aſſiſted his brother Callinicus, but afterwards contended with him for Aſia. And in the mean time Eumenes, governor of Pergamus, beat Antiochus; and took from them both all Aſia on this ſide the mountain Taurus. This was in the fifth year of Callinicus; who, after an inglorious reign of 20 years, was ſucceeded by his ſon Seleucus Ceraunus; and Euergetes after four years more, ann. Nabonaff. 527, was ſucceeded by his ſon Ptolemæus Philopater. All which is thus ſignified by Daniel

niel^(*): “And after certain years they [the kings of the South
“ and North] ſhall make friendſhip: for the king’s daughter of the South [Berenice] ſhall come to the king of the North to eſtabliſh an agreement, but ſhe ſhall not retain the power of the arm; and ſhe ſhall not ſtand, nor her ſeed; but ſhe ſhall be delivered up, and he [Callinicus] that brought her, and he whom ſhe brought forth, and they that ſtrengthened her in [thoſe] times, [or defended her in the ſiege of Daphne.] But out of a branch of her roots ſhall one ſtand up in his ſeat [her brother Euergetes] who ſhall come with an army, and ſhall enter into the fortiſſ [or fenced cities] of the king of the North, and ſhall act againſt them and prevail: and ſhall carry captives into Egypt, their gods with their princes and precious veſſels of ſilver and gold; and he ſhall continue ſome years after the king of the North.”

VII. Seleucus Ceraunus, inheriting the remains of his father’s kingdom, and thinking to recover the reſt, raiſed a great army againſt the governor of Pergamus, now king thereof, but died in the third year of his reign; and his brother and ſucceſſor, Antiochus Magnus, carrying on the war, took from the king of Pergamus almoſt all the leſſer Aſia, and recovered alſo the provinces of Media, Perſia, and Babylonia, from the governors who had revolted: and in the fifth year of his reign invaded Cœloſyria, and with little oppoſition poſſeſſed himſelf of a good part thereof; and the next year returning to invade the reſt of Cœloſyria and Phœnicia, beat the army of Philopator near Berytus; and invaded Paleſtine and the neighbouring parts of Arabia; and the third year returned with an army of 78000: and Ptolemy coming out of Egypt with an army of 75000, fought and routed him at Raphia near Gaza, between Paleſtine and Egypt; and recovered all Phœnicia and Cœloſyria, ann. Nabonaff. 532; and being puffed up with this victory, and living in all manner of luxury, the Egyptians revolted, and had wars with him, but were overcome; and in the broils ſixty thouſand Egyptian Jews were ſlain. All which is thus deſcribed by Daniel^(b): “But his ſons [Seleucus Ceraunus, and Antiochus Magnus, the ſons of Callinicus] ſhall be ſtirred up, and ſhall gather
“ them

DANIEL’S
SCRIPTURE
OF TRUTH.
* Chap. xi.
6, 7, 8.* Chap. xi.
10, &c.

"ther a great army; and he [Antiochus Magnus] shall come effectually and overflow, and pass through and return, and [again the next year] be stirred up [marching even] to his fortresses, [the frontier towns of Egypt;] and the king of the South shall be moved with choler, and come forth [the third year] and fight with him, even with the king of the North; and he [the king of the North] shall lead forth a great multitude, but the multitude shall be given into his hand. And the multitude being taken away, his heart shall be lifted up, and he shall cast down many ten thousands; but he shall not be strengthened by it: for the king of the North shall return, &c."

VIII. About twelve years after the battle between Philopator and Antiochus, Philopator died; and left his kingdom to his young son Ptolemy Epiphanes, a child of five years old: and thereupon Antiochus Magnus confederated with Philip king of Macedon, that they should invade the dominions of Epiphanes which lay next to each of them. And hence arose a various war between Antiochus and Epiphanes, each of them seizing Phœnicia and Cœlosyria by turns; whereby those countries were much afflicted by both parties. First Antiochus seized those countries; then one Scopas being sent with the army of Egypt, recovered them from Antiochus: and the next year, ann. Nabonass. 550, Antiochus fought and routed Scopas near the fountains of Jordan; besieged him in Sidon; took the city; and recovered Syria and Phœnicia from Egypt, the Jews coming over to him voluntarily. But about three years after, upon preparing for a war against the Romans, he came to Raphia in the borders of Egypt, and made peace with Epiphanes, and gave him his daughter Cleopatra: and the next autumn he passed the Hellespont to invade the cities of Greece under the Roman protection, and took some of them; but was beaten by the Romans the summer following, and forced to return back with his army into Asia. And before the end of the year the fleet of Antiochus was beaten by the fleet of the Romans near Phocæa: and at the same time Epiphanes and Cleopatra sent an embassy to Rome to congratulate the Romans on their success against their father Antiochus, and to exhort them to prosecute the war against him into Asia.

Asia. And the Romans beat Antiochus again at sea near Ephesus, and pass their army over the Hellespont; and obtained a great victory over him by land, and took from him all Asia on this side the mountain Taurus, and gave it to the king of Pergamus who assisted them in the war; and imposed a large tribute upon Antiochus. Thus the king of Pergamus, by the power of the Romans, recovered what Antiochus had taken from him; and Antiochus retiring into the remainder of his kingdom, was slain two years after by the Persians, as he was robbing the temple of Jupiter Belus in Elymais, to raise money for the Romans. All which is thus described by Daniel (*). "For the king of the North [Antiochus] shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former; and shall certainly come, after certain years, with a great army and much riches. And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the South, [particularly the Macedonians;] also the robbers of thy people [the Samaritans, &c.] shall exalt themselves to establish the vision, but they shall fall. So the king of the North shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities; and the arms of the South shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand. But he that cometh against him shall do according to his own will; and none shall stand before him: and he shall stand in the glorious land, which shall fail in his hand. He shall also set his face to go with the strength [or army] of all his kingdom; and make an agreement with him [at Raphia;] and he shall give him the daughter of women corrupting her; but she shall not stand his side, neither be for him. And he shall turn his face unto the isles, and shall take many: but a prince for his own behalf [the Romans] shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease; without his own reproach shall he cause it to turn upon him. Then he shall turn his face towards the fort of his own land: but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found."

IX. Seleucus Philopator succeeded his father Antiochus, ann. Nabonass. 561, and reigned twelve years, but did nothing memorable; being sluggish, and intent upon raising money for the Romans,

Romans, to whom he was tributary. He was slain by Heliodorus, whom he had sent to rob the temple of Jerusalem. Daniel (*) thus describes his reign: "Then shall stand up in his feat a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom; but within few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle."

X. A little before the death of Philopator, his son Demetrius was sent hostage to Rome, in the place of Antiochus Epiphanes, the brother of Philopator; and Antiochus was at Athens in his way home from Rome, when Philopator died: whereupon Heliodorus, the treasurer of the kingdom, stepped into the throne. But Antiochus so managed his affairs, that the Romans kept Demetrius at Rome; and their ally, the king of Pergamus, expelled Heliodorus, and placed Antiochus in the throne. And while Demetrius, the right heir, remained an hostage at Rome; Antiochus, by the friendship of the king of Pergamus, reigned powerfully over Syria and the neighbouring nations. Now Antiochus being made king, carried himself much below his dignity; stealing privately out of his palace, and rambling up and down the city in disguise with one or two of his companions; conversing and drinking with people of the lowest rank, and with foreigners and strangers; frequenting the meetings of rakes to feast and revel; clothing himself like the Roman candidates and officers, and acting their parts like a mimick; and in public festivals jesting and dancing and herding himself with servants and mimicks and light people, and behaving himself with all manner of ridiculous gestures; which made some take him for a madman, and call him Antiochus *Enquangus*. In the first year of his reign he deposed Onias the high-priest, and sold the high-priesthood to Jason, the younger brother of Onias: for Jason had promised the king to give him 440 talents of silver for the high-priesthood, and 150 more for a licence to erect a place of exercise for the training up of the youth in the fashions of the heathen; which licence was granted by the king, and put in execution by Jason. Then the king sending one Apollonius into Egypt to the coronation of Ptolemy Philometor, the young son of Philometor and Cleopatra, and knowing Philometor not to be well affected to his affairs in Phoenicia, provided for his own safety in those

those parts; and for that end came to Joppa and Jerusalem, ^{DANIEL'S SCRIPTURE OF TRUTH.} where he was honourably received; and from thence he went in like manner with his little army to the cities of Phoenicia, to establish himself against Egypt, by courting the people, and distributing extraordinary favours amongst them. All which is thus represented by Daniel (*). "And in his [Philometor's] feat shall stand up a vile person, to whom they [the Syrians who set up Heliodorus] shall not give the honour of the kingdom. Yet he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries [made principally to the king of Pergamus;] and the arms [which in favour of Heliodorus oppose him] shall be overflowed with a flood from before him, and be broken; yea also [Onias the high-priest] the prince of the covenant. And after friendship made with him, [the king of Egypt, by sending Apollonius to his coronation] he shall work deceitfully [against the king of Egypt,] for he shall come up and become strong [in Phoenicia] with a small people. And he shall enter into the quiet and plentiful cities of the province [of Phoenicia;] and [to ingratiate himself with the Jews of Phoenicia and Egypt, and with their friends] he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers fathers: he shall scatter among them the prey and the spoil, and the riches [extracted from other places;] and shall forecast his devices against the strong holds [of Egypt] even for a time."

XI. These things were done in the first year of his reign, anno Nabonassar 573. And thenceforward he forecast his devices against the strong holds of Egypt, until the sixth year. For three years after, that is in the fourth year of his reign, Menelaus bought the high-priesthood from Jason; but not paying the price was sent for by the king; and the king, before he could hear the cause, went into Cilicia to appease a sedition there, and left Andronicus his deputy at Antioch. And then the brother of Menelaus, to make up the money, conveyed several vessels out of the temple, selling some of them at Tyre, and sending others to Andronicus. And when Menelaus was reproved for this by Onias, he caused Onias to be slain by Andronicus: for which fact the king, at his return from Cilicia, caused Andronicus

CHAPTER
TWELFTH.* 2 Maccab.
iii. 5, 8,
and iv. 4.* Chap. xi.
25, &c.

nicus to be put to death. And then he prepared his second expedition against Egypt; which he performed in the sixth year of his reign, ann. Nabonass. 578: for upon the death of Cleopatra, the governors of her son, the young king of Egypt, claimed Phœnicia and Coelosyria from Antiochus as her dowry; and to recover those countries raised a great army. Antiochus considering that his father (*) had not quitted the possession of those countries, denied that they were her dowry; and with another great army met and fought the Egyptians on the borders of Egypt, between Pelusium and the mountain Casius. And when he had beaten, and might have destroyed the army of the Egyptians, rode up and down, commanding his soldiers not to kill them, but to take them alive: by which humanity he gained Pelusium, and soon after all Egypt; entering it with a vast multitude of foot and chariots, and elephants and horsemen, and a great navy. And seizing the cities of Egypt as a friend, he marched to Memphis; laid the whole blame of the war upon Eulæus the king's governor; entered into outward friendship with the young king, and took upon him to order the affairs of the kingdom. In the mean time a report being spread in Phœnicia that Antiochus was dead; Jason, to recover the high-priesthood, assaulted Jerusalem with above a thousand men, and took the city. Whereupon Antiochus thinking that Judea had revolted, came out of Egypt in a furious manner; took the city; slew forty thousand of the people; took as many prisoners, and sold them to raise money; went into the temple; spoiled it of its treasures, ornaments, utensils, and vessels of gold and silver, amounting to 1800 talents; and carried all away to Antioch. This was done in the year of Nabonassar 578, and is thus described by Daniel (*). "And he shall stir up his power, and his courage against the king of the South with a great army; and the king of the South shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; but he shall not stand: for they [Antiochus and his friends] shall forecast devices against him, [as is represented above;] yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat, shall [betray and] destroy him, and his army shall be overthrown, and many shall fall down slain. And [upon the

" news

"king's hearts shall be to do mischief; and they [being now DANIEL'S
"made friends] shall speak lies at one table [against the Jews SCRIPTURE
"and against the holy covenant]; but it shall not prosper: for OF TRUTH.
"yet the end [in which the setting up of the abomination of
"desolation is to prosper] shall be at the time appointed. Then
"shall he return into his land with great riches, and his heart
"shall be against the holy covenant; and he shall act [against it
"by spoiling the temple] and return into his own land."

XII. The Egyptians of Alexandria seeing Philometor first educated in luxury by the eunuch Eulæus, and now in the hands of Antiochus, gave the kingdom to Euergetes, the younger brother of Philometor. Whereupon Antiochus, pretending to restore Philometor, made war upon Euergetes; beat him at sea, and besieged him and his sister Cleopatra in Alexandria; and the besieged princes sent to Rome to implore the assistance of the senate. Antiochus, finding himself unable to take the city that year, returned into Syria; leaving Philometor at Memphis, to govern Egypt in his absence. But Philometor made friendship with his brother that winter; and Antiochus, as he was returning the next spring, ann. Nabonass. 580, to besiege both the brothers in Alexandria, was met in the way by the Roman ambassadors, Popilius Læna, C. Decimius, and C. Hostilius; and he offered them his hand to kiss: but Popilius delivering to him the tables wherein the message of the senate was written, bad him read those first. When he had read them, he replied he would consider with his friends what was fit to be done. But Popilius, drawing a circle about the king, bad him answer before he went out of the circle. At which blunt and unusual imperiousness the king being astonished, made answer, that he would do what the Romans demanded. Then Popilius gave the king his hand to kiss, and the king returned out of Egypt; and the same year, ann. Nabonass. 580, his captains by his order spoiled and slaughtered the Jews; profaned the temple; set up the worship of the heathen gods in all Judea; and began to persecute and make war upon those who would not worship them. Which actions are thus described by Daniel (*). * Chap. xii.
"At the time appointed he shall come [again] towards the South, 29, 30.
"but the latter shall not be as the former. For the ships of
"Chittim

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"Chittim shall come [with an embassy from Rome] against him. Therefore he shall be grieved, and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant. So shall he do; he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant."

XIII. In the same year that Antiochus, by the command of the Romans, retired out of Egypt, and set up the worship of the Greeks in Judea; the Romans conquered the kingdom of Macedon, the fundamental kingdom of the empire of the Greeks, and reduced it into a Roman province; and thereby began to put an end to the reign of Daniel's third Beast. This is thus expressed by Daniel. "And after him Arms [the Romans] shall stand up." As מלך signifies *after the king* (Dan. xi. 8.) so מנני may signify *after him*. Arms are every where in this prophecy of Daniel put for the military power of a kingdom: and they stand up, when they conquer and grow powerful. Hitherto Daniel described the actions of the kings of the North and South; but upon the conquest of Macedon by the Romans, he left off describing the actions of the Greeks, and began to describe those of the Romans in Greece. They conquered Macedon, Illyricum, and Epirus, in the year of Nabonassar 580. And thirty-five years after; by the last will and testament of Attalus, the last king of Pergamus, they inherited that rich and flourishing kingdom; that is, all Asia on this side the mountain Taurus; and 69 years after they conquered the kingdom of Syria, and reduced it into a province; and 34 years after they did the like to Egypt: and by all these steps the Roman arms stood up over the Greeks; and after 95 years more, by making war upon the Jews, "they polluted the sanctuary of strength, and took away the daily sacrifice, and then placed the abomination of desolation." For this abomination was placed after the days of Christ (Matth. xxiv. 15.) In the 16th year of the emperor Adrian, A. C. 132, they placed this abomination by building a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, where the temple of God in Jerusalem had stood. For thereupon the Jews, under the conduct of Barchochab, rose up in arms against the Romans, and in the war had 50 cities demolished, and 985 of their best towns destroyed, and

and 580000 men slain by the sword; and in the end of the war, A. C. 136, were banished Judea upon pain of death, and thenceforward the land remained desolate of its old inhabitants.

XIV. In the beginning of the Jewish war in Nero's reign, the apostles fled out of Judea with their flocks; some beyond Jordan to Pella and other places; some into Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and elsewhere. Peter and John came into Asia; and Peter went thence, by Corinth, to Rome; but John, staying in Asia, was banished by the Romans into Patmos, as the head of a party of the Jews, whose nation was in war with the Romans. By this dispersion of the Christian Jews, the Christian religion, which was already propagated westward as far as Rome, spread fast into all the Roman empire, and suffered many persecutions under it till the days of Constantine the Great and his sons. And this is thus described by Daniel (*). "And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall he [who places the abomination] cause to dissemble [and worship the heathen gods]; but the people among them who do know their God, shall be strong and act. And they that understand among the people, shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, and by captivity, and by spoil many days. Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help [viz. in the reign of Constantine the Great]; and [at that time by reason of their prosperity] many shall [come over to them from among the heathen, and] cleave to them with dissimulation. But of those of understanding there shall [still] fall to try [God's people] by them, and to purge [them from the dissemblers], and to make them white to the time of the end: because it is yet for a time appointed."

XV. Hitherto the Roman empire continued entire; and under this dominion, the little horn of the He-Goat continued mighty, but not by his own power. But now, by the building of Constantinople, and endowing it with a senate and other like privileges with Rome; and by the division of the Roman empire into the two empires of the Greeks and Latins, headed by those two cities; a new scene of things commences, in which a king, the empire of the Greeks, doth according to his will, and, by setting

setting his own laws above the laws of God, "exalts and magnifies himself above every god, and speaks marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished.—Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the [lawful] desire of women in matrimony, nor any God, but shall magnify himself above all. And in his feat he shall honour Mahuzzims [strong guardians, the souls of the dead]; even with a God whom his fathers knew not, shall he honour them [in their temples] with gold and silver, and with precious stones and valuable things^(a)." All which relates to the overspreading of the Greek empire with Monks and nuns, who placed holiness in abstinence from marriage; and to the invocation of saints and veneration of their reliques, and such like superstitions, which these men introduced in the fourth and fifth centuries. "And at the time of the end the king of the South [or empire of the Saracens] shall push at him; and the king of the North [or empire of the Turks] shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall enter into the countries [of the Greeks], and shall overflow and pass over. He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown; but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon: [viz. to whom his caravans pay tribute.] He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape; but he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt; and the Lybians and Ethiopians shall be at his steps^(b)." All these nations compose the empire of the Turks; and therefore this empire is here to be understood by the king of the North. They compose also the body of the He-Goat; and therefore the goat still reigns in his last horn, but not by his own power.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the king who did according to his will, and magnified himself above every god, and honoured Mahuzzims, and regarded not the desire of women.

IN the first ages of the Christian religion, the Christians of every city were governed by a council of presbyters; and the president of the council was the bishop of the city. The bishop and presbyters of one city meddled not with the affairs of another city, except by admonitory letters or messages. Nor did the bishops of several cities meet together in council, before the time of the emperor Commodus: for they could not meet together without the leave of the Roman governors of the provinces. But in the reign of that emperor they began to meet in provincial councils, by the leave of the governors; first in Asia, in opposition to the Cataphrygian heresy, and soon after in other places and upon other occasions. And the bishop of the chief city, or metropolis of the Roman province, was usually made president of the council; and hence came the authority of metropolitan bishops above that of other bishops within the same province. Hence also it was, that the bishop of Rome, in Cyprian's days, called himself the bishop of bishops. And as soon as the empire became Christian, the Roman emperors began to call general councils out of all the provinces of the empire; and by prescribing to them what points they should consider, and influencing them by their interest and power, they set up what party they pleased. Hereby the Greek empire, upon the division of the Roman empire into the Greek and Latin empires, became the king who, in matters of religion, did according to his will; and, in legislature, exalted and magnified himself above every god. And at length, by the seventh general council, established the

the worship of the images and souls of dead men, here called Mahuzzims.

* Lib. 4.
c. 27, 28.

II. The same king placed holiness in abstinence from marriage. Eusebius (*) in his Ecclesiastical History tells us, that Musanus wrote a tract against those who fell away to the heresy of the *Encratite*, which was then newly risen, and introduced a pernicious error; and that Tatian, the disciple of Justin, was the author thereof; and that Irenæus, in his first book against heresies, teaches this; writing of Tatian and his heresy in these words: "*A Saturnino & Marcione profecti qui vocantur Continentes, docuerunt non contrahendum esse matrimonium; reprobantes scilicet primum illud officium Dei, & tacite accusantes Deum, qui masculum & feminam condidit ad procreationem generis humani. Induxerunt etiam abstinenciam ab esu eorum, que animalia appellant; ingratos se exhibentes erga eum, qui universa creavit, Deum. Negant etiam primi hominis salutem. Atque hoc nuper apud illos excogitatum est, Tatiano quodam omnium primo hujus impietatis auctore: qui Justinus auditor, quamdiu cum illo versatus est, nihil ejusmodi protulit. Post martirium autem illius, ab ecclesia se abrumpens, doctoris arrogantiam elatus ac tumidus, tanquam præstantior cæteris, novam quandam formam doctrinæ constravit; æonas invisibiles commentus, perinde ac Valentinus: asserens quoque cum Saturnino & Marcione, matrimonium nihil aliud esse quam corruptionem ac stuprum: nova præterea argumenta ad subvertendam Adami salutem excogitans. Hæc Irenæus de Hæresi, quæ tunc, viguit Encratitarum.*" Thus far Eusebius. But although the followers of Tatian were at first condemned as Hereticks, by the name of *Encratite*, or *Continentes*; yet their principles could not be quite exploded: for Montanus refined upon them, and made only second marriages unlawful: he introduced frequent fastings, and annual fasting days, and Lent, and feeding upon dried meats. The *Apostolici*, about the middle of the third century, condemned marriage, and were a branch of the disciples of Tatian. The *Hierocite* in Egypt, in the latter end of the third century, also condemned marriage. Paul the Eremite fled into the wilderness from the persecution of Decius, and lived there a solitary

tary life till the reign of Constantine the Great, but made no disciples. Antony did the like in the persecution of Dioclesian, or a little before, and made disciples; and many others soon followed his example.

III. Hitherto the principles of the *Encratite* had been rejected by the churches; but now being refined by the Monks, and imposed not upon all men, but only upon those who would voluntarily undertake a monastic life, they began to be admired; and to overflow first the Greek church, and then the Latin also, like a torrent. Eusebius (*) tells us, that Constantine the Great had those men in the highest veneration, who dedicated themselves wholly to the divine philosophy; and that he almost venerated the most holy company of virgins perpetually devoted to God; being certain that the God, to whom he had consecrated himself, did dwell in their minds. In his time and that of his sons, this profession of a single life was propagated in Egypt by Antony, and in Syria by Hilarion; and spread so fast, that soon after the time of Julian the apostate, a third part of the Egyptians were got into the deserts of Egypt. They lived first singly in cells, then associated into *cænobia*, or convents; and at length came into towns, and filled the churches with bishops, presbyters, and deacons. Athanasius, in his younger days, poured water upon the hands of his master Antony; and finding the monks faithful to him, made many of them bishops and presbyters in Egypt: and these bishops erected new monasteries, out of which they chose presbyters of their own cities, and sent bishops to other cities. The like was done in Syria, the superstition being quickly propagated thither out of Egypt by Hilarion, a disciple of Antony. Spiridion and Epiphanius, of Cyprus; James, of Nisibis; Cyril, of Jerusalem; Eustathius, of Sebastia in Armenia; Eusebius, of Emisa; Titus, of Bostra; Basilus, of Ancyra; Acacius, of Cæsarea in Palestine; Elpidius, of Laodicea; Melitius and Flavian, of Antioch; Theodorus, of Tyre; Protogenes, of Carrhæ; Acacius, of Berrhœa; Theodotus, of Hierapolis; Eusebius, of Chalcedon; Amphilochius, of Iconium; Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, and John Chrysostom, of Constantinople, were both bishops and monks in the fourth century.

Eustathius,

Eustathius, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, Basil, &c. had monasteries of clergymen in their cities, out of which bishops were sent to other cities; who in like manner erected monasteries there, till the churches were supplied with bishops out of these monasteries. Whence Jerome (^a), in a letter written about the year 385, saith of the clergy: “*Quasi & ipsi aliud sint quàm Monachi; & non quicquid in Monachos dicitur, redundet in Clericos, qui patres sunt Monachorum. Detrimentum pecoris pastoris ignominia est.*” And in his book against Vigilantius: “*Quid facient Orientis Ecclesiæ? Quæ aut virgines Clericos accipiunt, aut Continentes; aut si uxores habuerint, mariti esse desistunt.*” Not long after even the emperors commanded the churches to chuse clergymen out of the monasteries by this law.

“*Impp. Arcad. & Honor. AA. Casario PF. P.*

“*Siquos forte episcopi deesse sibi clericos arbitrantur, ex Monachorum numero rectius ordinabunt: non obnoxios publicis privatisque rationibus cum invidia teneant, sed habeant jam probatos. Dat. vii. Kal. Aug. Honorio A. iv. & Eutycbiano Coss. A. C. 398^(b).*” The Greek empire being now in the hands of these *Encratites*, and having them in great admiration; Daniel makes it a characteristick of the king, who doth according to his will, that he should not regard the desire of women.

IV. Thus the sect of the *Encratites*, set on foot by the Gnosticks, and propagated by Tatian and Montanus near the end of the second century; which was condemned by the churches of that and the third century, and refined upon by their followers; overspread the Eastern churches in the fourth century, and before the end of it began to overspread the Western. Henceforward the Christian churches having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof, came into the hands of the *Encratites*: and the heathens, who in the fourth century came over in great numbers to the Christians, embraced more readily this sort of Christianity, as having a greater affinity with their old superstitions, than that of the sincere Christians; who by the lamps of the seven churches of Asia, and not by the lamps of the monasteries,

teries, had illuminated the church catholic during the three first centuries. DANIEL'S
WILFULL
KING.

V. The Cataphrygians brought in also several other superstitions: such as were the doctrine of ghosts, and of their punishment in purgatory, with prayers and oblations for mitigating that punishment; as Tertullian teaches in his books *De Animâ* and *De Monogamiâ*. They used also the sign of the cross as a charm. So Tertullian in his book *De Coronâ Militis*: “*Ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum & exitum, ad vestitum, ad calceatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quæcunque nos conversatio exercet, frontem crucis signaculo terimus.*” All these superstitions the apostle refers to, where he saith: “Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of ghosts, [the devils worshiped by the heathens], speaking lies in hypocrisy, [about their apparitions, and the miracles done by them, and their reliques, and the sign of the cross,] having consciences seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and teaching to abstain from meats, &c.” (1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3.) From the Cataphrygians these principles and practices were propagated down to posterity. For the mystery of iniquity began to work, in the apostles days, in the Gnosticks; and continued to work very strongly in their offspring, the Tatianists and Cataphrygians; and was to work “till the man of sin should be revealed; whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and signs, and lying wonders, and all deceivableness of unrighteousness;” coloured over with a form of Christian godliness, but without the power thereof (2 Theff. ii. 7—10.)

VI. For though some stop was put to the Cataphrygian Christianity, by provincial councils, till the fourth century; yet the Roman emperors then turning Christians, and great multitudes of heathens coming over to the Christian religion in outward profession, and finding the Cataphrygian Christianity more suitable to their old principles, of placing religion in outward forms and ceremonies, holy-days, and doctrines of ghosts, than that of the sincere Christians: they readily sided with the Cataphrygian Christians,

tians, and set up that Christianity before the end of the fourth century. And by this means those of understanding, after they had been persecuted by the heathen emperors in the three first centuries, and were "holpen with a little help," by the conversion of Constantine the Great and his sons to the Christian religion, fell under new persecutions, to "purge them" from the dissemblers, and "to make them white, even to the time of the end."

C H A P. XIV.

Of the Mahuzzims, honoured by the king who doth according to his will.

CHAPTER
FOUR-
TEENTH.

* Chap. xi.
38, 39.

IN Scripture we are told of some trusting in God, and others trusting in idols, and that God is our refuge, our strength, our defence. And in this sense God is the rock of his people; and false gods are called the rock of those that trust in them (Deut. xxxii. 4, 15, 18, 30, 31, 37.) And in the same sense the gods of the king, who shall do according to his will, are called Mahuzzims; munitions, fortresses, protectors, defenders. "In his estate," saith Daniel (*), "shall he honour Mahuzzims [Guardians]; even with a God whom his fathers knew not, shall he honour them with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and things of value. Thus shall he do in the most strong holds [or temples];—and he shall cause them to rule over many, and divide the land [among them] for a possession." Now this came to pass by degrees in the following manner.

II. Gregory Nyssen (*) tells us, that after the persecution of the emperor Decius, Gregory, bishop of Neocæsarea in Pontus, "instituted among all people, as an addition or corollary of devotion towards God, that festival days and assemblies should be celebrated to them who had contended for the faith," that is, to the Martyrs. And he adds this reason for the institution: "When he observed," saith Nyssen, "that the simple and unskilful multitude, by reason of corporeal delights, remained in the error of idols; that the principal thing might be corrected among them, namely, that instead of their vain worship they might turn their eyes upon God; he permitted, that at the memories of the holy martyrs they might make merry and delight themselves, and be dissolved into joy." The heathens were delighted with the festivals of their gods, and unwilling to part with those delights; and therefore Gregory, to facilitate their conversion, instituted annual festivals to the Saints and Martyrs. Hence it came to pass, that for exploding the festivals of the heathens, the principal festivals of the Christians succeeded in their room: as the keeping of Christmas with ivy and feasting, and playing and sports, in the room of the *Bacchanalia* and *Saturnalia*; the celebrating of May-day with flowers, in the room of the *Floralia*; and the keeping of festivals to the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, and divers of the apostles, in the room of the solemnities at the entrance of the sun into the signs of the Zodiac in the old Julian calendar. In the same persecution of Decius, Cyprian ordered the passions of the martyrs in Africa to be registered, in order to celebrate their memories annually with oblations and sacrifices. And Felix bishop of Rome, a little after, as Platina relates, "*Martyrum glorie consulens, constituit ut quotannis sacrificia eorum nomine celebrarentur*:" "consulting the glory of the martyrs, ordained that sacrifices should be celebrated annually in their name." By the pleasures of these festivals the Christians increased much in number, and decreased as much in virtue; until they were purged and made white by the persecution of Dioclesian. And this was the first step made in the Christian religion towards the veneration of the martyrs: and though it did not yet amount to an unlawful

unlawful worship, yet it disposed the Christians towards such a further veneration of the dead, as in a short time ended in the invocation of saints.

III. The next step was the affecting to pray at the sepulchres of the martyrs: which practice began in Dioclesian's persecution. The council of Eliberis in Spain, celebrated in the third or fourth year of Dioclesian's persecution, A. C. 305, hath these canons.

Can. 34. "*Cereos per diem placuit in Cœmeterio non incendi: in-*
"*quietandi enim spiritus sanctorum non sunt. Qui hæc non obser-*
"*varint, arceantur ab ecclesiæ communione.*" Can. 35. "*Pla-*
"*cuit probiberi ne fœminæ in Cœmeterio pervigilent, eo quod sæpe*
"*sub obtentu orationis latenter scelera committant.*" Presently

after that persecution, suppose about the year 314, the council of Laodicea in Phrygia, which then met for restoring the lapsed discipline of the church, has the following canons. "Can. 9.

"Those of the church are not allowed to go into the Cœmete-
ries, or Martyries as they are called, of Hereticks, for the
sake of prayer or recovery of health: but such as go, if they
be of the faithful, shall be excommunicated for a time." Can.

34. "A Christian must not leave the martyrs of Christ, and
go to false martyrs," that is, to the martyrs of the Hereticks;
for these are alien from God: and therefore let those be ana-
thema who go to them." Can. 51. "The birth-days of the

martyrs shall not be celebrated in Lent; but their commemora-
tion shall be made on the Sabbath-days and Lord's days."

The council of Paphlagonia, celebrated in the year 324, made
this canon: "If any man be arrogant, abominates the congre-

gations of the martyrs, or the liturgies performed therein, or
the memories of the martyrs, let him be anathema." By all

which it is manifest that the Christians, in the time of Dioclesian's
persecutions, used to pray in the Cœmeteries, or burying-places

of the dead; for avoiding the danger of the persecution, and
for want of churches, which were all thrown down: and after

the persecution was over, continued that practice in honour of
the martyrs, till new churches could be built: and by use af-

fected it as advantageous to devotion, and for recovering the
health of those that were sick: and that in these burying-

places

places they commemorated the martyrs yearly upon days dedi-
cated to them; and accounted all these practices pious and re-

ligious; and anathematized those men as arrogant, who opposed
them, or prayed in the Martyries of the Hereticks. They also

lighted torches to the martyrs in the day-time, as the heathens
did to their gods; which custom, before the end of the fourth

century, prevailed much in the West. And they sprinkled the
worshipers of the martyrs with holy-water, as the heathens did

the worshipers of their gods; and went in procession to see Je-
rusalem and other holy places, as if the places conferred sanctity

on the visitors. And from the custom of praying in the Cœme-
teries and Martyries, came the custom of translating the bodies of

the saints and martyrs into such churches as were new built; the
emperor Constantius beginning this practice about the year 359,

by causing the bodies of Andrew the apostle, Luke and Timothy,
to be translated into a new church at Constantinople: and before

this act of Constantius, the Egyptians kept the bodies of their
martyrs and saints unburied upon beds in their private houses,

and told stories of their souls appearing after death and ascend-
ing up to heaven, as Athanasius relates in the life of Antony.

All which gave occasion to the emperor Julian, as Cyril relates,
to accuse the Christians in this manner: "Your adding to that

"antient dead man, [viz. Jesus,] many new dead men, who can
sufficiently abominate? You have filled all places with sepul-

chres and monuments; although you are nowhere bidden to
prostrate yourselves to sepulchres, and to respect them offici-

ously." And a little after: "Since Jesus said that sepulchres
are full of filthiness, how do you invoke God upon them?"

And in another place he saith, that if Christians had adhered to
the precepts of the Hebrews, "they would have worshiped one

God instead of many, and not a man; or rather not many un-
happy men: and that they adhered to the wood of the cross,
making its images on their foreheads, and before their
houses."

IV. After the sepulchres of saints and martyrs were thus con-
verted into places of worship like the heathen temples, and the
churches into sepulchres, and a certain sort of sanctity was placed
in

in the dead bodies of the saints and martyrs buried in them, and annual festivals were kept to them, with sacrifices offered to God in their name; the next step towards the invocation of saints, was the attributing to the bodies, bones and other reliques of the saints, a power of working miracles, by means of the separate souls; who were supposed to know what we do or say, and to be able to do us good or hurt, and to work those miracles. This is the very notion the heathens had of the separate souls of their antient kings and heroes; whom they worshipped under the names of Saturn, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Mars, Venus, Bacchus, Ceres, Osiris, Isis, Apollo, Diana, and the rest of their gods. For these gods being male and female, husband and wife, son and daughter, brother and sister, are thereby discovered to be antient men and women. Now as the first step towards the invocation of saints was set on foot by the persecution of Decius, and the second by the persecution of Dioclesian; so this third seems to have been owing to the proceedings of Constantius and Julian the apostate. When Julian began to restore the worship of the heathen gods, and to vilify the saints and martyrs; the Christians of Syria and Egypt seem to have made a great noise about the miracles done by the reliques of the Christian saints and martyrs, in opposition to the powers attributed by Julian and the heathens to their idols. For Sozomen and Ruffinus tells us, that when he opened the heathen temples, and consulted the oracle of Apollo Daphnæus in the suburbs of Antioch, and pressed by many sacrifices for an answer; the oracle at length told him, that the bones of the martyr Babylas, which were buried there, hindered him from speaking. By which answer you may understand, that some Christian was got into the place, where the heathen priests used to speak through a pipe in delivering their oracles: and before this Hilary, in his book against Constantius, written in the last year of that emperor, makes the following mention of what was then doing in the East where he was: "*Sine martyrio persequeris. Plus credulitati vestre Nero, Deci, Maximiane, debemus. Diabolum enim per vos vicimus. Sanctus ubique beatorum martyrum sanguis exceptus est, dum in his Demones mugiunt, dum agriitudines depelluntur, dum miraculorum opera cernuntur, elevari*"

"*elevari sine laqueis corpora, & dispensis pede fœminis vestes non defluere in faciem, uri sine ignibus spiritus, confiteri sine interrogantis incremento fidei.*" And Gregory Nazianzen, in his first oration against the emperor Julian then reigning, writes thus: "*Martyras non extimuiſti, quibus præclari honores & festa constituta, à quibus Demones propellantur, & morbi curantur; quorum sunt apparitiones & prædictiones; quorum vel sola corpora idem possunt, quod animæ sanctæ, sive manibus contrectentur, sive bonorentur: quorum vel solæ sanguinis guttæ, atque exigua passionis signa, [i. e. signa crucis] idem possunt, quod corpora. Hæc non colis, sed contemnis & aspernaris.*" These things made the heathens, in the reign of the same emperor, demolish the sepulchre of John the Baptist in Phœnicia, and burn his bones; and some Christians mixing themselves with the heathens, gathered up some of his remains, which were sent to Athanasius, who hid them in the wall of a church; foreseeing by a prophetic spirit, as Ruffinus tells us, that they might be profitable to future generations.

V. The cry of these miracles being once set on foot, continued for many years, and encreased and grew more general. For Chrysostom, in his second oration on St. Babylas, twenty years after the silencing of the oracle of Apollo Daphnæus as above, viz. A. C. 382, faith of the miracles done by the saints and their reliques (^a): "*Nulla est nostri hujus Orbis seu regio, seu gens, seu urbs, ubi nova & inopinata miracula hæc non decantentur; quæ quidem si fragmenta fuissent, prorsus in tantam hominum admirationem non venissent.*" And a little after: "*Abunde orationi nostræ fidem faciunt, quæ quotidiana à martyribus miracula eduntur, magnâ assatim ad illa hominum multitudine affluente.*" And in his 66th homily, describing how the devils were tormented and cast out by the bones of the martyrs, he adds: "*Ob eam causam multi plerumque Reges peregre profecti sunt, ut hoc spectaculo fruerentur. Siquidem sanctorum martyrum templa futuri judicii vestigia & signa exhibent; dum nimirum Demones flagris caduntur, hominesque torquentur, & liberantur. Vide quæ sanctorum vitæ sanctorum vis sit?*" And Jerom, in his epitaph on Paula, thus mentions the same things (^b). "*Paula vidit Samariam: ibi siti sunt Eliseus & Abdias propheta, & joannes*"

^a Vide
Honi. 47.
in S. Julian.

^b Epist. 27.
ad Eustochi-
um.

“*Joannes Baptista, ubi multis intremuit consternata miraculis.*
 “*Nam cernebat variis demones rugire cruciatibus, & ante se-*
 “*pulchra sanctorum ululare homines more luporum; vocibus latrare*
 “*canum, fremere leonum, sibilare serpentum, mugire taurorum;*
 “*alios rotare caput, & post tergum terram vertice tangere, sus-*
 “*penisque pede feminis vestes non defluere in faciem.*” This was
 about the year 384: and Chrysostom, in his oration on the
 Egyptian martyrs, seems to make Egypt the ringleader in these
 matters, saying (*): “*Benedictus Deus, quandoquidem ex Ægypto*
 “*prodeunt martyres, ex Ægypto illa cum Deo pugnante ac insanissi-*
 “*ma, & unde impia ora, unde lingue blasphemæ; ex Ægypto*
 “*martyres habentur; non in Ægypto tantum, nec in finitima vici-*
 “*naque regione, sed UBIQUE TERRARUM. Et quemadmodum in*
 “*annonæ summâ ubertate, cum viderunt urbium incolæ majorem*
 “*quàm usus habitatorum postulat esse proventum, ad peregrinas*
 “*etiam urbes transmittunt: cum ut suam comitatem & liberali-*
 “*tatem ostendant, tum ut, præter horum abundantiam, cum facili-*
 “*tate res, quibus indigent, rursus ab illis sibi comparent: sic &*
 “*Ægyptii, quod attinet ad religionis athletas, fecerunt. Cum apud*
 “*se multam eorum, Dei benignitate, copiam cernerent; nequâquam*
 “*ingens Dei munus suâ civitate concluderunt, sed in OMNES TERRÆ*
 “*PARTES bonorum thesauros effuderunt: cum ut suum in fratres*
 “*amorem ostenderent, tum ut communem omnium dominum bo-*
 “*nore afficerent, ac civitati suæ gloriam apud omnes compararent,*
 “*totiusque terrarum ORBIS esse METROPOLIN declararent.—Sanc-*
 “*torum enim illorum corpora quovis adamantino & inexpugnabili*
 “*muro tutius nobis urbem communiunt; & tanquam excelsi qui-*
 “*dam scopuli undique prominentes, non horum, qui sub sensus ca-*
 “*dunt, & oculis cernuntur, hostium impetus propulsant tantum, sed*
 “*etiam invisibilium demonum insidias, omnesque diaboli fraudes*
 “*subvertunt ac dissipant.—Neque vero tantum adversus hominum*
 “*insidias, aut adversus fallacias demonum, utilis nobis est hæc pos-*
 “*sessio; sed si nobis communis dominus ob peccatorum multitudinem*
 “*irascatur, his objectis corporibus continuò poterimus eum propiti-*
 “*um reddere civitati.*” This oration was written at Antioch,
 while Alexandria was yet the metropolis of the East, that is,
 before the year 381, in which Constantinople became the me-
 tropolis:

metropolis: and it was a work of some years for the Egyptians to have distributed the miracle-working reliques of their martyrs over all the world, as they had done before that war. Egypt abounded most with the reliques of saints and martyrs, the Egyptians keeping them embalmed upon beds in their private houses; and Alexandria was eminent above all other cities for dispersing them; so as on that account to acquire glory with all men, and manifest herself to be the Metropolis of the world. Antioch followed the example of Egypt, in dispersing the reliques of the forty martyrs: and the examples of Egypt and Syria were soon followed by the rest of the world.

VI. The reliques of the forty martyrs at Antioch were distributed among the churches before the year 373; for Athanasius, who died in that year, wrote an oration upon them. This oration is not yet published; but Gerard Vossius saw it in MS. in the library of cardinal Ascanius in Italy, as he says in his commentary upon the oration of Ephraem Syrus on the same forty martyrs. And since the monks of Alexandria sent the reliques of the martyrs of Egypt into all parts of the earth, and thereby acquired glory to their city, and declared her in these matters the metropolis of the whole world, as we have observed out of Chrysostom; it may be concluded, that before Alexandria received the forty martyrs from Antioch, she began to send out the reliques of her own martyrs into all parts, setting the first example to other cities. This practice therefore began in Egypt some years before the death of Athanasius. It began when the miracle-working bones of John the Baptist were carried into Egypt, and hid in the wall of a church, “that they might be profitable to future generations.” It was restrained during the reign of Julian the apostate: and then it spread from Egypt into all the empire; Alexandria being the metropolis of the whole world, according to Chrysostom, for propagating this sort of devotion, and Antioch and other cities soon following her example.

VII. In propagating these superstitions, the ringleaders were the Monks, and Antony was at the head of them: for in the end of the life of Antony, Athanasius relates that these were his dying words to his disciples, who then attended him. “Do you

"take care," said Antony, "to adhere to Christ in the first place, "and then to the saints; that after death they may receive you "as friends and acquaintance into the everlasting tabernacles. "Think upon these things, perceive these things; and if you "have any regard to me, remember me as a father." This being delivered in charge to the monks by Antony at his death, A. C. 356, could not but inflame their whole body with devotion towards the saints, as the ready way to be received by them into the eternal tabernacles after death. Hence came that noise about the miracles done by the reliques of the saints, in the time of Constantius: hence came the dispersion of the miracle-working reliques into all the empire; Alexandria setting the example, and being renowned for it above all other cities. Hence it came to pass in the days of Julian, A. C. 362, that Athanasius, by a prophetic spirit, as Rufinus tells us, hid the bones of John the Baptist from the heathens, not in the ground to be forgotten, but in the hollow wall of a church before proper witnesses, that they might be "profitable to future generations." Hence also came the invocation of the saints, for doing such miracles, and for assisting men in their devotions, and mediating with God. For Athanasius, even from his youth, looked upon the dead saints and martyrs as mediators of our prayers: for in his epistle to Marcellinus, written in the days of Constantine the Great, he saith that the words of the Psalms are not to be transposed, or any wise changed, but to be recited and sung without any artifice, as they are written; "that the holy men who delivered "them, knowing them to be their own words, may pray with "us; or rather, that the Holy Ghost, who spake in the holy "men, seeing his own words with which he inspired them, may "join with them in assisting us."

VIII. And whilst Egypt abounded with monks above any other country, the veneration of the saints began sooner, and spread faster there than in other places. Palladius going into Egypt in the year 388 to visit the monasteries, and the sepulchres of Apollonius and other martyrs of Thebais, who had suffered under Maximinus, saith of them: "*Iis omnibus Christiani fecerunt adem.* "unam, ubi nunc multe virtutes peraguntur. Tanta autem fuit.

"viri

"*viri gratia, ut de iis quæ esset precatus, statim exaudiretur, eum* MANUZZI
"*sic bonorante servatore: quem etiam nos in martyrio precati vi-*
"*dimus, cum iis qui cum ipso fuerunt martyrio affecti; & Deum*
"*adorantes, eorum corpora salutavimus.*" And Eunapius, a heathen, yet a competent witness of what was done in his own times, relating how the soldiers delivered the temples of Egypt into the hands of the monks, which was done in the year 389, rails thus in an impious manner at the martyrs, as succeeding in the room of the old gods of Egypt. "*Illi ipsi [milites] Mona-*
"*chos Canobi quoque collocarunt; ut pro Diis, qui animo cernuntur,*
"*servos, & quidem flagitiosos, divinis bonoribus percolerent; homi-*
"*num mentibus ad cultum ceremoniasque obligatis. Ii namque*
"*condita & salita eorum capita, qui ob scelerum multitudinem à*
"*judicibus extremo judicio fuerant affecti, pro Divis ostentabant;*
"*iis genua submittebant; eos in Deorum numerum receptabant, ad*
"*illorum sepulchra pulvere sordibusque conspurcati. Martyres igitur*
"*vocabantur, & ministri quidem & legati arbitrique precum*
"*apud Deos; cum fuerint servitia infida, & flagris pessime subacta,*
"*quæ cicatrices scelerum, ac nequitie vestigia, corporibus circumse-*
"*runt; ejusmodi tamen Deos fert tellus.*" By these instances we may understand the invocation of saints was now of some standing in Egypt, and that it was already generally received and practised there by the common people.

IX. Thus Basil a monk, who was made bishop of Cæsarea in the year 369, and died in the year 378, in his oration on the martyr Manaas, saith: "Be ye mindful of the martyr, as many of you as have enjoyed him in your dreams; as many as in this place have been assisted by him in prayer; as many of you as upon invoking him by name have had him present in your works; as many as he has reduced into the way from wandering; as many as he has restored to health; as many as have had their dead children restored by him to life; as many as have had their lives prolonged by him." And a little after, he thus expresses the universality of this superstition in the regions of Cappadocia and Bithynia: "At the memory of the martyr," saith he, "the whole region is moved; at his festival the whole city is transported with joy. Nor do the kindred

"of

“ of the rich turn aside to the sepulchres of their ancestors, but “ all go to the place of devotion.” And, in the end of the homily, he prays, that “ God would preserve the church, thus “ fortified with the great towers of the martyrs.” And in his oration on the forty martyrs: “ These are they,” saith he, “ who “ obtaining our country, like certain towers, afford us safety “ against our enemies. Neither are they shut up in one place “ only; but being distributed are sent into many regions, and “ adorn many countries.—You have often endeavoured; you “ have often laboured to find one who might pray for you: here “ are forty, emitting one voice of prayer.—He that is in affliction flies to these; he that rejoices, has recourse to these: the “ first, that he may be freed from evil; the last, that he may “ continue in happiness. Here a woman, praying for her children, is heard; she obtains a safe return for her husband from “ abroad, and health for him in his sickness.—O ye common “ keepers of mankind, the best companions of our cares, sufficient fragrances and coadjutors of our prayers, most powerful embassadors to God, &c.” By all which it is manifest, that before the year 378, the orations and sermons upon the saints went much beyond the bounds of mere oratorical flourishes, and that the common people in the East were already generally corrupted by the monks with saint-worship.

X. Gregory Nazianzen, a monk, in his sixth oration, written A. C. 373, when he was newly made bishop of Sasima, saith: “ Let us purify ourselves to the martyrs, or rather to the God of “ the martyrs.” And a little after he calls the martyrs “ mediators of obtaining an ascension or divinity.” The same year, in the end of his oration upon Athanasius, then newly dead, he thus invokes him: “ Do thou look down upon us propitiously, “ and govern this people, a perfect adorer of the perfect Trinity, which in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is contemplated and adored. If there shall be peace, preserve me, “ and feed my flock with me; but if war, bring me home, “ place me with yourself, and with such as you are; although it “ be great which I desire.” And in the end of the funeral oration upon Basil, written A. C. 378, he thus invokes Basil: “ But “ thou,

“ thou, O divine and sacred head, look down upon us from ^{MAHUTZIM.} “ heaven; and by thy prayers either take away that thorn of the “ flesh, which is given us by God for exercise; or obtain, that we “ may bear it with courage, and direct all our life to that which “ is most conducive. And when we depart this life, receive us “ there in your tabernacles; that living together, and beholding “ the holy and blessed Trinity more purely and perfectly, where- “ of we have now but an imperfect view, we may there come to “ the end of our desires, and receive this reward of the wars “ which we have waged or suffered.” And in his oration upon Cyprian, not the bishop of Carthage, but a Greek, he invokes him after the same manner; and tells us also, how a pious virgin, named Justina, was protected by invoking the Virgin Mary; and how miracles were done by the ashes of Cyprian.

XI. Gregory Nyssen, another eminent monk and bishop, in the life of Ephraem Syrus, tells how a certain man, returning from a far country, was in great danger, by reason that all the ways were intercepted by the armies of barbarous nations; but upon invoking Ephraem by name, and saying, “ Holy Ephraem assist me,” he escaped the danger, neglected the fear of death, and beyond his hope got safe home. And in the end of this oration Gregory calls upon Ephraem after the following manner: “ But thou [O “ Ephraem] assisting now at the divine altar, and sacrificing to “ the Prince of life, and to the most holy Trinity, together with “ the angels, remember us all; and obtain for us pardon of our “ sins, that we may enjoy the eternal happiness of the kingdom of heaven.” The same Gregory, in his oration on the martyr Theodorus, written A. C. 381, thus describes the power of that martyr, and the practice of the people. “ This martyr,” saith he, “ the last year quieted the barbarous tempest, “ and put a stop to the horrid war of the fierce and cruel Scythians.—If any one is permitted to carry away the dust, with “ which the tomb is covered wherein the body of the martyr “ rests; the dust is accepted as a gift, and gathered to be laid up “ as a thing of great price. For to touch the reliques themselves, if any such prosperous fortune shall at any time happen, how great a favour that is, and not to be obtained with-

“ out

“ out the most earnest prayers; they know well, who have obtained it. For as a living and florid body, they who behold it embrace it; applying to it the eyes, mouth, ears, and all the organs of sense: and then with affection pouring tears upon the martyr, as if he was whole and appeared to them, they offer prayers with supplication, that he would intercede for them as an advocate; praying to him as an officer attending upon God, and invoking him as receiving gifts, whenever he will.” And at length Gregory concludes the oration with this prayer: “ O Theodorus, we want many blessings; intercede and deprecate for your country before the common King and Lord: for the country of the martyr is the place of his passion; and they are his citizens, brethren and kindred, who have him, and defend, adorn and honour him. We fear afflictions; we expect dangers: the wicked Scythians are not far off, ready to make war against us. As a soldier, fight for us; as a martyr, use liberty of speech for thy fellow-servants. Pray for peace; that these public meetings may not cease; that the furious and wicked barbarian may not rage against the temples and altars; that the profane and impious may not trample upon the holy things. For we acknowledge it a benefit received from thee, that we are preserved safe and entire; and we pray for freedom from danger in time to come: and if there shall be need of greater intercession and deprecation, call together a choir of thy brethren the martyrs, and in conjunction with them all intercede for us. Let the prayers of many just ones atone for the sins of the multitudes and the people; exhort Peter, excite Paul, and also John the Divine and beloved disciple, that they may be solicitous for the churches which they have erected, for which they have been in chains, for which they have undergone dangers and deaths; that the worship of idols may not lift up its head against us; that heresies may not spring up like thorns in the vineyard; that tares grown up may not choke the wheat; that no rock, void of the fatness of true dew, may be against us, and render the fruitful power of the word void of a root; but by the power of the prayers of yourself and your companions, O admirable man and eminent among

“ among the martyrs, the commonwealth of Christians may be-^{MANUZZI.}
“ come a field of corn.” The same Gregory Nyssen, in his sermon upon the death of Meletius bishop of Antioch, preached at Constantinople the same year, A. C. 381, before the bishops of all the East assembled in the second general council, spake thus of Meletius. “ The Bridegroom,” saith he, “ is not taken from us: he stands in the midst of us, though we do not see him: he is a Priest in the most inward places, and face to face intercedes before God for us and the sins of the people.” This was no oratorical flourish, but Gregory’s real opinion; as may be understood by what we have cited out of him concerning Ephraem and Theodorus: and as Gregory preached this before the council of Constantinople, you may thence know, saith Baronius (^{Ad an. 381. & 41.}), that he professed what the whole council, and there-^{Ad an. 381. & 41.} with the whole church of those parts believed, namely, that the saints in heaven offer prayers for us before God:

XII. Ephraem Syrus, another eminent monk, who was contemporary with Basil, and died the same year with him; in the end of his encomium or oration upon Basil then newly dead, invokes him after this manner: “ Deprecate for me, a very miserable man; and recall me by thy intercessions, O Father [Basil]; thou courageous, for me a weak one; thou diligent, for me a negligent one; thou chearful, for me a slothful one; thou wise, for me a foolish one. Thou who hast treasured up a treasure of all virtues, reduce me who am empty of every good work.” In the beginning of his encomium upon the forty martyrs, written at the same time, he thus invokes them: “ Help me therefore, O ye saints, with your intercession; and O ye beloved, with your holy prayers; that Christ by his grace may direct my tongue to speak, &c.” And afterwards mentioning the mother of one of these forty martyrs, he concludes the oration with this prayer: “ I entreat thee, O holy, faithful, and blessed woman, pray for me to the saints, saying, Intercede ye triumphers of Christ, for the least and the miserable Ephraem, that he may find mercy, and by the grace of Christ may be saved.” And again, in his second sermon or oration on the praises of the holy martyrs.

tyrs of Christ, he thus addresses them: "We entreat you, most
 "holy martyrs, to deprecate the Lord for us miserable sin-
 "ners, beset with the squalor of negligence, that he would
 "infuse his divine grace into us." And afterwards, near the
 end of the same discourse: "Now ye most holy men and glo-
 "rious martyrs of God, help me a miserable sinner with your
 "prayers, that in that dreadful hour I may obtain mercy, when
 "the secrets of all hearts shall be made manifest. I am to-day
 "become to you, O ye most holy martyrs of Christ, as it were an
 "unprofitable and unskilful cup-bearer: for I have delivered to
 "the sons and brothers of your faith, a cup of the excellent wine
 "of your warfare: and with the excellent table of your victo-
 "ry, replenished with all sorts of dainties, I have endeavour-
 "ed, with the whole affection and desire of my mind, to re-
 "create your fathers and brothers, kindred and relations, who
 "daily frequent the table. For behold they sing, and with exul-
 "tation and jubilee glorify God; who has crowned your virtues,
 "by setting on your most sacred heads incorruptible and celest-
 "tial crowns; and with excessive joy they stand about the sacred
 "reliques of your martyrdom, wishing for a blessing, and de-
 "siring to carry away the holy medicines both for the body and
 "mind. As good disciples and faithful ministers of our be-
 "nign Lord and Saviour, bestow therefore a blessing on them
 "all. And I also, though weak and feeble, having received
 "strength by your merits and intercessions, have with the whole
 "devotion of my mind, sung a hymn of your praise and glory
 "before your holy reliques. Wherefore, I beseech you, stand be-
 "fore the throne of the divine Majesty for me Ephraem, a vile
 "and miserable sinner; that by your prayers I may deserve to
 "obtain salvation, and with you enjoy eternal felicity by the
 "grace and benignity and mercy of our Lord and Saviour Jesus
 "Christ; to whom with the Father and Holy Ghost be praise,
 "honour, virtue, and glory, for ever and ever. Amen."

XIII. By what has been cited out of Basil, the two Gregories, and
 Ephraem, we may understand that saint-worship was established
 among the monks and their admirers in Egypt, Phœnicia, Syria
 and

and Cappadocia, before the year 378, this being the year in ^{MAURIZIUM.}
 which Basil and Ephraem died. Chrysostom was not much
 later; he preached at Antioch almost all the time of Theodo-
 sius the Great, and in his sermons are many exhortations to this
 sort of superstition; as may be seen in the end of his orations
 on St. Julia, on St. Pelagia, on the martyr Ignatius, on the
 Egyptian martyrs, on Fate and Providence, on the martyrs in
 general, on St. Berenice and St. Prosdice, on Juveninus and
 Maximus, on the name of Cœmetery, &c. So in his sermon
 on SS. Berenice and Prosdice; "Perhaps," saith he, "you are
 "inflamed with no small love towards these martyrs; therefore
 "with this ardour let us fall down before their reliques, let us
 "embrace their coffins. For the coffins of the martyrs have
 "great virtue, even as the bones of the martyrs have great
 "power. Nor let us only on the day of this festival, but also
 "on other days apply to them, invoke them, and beseech them
 "to be our patrons: for they have great power and efficacy,
 "not only whilst alive, but also after death; and much more
 "after death than before. For now they bear the marks or
 "brands of Christ; and when they shew these marks, they can
 "obtain all things of the King. Seeing therefore they abound
 "with such efficacy, and have so much friendship with him;
 "we also, when, by continual attendance and perpetual vi-
 "sitation of them we have insinuated ourselves into their fa-
 "miliarity, may by their assistance obtain the mercy of God."

XIV. Constantinople was free from these superstitions till Gre-
 gory Nazianzen came thither A. C. 379; but in a few years
 was inflamed with it. Ruffinus ^(*) tells us, that when the <sup>Hist. E. cl.
l. 2. c. 23.</sup>
 emperor Theodosius was setting out against the tyrant Euge-
 nius, which was in the year 394, he went about with the
 priests and people to all the places of prayer; lay prostrate in
 hair-cloth before the shrines of the martyrs and apostles, and
 "prayed for assistance by the intercession of the saints." So-
 zomen ^(b) adds, that when the emperor was marched seven miles ^{L. i. c. 24.}
 from Constantinople against Eugenius, he went into a church
 which he had built to John the Baptist, "and invoked the Bap-
 "tist

CHAPTER
FOUR-
TEENTH.

* Hom. 65. ad
populum,
circa finem,
& Hom.
8, 27, in
Matth.
Hom. 42, 43,
in Gen.
Hom. 1. in
1 Thess.
Exposit. in
Pal. 114.
sub finem.

"tist for his assistance." Chrysostom (a) says: "He that is clothed in purple, approaches to embrace these sepulchres; and laying aside his dignity, stands supplicating the saints to intercede for him with God: and he who goes crowned with a diadem, offers his prayers to the tent-maker and the fisherman as his protectors." And in another place (b): "The cities run together to the sepulchres of the martyrs, and the people are inflamed with the love of them."

XV. This practice of sending reliques from place to place for working miracles, and thereby inflaming the devotion of the nations towards the dead saints and their reliques, and setting up the religion of invoking their souls, lasted only till the middle of the reign of the emperor Theodosius the Great; for he then prohibited it by the following edict: "*Humatum corpus, nemo ad alterum locum transferat; nemo Martyrem distrabat, nemo mercetur: habeant verò in potestate, si quolibet in loco sanctorum est aliquis conditus, pro ejus veneratione, quod Martyrium vocandum sit, addant quod voluerint fabricarum. Dat. iv. Kal. Mart. Constantinopoli, Honorio nob. puero & Euodio Coss. A. C. 386.*" After this they filled the fields and high-ways with altars erected to martyrs, which they pretended to discover by dreams and revelations: and this occasioned the making the fourteenth canon of the fifth council of Carthage, A. C. 398. "*Placuit, ut altaria, quæ passim per agros aut vias, tanquam memorie Martyrum constituuntur, in quibus nullum corpus aut reliquie Martyrum condite probantur, ab Episcopis, qui illis locis præsent, si fieri potest, evertantur. Si autem hoc propter tumultus populares non sinitur, plebes tamen admoneantur, ne illa loca frequentent; ut qui rectè sapiunt, nullà ibi superstitione devincti teneantur. Et omnino nulla memoria Martyrum probabiliter acceptetur, nisi aut ibi corpus aut aliquæ certæ reliquie sint, aut ibi origo alicujus habitationis, vel possessionis, vel passionis fidelissimâ origine traditur. Nam quæ per somnia, & per inanes quasi revelationes quorumlibet hominum, ubique constituuntur altaria, omnimodè reprobentur.*"

These altars were for invoking the saints or martyrs buried or pretended

pretended to be buried under them. First they filled the ^{MAHUZZIMS.} churches in all places with the reliques or pretended reliques of the martyrs, for invoking them in the churches; and then they filled the fields and high-ways with altars, for invoking them every where: and this new religion was set up by the monks in all the Greek empire before the expedition of the emperor Theodosius against Eugenius, and I think before the above-mentioned edict of this emperor, A. C. 386.

XVI. The same religion of worshipping Mahuzzims quickly spread into the Western Empire also: but Daniel in this prophecy describes chiefly the things done among the nations comprehended in the body of his third beast.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

P A R T II.

O B S E R V A T I O N S

U P O N T H E

A P O C A L Y P S E O F S T. J O H N.

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O B S E R V A T I O N S

U P O N T H E

A P O C A L Y P S E O F S T. J O H N.

C H A P. I.

Introduction, concerning the time when the Apocalypse was written.

I R E N Æ U S has set on foot an opinion, that the Apocalypse was writ in the time of Domitian; but he also postpones the writing of some others of the sacred books, and was to place the Apocalypse after them. Perhaps his master Polycarp might say, he had it from St. John in the end of Domitian's reign; and John might at that time have put out a new edition of it, and Irenæus might from thence form a notion of its being written at that time. Eusebius, in his Chronicle and Ecclesiastical History, follows Irenæus; but afterwards^(a) in his Evangelical Demonstrations, he conjoins the banishment of John into Patmos, with the deaths of Peter and Paul: and so do^(b) Tertullian and Pseudo-Prochorus, and the first author, whoever he was, of that very antient fable, that John was put by Nero into a vessel of hot oil, and coming out without

^(a) Dem. Evang. l. 5.
^(b) Vid. Pamelium in notis ad Tertull. de Præscriptionibus, n. 215. & Hieron. l. 1. c. nra Jovinianum, c. 12. edit. Erasmi.

CHAPTER
FIRST.

without hurt, was banished by him into Patmos. Though this be but a fiction, yet it was founded on a tradition of the first churches, that John was banished into Patmos in the days of Nero. Epiphanius represents the Gospel of John as written in Domitian's reign, and the Apocalypse even before Nero's. ^(a) Arethas, in the beginning of his commentary, mentions out of Eusebius the opinion of Irenæus, but follows it not: for afterwards he affirms that the Apocalypse was writ before the destruction of Jerusalem, and that former commentators had expounded the sixth seal of that destruction.

II. With the opinion of the first commentators agrees the tradition of the churches of Syria, preserved to this day in the title of the Syriac version of the Apocalypse; which title is this: "The Revelation which was made to John the Evangelist by God in the Island Patmos, into which he was banished by Nero

^(b) "the Cæsar." The same is confirmed by a story told by ^(c) Eusebius out of Clemens Alexandrinus, and other antient authors, concerning a youth whom John, some time after his return from Patmos, committed to the care of the bishop of a certain city. The bishop educated, instructed, and at length baptized him; but then remitted of his care. The young man thereupon got into ill company; and began by degrees first to revel and grow vicious, then to abuse and spoil those he met in the night; and at last grew so desperate, that his companions, turning a band of highwaymen, made him their captain: and, faith

Chrysoſtom ^(d), he continued their captain a long time. At length John returning to that city, and hearing what was done, rode to the thief; and, when he out of reverence to his old master fled, John rode after him, recalled him, and restored him to the church. This is a story of many years; and requires, that John should have returned from Patmos rather at the death of Nero, than at that of Domitian; because between the death of Domitian and that of John there were but two years

and an half; and John in his old age was ^(e) so infirm as to be carried to church, dying above 90 years old, and therefore could not be then supposed able to ride after the thief.

This

This opinion is further confirmed by the allusions in the ^{AGE OF THE} Apocalypse to the temple and altar, and holy city, as then stand- ^{APOCALYPSE.} ing; and to the Gentiles, who were soon after to tread under foot the holy city and outward court. It is confirmed also by the style of the Apocalypse, which is fuller of Hebraisms than his gospel. For thence it may be gathered, that it was writ when John was newly come out of Judea, where he had been used to the Syriac tongue; and that he did not write his gospel, till by long converse with the Asiatick Greeks he had left off most of the Hebraisms. It is confirmed also by the many false Apocalypses; as those of Peter, Paul, Thomas, Stephen, Elias, and Cerinthus, written in imitation of the true one. For as the many false gospels, false acts, and false epistles were occasioned by true ones; and the writing many false Apocalypses, and ascribing them to apostles and prophets, argues that there was a true apostolic one in great request with the first Christians: so this true one may well be supposed to have been written early; that there may be room in the apostolic age for the writing of so many false ones afterwards, and fathering them upon Peter, Paul, Thomas, and others, who were dead before John. Caius, who was contemporary with Tertullian ^(f), tells us that Cerinthus wrote his revelations as a great apostle, and pretended the visions were shewn him by angels, ^{Apoc. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 3. c. 28. Edit. Valeſii.} asserting a *millennium* of carnal pleasures at Jerusalem after the resurrection; so that his Apocalypse was plainly written in imitation of John's: and yet he lived so early, that ^(g) he resisted the apostles at Jerusalem in or before the first year of Claudius, that is, 26 years before the death of Nero, and ^(h) died before ^{Epiphanius. Hæret. 28. Hieron. adv. Lucif.} John.

III. These reasons may suffice for determining the time; and yet there is one more, which to considering men may seem a good reason, to others not. I will propound it, and leave it to every man's judgment. The Apocalypse seems to be alluded to in the epistles of Peter and that to the Hebrews, and therefore to have been written before them. Such allusions in the epistles to the Hebrews, I take to be the discourses concerning the high-priest in the heavenly tabernacle, who is both priest and king,

king, as was Melchisedec; and those concerning the word of God, with the two-edged sword; the *σαβατισμός*, or millennial rest; the earth whose end is to be burned, suppose by the lake of fire; the judgment and fiery indignation which shall devour the adversaries; the heavenly city which hath foundations whose builder and maker is God; the cloud of witnesses, Mount Zion, heavenly Jerusalem, general assembly, spirits of just men made perfect, viz. by the resurrection, and the shaking of heaven and earth, and removing them, that the new heaven, new earth, and new kingdom which cannot be shaken, may remain.

In the first of Peter (*) occur these: "The revelation of Jesus Christ," twice or thrice repeated; "(b) the blood of Christ as a Lamb foreordained before the foundation of the world;" "(c) the spiritual building in heaven (1 Pet. ii. 5) an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for us, who are kept unto the salvation, ready to be revealed in the last time" (1 Pet. i. 4, 5.) "(d) the royal priesthood, (e) the holy priesthood, (f) the judgment beginning at the house of God, and (g) the church at Babylon. These are indeed obscure allusions; but the second epistle, from the 19th verse of the first chapter to the end, seems to be a continued commentary upon the Apocalypse. There, in writing to the churches in Asia, to whom John was commanded to send this prophecy, he tells them, they "have a more sure word of prophecy, to be heeded by them, as a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in their hearts;" that is, until they begin to understand it as for "no prophecy," saith he, "of the scripture is of any private interpretation; the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." Daniel (h) himself professes that he understood not his own Prophecies; and therefore the churches were not to expect the interpretation from their prophet John, but to study the prophecies themselves. This is the substance of what Peter says in the first chapter; and then in the second he proceeds to describe, out of this sure word of prophecy, how there should arise in the church false prophets, or false teachers, ex-

^a Dan. viii.
15, 16, 27.
& xii. 8, 9.

^a 1 Pet. i. 7.
13 iv. 13.
& v. 1.

^b Apoc. xiii.
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^c Apoc. xxi.

^d Apoc. i. 6.
& v. 10.

^e Apoc. xx. 6.
Apoc. xx.
4, 12.

^f Apoc. xvii.

pressed collectively in the Apocalypse by the name of the false prophet; who should bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, which is the character of Antichrist. And many, saith he, shall follow their lusts (*); [they that dwell on the earth (b) shall be deceived by the false prophet, and be made drunk with the wine of the Whore's fornication,] by reason of whom the way of truth shall be blasphemed; [for (c) the beast is full of blasphemy]: and through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandize of you; [for these are the merchants of the earth, who trade with the great Whore, and their merchandize (d) is all things of price, with the bodies and souls of men]: whose judgment lingereth not, and their damnation (e) slumbereth not, but shall surely come upon them at the last day suddenly, as the flood upon the old world, and fire and brimstone upon Sodom and Gomorrha, when the just shall be delivered (f) like Lot; for the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished [in the lake of fire]; but chiefly them that walk after the flesh in the lust of uncleanness, [(g) being made drunk with the wine of the Whore's fornication]; who despise dominion, and are not afraid to despise glories; [for the beast opened his mouth against God (h) to blaspheme his name and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven.] These, as natural brute beasts, [the ten-horned beast and two-horned beast, or false prophet], made to be taken and destroyed [in the lake of fire], blaspheme the things they understand not:—they take pleasure to riot in the day time—sporting themselves with their own deceivings, while they feast (i) with Christians, having eyes full of an adulteress: [for the kingdoms of the beast live deliciously with the great Whore, and the nations are made drunk with the wine of her fornication.] They are gone astray, following the way of Balaam, the son of Beor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness, [the false prophet (j)] who taught Balak to cast a stumbling block before the children of Israel. These are [not fountains of living water, but] wells without water; [not such clouds of saints as the two witnesses ascend in, but] clouds that are carried

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with a tempest, &c. Thus does the author of this epistle spend all the second chapter in describing the qualities of the Apocalyptic beasts and false prophet: and then in the third he goes on to describe their destruction more fully, and the future kingdom. He saith, that because the coming of Christ should be long deferred, they should scoff; saying, where is the promise of his coming? Then he describes the sudden coming of the day of the Lord upon them, as a thief in the night, which is the Apocalyptic phrase; and the millennium, or thousand years, which are with God but as a day; the passing away of the old heavens and earth, by a conflagration in the lake of fire, and our looking for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.

IV. Seeing therefore Peter and John were apostles of the circumcision, it seems to me that they staid with their churches in Judea and Syria till the Romans made war upon their nation; that is, till the twelfth year of Nero: that they then followed the main body of their flying churches into Asia, and that Peter went thence by Corinth to Rome; that the Roman empire looked upon those churches as enemies, because Jews by birth; and therefore, to prevent insurrections, secured their leaders, and banished John into Patmos. It seems also probable to me, that the Apocalypse was there composed; and that soon after, the epistle to the Hebrews and those of Peter were written to these churches, with reference to this prophecy as a thing they were particularly concerned in. For it appears by these epistles, that they were written in times of general affliction and tribulation under the heathens; and by consequence when the empire made war upon the Jews: for till then the heathens were at peace with the Christian Jews, as well as with the rest. The epistle to the Hebrews, since it mentions Timothy as related to those Hebrews, must be written to them after their flight into Asia, where Timothy was bishop; and by consequence after the war began, the Hebrews in Judea being strangers to Timothy. Peter seems also to call Rome Babylon, as well with respect to the war made upon Judea, and the approaching captivity, like that under old Babylon; as with respect to that name in the Apocalypse: and in writing

writing to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia, he seems to intimate that they were the strangers newly scattered by the Roman wars; for those were the only strangers there belonging to his care.

V. And this account of things agree best with history duly rectified. For Justin (*) and Irenæus (b) say, that Simon Magus came to Rome in the reign of Claudius, and exercised juggling tricks there. Pseudo-Clemens adds, that he endeavoured there to fly, but broke his neck through the prayers of Peter. Whence Eusebius (c), or rather his interpolator Jerom, has recorded, that Peter came to Rome in the second year of Claudius: but Cyril (d) bishop of Jerusalem, Philastrius, Sulpitius, Prosper, Maximus Taurinensis, and Hegefippus junior, place this victory of Peter in the time of Nero. Indeed the antienter tradition was, that Peter came to Rome in the days of this emperor; as may be seen in Lactantius (e). Chrysostom (f) tells us, that the apostles continued long in Judea; and that then, being driven out by the Jews, they went to the Gentiles. This dispersion was in the first year of the Jewish war; when the Jews, as Josephus tells us, began to be tumultuous and violent in all places. For all agree, that the apostles were dispersed into several regions at once; and Origen (g) has set down the time; telling us, that in the beginning of the Judaic war, the apostles and disciples of our Lord were scattered into all nations; Thomas into Parthia; Andrew into Scythia; John into Asia; and Peter first into Asia, where he preached to the dispersion, and thence into Italy. Dionysius Corinthius (h) saith, that Peter went from Asia by Corinth to Rome; and all antiquity agree that Peter and Paul were martyred there in the end of Nero's reign. Mark went with Timothy to Rome (2 Tim. iv. 11. Coloss. iv. 10.) Sylvanus was Paul's assistant; and by the companions of Peter, mentioned in his first epistle, we may know that he wrote from Rome; and antiquity generally agree, that in this epistle he understood Rome by Babylon. His second epistle was writ to the same dispersed strangers with the first (2 Pet. iii. 1.) and therein he saith, that Paul had writ of the same things to them, and also in his other epistles (ver. 15, 16.) Now as there is no epistle of Paul

to these strangers besides that to the Hebrews, so in this epistle (chap. x. 11, 12.) we find at large all those things which Peter had been speaking of, and refers to; particularly the passing away of the old heavens and earth, and establishing an inheritance immovable, with an exhortation to grace, because God, to the wicked, "is a consuming fire" (Heb. xii. 25, 26, 28, 29.)

VI. Having determined the time of writing the Apocalypse, I need not say much about the truth of it; since it was in such request with the first ages, that many endeavoured to imitate it, by feigning Apocalypses under the apostles names; and the apostles themselves, as I have just now shewed, studied it, and used its phrases; by which means the style of the epistle to the Hebrews became more mystical, than that of Paul's other epistles; and the style of John's gospel more figurative and majestic, than that of the other gospels. I do not find that Christ was called the Word of God, in any book of the New Testament written before the Apocalypse; and therefore am of opinion, the language was taken from this prophecy, as were also many other phrases in this gospel, such as those of Christ's being "the Light, which enlightens the world; the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world; the Bridegroom; he that testifieth; he that came down from heaven; the Son of God, &c." Justin Martyr, who within thirty years after John's death became a Christian, writes expressly, that "a certain man among the Christians, whose name was John, one of the twelve apostles of Christ, in the revelation which was shewed him, prophesied, that those who believed in Christ should live a thousand years at Jerusalem." And a few lines before he saith: "But I, and as many as are Christians, in all things right in their opinions, believe both that there shall be a resurrection of the flesh, and a thousand years life at Jerusalem built, adorned and enlarged." Which is as much as to say, that all true Christians in that early age received this prophecy: for in all ages, as many as believed the thousand years, received the Apocalypse as the foundation of their opinion: and I do not know one instance to the contrary. Papias bishop of Hierapolis,

polis, a man of the apostolic age, and one of John's own disciples, did not only teach the doctrine of the thousand years, but also (a) asserted the Apocalypse as written by divine inspiration. Melito, who flourished next after Justin (b), wrote a commentary upon this prophecy; and he, being bishop of Sardis, one of the seven churches, could neither be ignorant of their tradition about it, nor impose upon them. Irenæus, who was contemporary with Melito, wrote much upon it; and said, that "the number 666 was in all the antient and approved copies; and that he had it also confirmed to him, by those who had seen John face to face;" meaning, no doubt, his master Polycarp for one. At the same time Theophilus (c) bishop of Antioch asserted it, and so did Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Origen, soon after; and their contemporary Hippolytus the Martyr, Metropolitan of the Arabians (d), wrote a commentary upon it. All these were antient men, flourishing within a hundred and twenty years after John's death, and of greatest note in the churches of those times. Soon after did Victorinus Pictavienfis write another commentary upon it; and he lived in the reign of Dioclesian. This may surely suffice to shew, how the Apocalypse was received and studied in the first ages: and I do not indeed find any other book of the New Testament so strongly attested, or commented upon so early as this. The prophecy said: "Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep the things which are written therein." This animated the first Christians to study it so much, till the difficulty made them remit, and comment more upon the other books of the New Testament. This was the state of the Apocalypse, till the thousand years being misunderstood, brought a prejudice against it: and Dionysius of Alexandria, by noting how it abounded with barbarisms, that is with Hebraisms, promoted the prejudice so as to cause many Greeks in the fourth century to doubt of the book. But whilst the Latins, and a great part of the Greeks, always retained the book, and the rest doubted only out of prejudice; it makes nothing against its authority.

VII. This

AGE OF THE
APOCA-
LYPSE.
a Arethas in
Proem.
comment. in
Apoc.
b Euseb. Hist.
l. 4. cap. 26.
Hieron.

c Euseb. Hist.
l. 4. c. 24.

d Hieron.

* Dan. x. 21.
xii. 4, 9.

VII. This prophecy is called the revelation, with respect to the scripture of truth, which Daniel ^(a) was commanded to shut up and seal, till the time of the end. Daniel sealed it until the time of the end; and until that time comes, the Lamb is opening the seals: and afterwards the two witnesses prophecy out of it a long time in sack-cloth, before they ascend up to heaven in a cloud. All which is as much as to say, that these prophecies of Daniel and John should not be understood till the time of the end: but then some should prophecy out of them in an afflicted and mournful state for a long time, and that but darkly, so as to convert but few. But in the very end, the prophecy should be so far interpreted as to convince many. "Then," saith Daniel, "many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased." For the gospel must be preached in all nations before the great tribulation, and end of the world. The palm-bearing multitude, which come out of this great tribulation, cannot be innumerable out of all nations, unless they be made so by the preaching of the gospel before it comes. There must be a stone cut out of a mountain without hands, before it can fall upon the toes of the image, and become a great mountain and fill the earth. An angel must fly through the midst of heaven, with the everlasting gospel, to preach to all nations; before Babylon falls, and the Son of Man reaps his harvest. The two prophets must ascend up to heaven in a cloud, before the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of Christ. It is therefore a part of this prophecy, that it should not be understood before the last age of the world; and therefore it makes for the credit of the prophecy, that it is not yet understood. But if the last age, the age of opening these things, be now approaching, as by the great successes of late interpreters it seems to be, we have more encouragement than ever to look into these things. If the general preaching of the gospel be approaching, it is to us and our posterity that those words mainly belong ^(b): "In the time of the end the wise shall understand, but none of the wicked shall understand.—^(c) Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein."

The

AGE OF THE
APOCALYPSE.

VIII. The folly of interpreters hath been, to foretell times and things by this prophecy, as if God designed to make them prophets. By this rashness they have not only exposed themselves, but brought the prophecy also into contempt. The design of God was much otherwise. He gave this, and the prophecies of the Old Testament, not to gratify mens' curiosities by enabling them to foreknow things; but that, after they were fulfilled, they might be interpreted by the event, and his own Providence, not the interpreters, be then manifested thereby to the world. For the event of things, predicted many ages before, will then be a convincing argument that the world is governed by Providence. For as the few and obscure prophecies concerning Christ's first coming were for setting up the Christian religion, which all nations have since corrupted; so the many and clear prophecies concerning the things to be done at Christ's second coming, are not only for predicting, but also for effecting a recovery and re-establishment of the long-lost truth, and setting up a kingdom wherein dwells righteousness. The event will prove the Apocalypse; and this prophecy, thus proved and understood, will open the old prophets, and all together will make known the true religion, and establish it. For he that will understand the old prophets, must begin with this; but the time is not yet come for understanding them perfectly, because the main revolution predicted in them is not yet come to pass. "In the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God shall be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets: and then the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ, and he shall reign for ever" (Apoc. x. 7. xi. 15.) There is already so much of the prophecy filled, that as many as will take pains in this study, may see sufficient instances of God's providence: but then the signal revolutions predicted by all the holy prophets, will at once both turn mens' eyes upon considering the predictions, and plainly interpret them. Till then we must content ourselves with interpreting what hath been already fulfilled.

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IX. Amongst

IX. Amongst the interpreters of the last age there is scarce one of note who hath not made some discovery worth knowing; and thence, it seems, one may gather that God is about opening these mysteries. The success of others put me upon considering it; and if I have done any thing which may be useful to following writers, I have my design.

C H A P. II.

Of the relation which the Apocalypse of John hath to the book of the Law of Moses, and to the worship of God in the temple.

THE Apocalypse of John is written in the same style and language with the prophecies of Daniel, and hath the same relation to them which they have to one another, so that all of them together make but one complete prophecy; and in like manner it consists of two parts, an introductory prophecy, and an interpretation thereof.

II. The prophecy is distinguished into seven successive parts, by the opening of the seven seals of the book which Daniel was commanded to seal up: and hence it is called the Apocalypse, or Revelation of Jesus Christ. The time of the seventh seal is sub-divided into eight successive parts by the silence in heaven for half an hour, and the sounding of seven trumpets successively: and the seventh trumpet sounds to the battle of the great day of God Almighty, whereby the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ; and those are destroyed, that destroyed the earth.

III. The

III. The interpretation begins with the words, "And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament:" and it continues to the end of the prophecy. The temple is the scene of the visions, and the visions in the temple relate to the feast of the seventh month: for the feasts of the Jews were typical of things to come. The passover related to the first coming of Christ, and the feasts of the seventh month to his second coming: his first coming being therefore over before this prophecy was given, the feasts of the seventh month are here only alluded unto.

IV. On the first day of that month, in the morning, the high-priest dressed the lamps: and this is alluded unto in the first vision; where the Son of Man, in the habit of the high-priest, appears in or over-against the midst of the seven candlesticks, with seven stars in his right hand, which are the seven lamps, appearing like a rod of seven stars, as it were, in his right-hand, while he dresses them: and this dressing is performed by the sending seven epistles to the angels of the seven churches, represented by the seven candlesticks. These epistles contain admonitions against the approaching apostacy, and therefore relate to the times when the apostacy began to work strongly, and before it prevailed. It began to work in the apostles days, and was to continue working till the man of sin should be revealed. It began to work in the disciples of Simeon, Menander, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, and such sorts of men as had imbibed the metaphysical philosophy of the Gentiles and Cabalistical Jews, and were thence called Gnosticks. John calls them Antichrists, saying, that in his days there were many Antichrists. But these being condemned by the apostles, and their immediate disciples, put the churches in no danger during the opening of the first four seals. The visions at the opening of these seals relate only to the civil affairs of the heathen Roman empire. So long the apostolic traditions prevailed, and preserved the church in its purity: and therefore the affairs of the church do not begin to be considered in this prophecy before the opening of the fifth seal. She began then to decline, and to want admonitions; and therefore is

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admonished by these epistles, till the apostacy prevailed and took place, which was at the opening of the seventh seal. The admonitions therefore in these seven epistles relate to the state of the church in the times of the fifth and sixth seals. At the opening of the fifth seal, the church is purged from hypocrites by a great persecution. At the opening of the sixth, that which letted is taken out of the way, namely, the heathen Roman empire. At the opening of the seventh, the man of sin is revealed. And to these times the seven epistles relate.

V. The seven angels, to whom these epistles were written, answer to the seven Amare-holim, who were priests and chief officers of the temple, and had jointly the keys of the gates of the temple, with those of the treasuries, and the direction, appointment, and oversight of all things in the temple.

VI. After the lamps were dressed, John saw the door of the temple opened; and by the voice as it were of a trumpet, was called up to the eastern gate of the great court, to see the visions: "and behold a throne was set," viz. the mercy-seat upon the ark of the testament, which the Jews respected as the throne of God between the cherubims (Exod. xxv. 2. Psal. xcix. 1.) "And he that sat on it was to look upon like Jasper and Sardine stone," that is, of an olive colour, the people of Judea being of that colour. And, the sun being then in the east, "a rainbow was about the throne;" the emblem of glory. "And round about the throne were four and twenty seats;" answering to the chambers of the four and twenty princes of the priests, twelve on the south side, and twelve on the north side of the priest's court. "And upon the seats were four and twenty elders sitting, clothed in white rayment, with crowns on their heads;" representing the princes of the four and twenty courses of the priests clothed in linen. "And out of the throne proceeded lightnings, and thunderings, and voices," viz. the flashes of the fire upon the altar at the morning-sacrifice, and the thundering voices of those that sounded the trumpets, and sung at the eastern gate of the priests court; for these being between John and the throne appeared to him as proceeding from the throne. "And there were seven lamps of fire burning [in the temple] before
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"the throne, which are the seven spirits of God," or angels of the seven churches, represented in the beginning of this prophecy by seven stars. "And before the throne was a sea of glass clear as crystal;" the brazen sea between the porch of the temple and the altar, filled with clear water. "And in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, were four beasts full of eyes before and behind:" that is, one beast before the throne and one behind it, appearing to John as in the midst of the throne, and one on either side in the circle about it, to represent by the multitude of their eyes the people standing in the four sides of the peoples' court. "And the first beast was like a lion, and the second was like a calf, and the third had the face of a man, and the fourth was like a flying eagle." The people of Israel in the wilderness encamped round about the tabernacle, and on the east side were three tribes under the standard of Judah, on the west were three tribes under the standard of Ephraim, on the south were three tribes under the standard of Reuben, and on the north were three tribes under the standard of Dan (Numb. ii.) And the standard of Judah, was a Lion; that of Ephraim, an Ox; that of Reuben, a Man; and that of Dan, an Eagle; as the Jews affirm. Whence were framed the hieroglyphicks of Cherubims and Seraphims, to represent the people of Israel. A Cherubim had one body with four faces; the faces of a lion, an ox, a man, and an eagle, looking to the four winds of heaven, without turning about, as in Ezekiel's vision, chap. i. And four Seraphims had the same four faces with four bodies, one face to every body. The four beasts are therefore four Seraphims standing in the four sides of the people's court; the first in the eastern side with the head of a lion, the second in the western side with the head of an ox, the third in the southern side with the head of a man, the fourth in the northern side with the head of an eagle: and all four signify together the twelve tribes of Israel, out of whom the hundred forty and four thousand were sealed (Apoc. vii. 4.) "And the four beasts had each of them six wings," two to a tribe, in all twenty and four wings; answering to the twenty and four stations of the people. "And they were full of eyes
" within,"

"within," or under their wings. "And they rest not day and night," or at the morning and evening sacrifices, "saying, holy, holy, holy Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come." These animals are therefore the Seraphims, which appeared to Isaiah (*) in a vision like this of the Apocalypse. For there also the Lord sat upon a throne in the temple; and the Seraphims each with six wings cried, Holy, holy, holy Lord God of hosts. "And when those animals give glory and honour and thanks to him that sitteth upon the throne, who liveth for ever and ever, the four and twenty elders [go into the temple] and there fall down before him that sitteth on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying, Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honour and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created." At the morning and evening sacrifices, so soon as the sacrifice was laid upon the altar, and the drink-offering began to be poured out, the trumpets sounded, and the Levites sang by course three times; and every time when the trumpets sounded, the people fell down and worshiped. Three times therefore did the people worship; to express which number, the beasts cry, holy, holy, holy: and the song being ended, the people prayed standing, till the solemnity was finished. In the mean time the priests went into the temple, and there fell down before him that sat upon the throne, and worshiped.

VII. "And John saw, in the right hand of him that sat upon the throne, a book written within and on the backside, sealed with seven seals," viz. the book which Daniel was commanded to seal up, and which is here represented by the prophetic book of the law laid up on the right side of the ark, as it were in the right hand of him that sat on the throne: for the festivals and ceremonies of the law prescribed to the people in this book, adumbrated those things which were predicted in the book of Daniel; and the writing within and on the backside of this book, relates to the synchronal prophecies. "(b) And none was found worthy to open the book but the Lamb of God. And lo, in the midst of the throne and of the four beasts, and in
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"the midst of the elders," that is, at the foot of the altar, SCENE OF THE VISIONS. stood a lamb as it had been slain," the morning sacrifice; "having seven horns," which are the seven churches, "and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent forth into all the earth. And he came, and took the book out of the hand of him that sat upon the throne: and when he had taken the book, the four beasts and four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints. And they sung a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; and hast made us, unto our God, kings and priests, and we shall reign on the earth." The beasts and elders therefore represent the primitive Christians of all nations; and the worship of these Christians in their churches is here represented, under the form of worshiping God and the Lamb in the temple: God for his benefaction in creating all things, and the Lamb for his benefaction in redeeming us with his blood: God as sitting upon the throne and living for ever, and the Lamb as exalted above all by the merits of his death. "And I heard," saith John, "the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the beasts, and the elders: and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands; saying with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing. And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I, saying, Blessing, honour, glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever. And the four beasts said, Amen. And the four and twenty elders fell down and worshiped him that liveth for ever and ever." This was the worship of the primitive Christians.

VIII. It was the custom for the high-priest, seven days before the fast of the seventh month, to continue constantly in the temple,

ple, and study the book of the law, that he might be perfect in it against the day of expiation; wherein the service, which was various and intricate, was wholly to be performed by himself; part of which service was reading the law to the people: and to promote his studying it, there were certain priests appointed by the Sanhedrim to be with him those seven days in one of his chambers in the temple, and there to discourse with him about the law, and read it to him, and put him in mind of reading and studying it himself. And this his opening and reading the law those seven days, is alluded unto in the Lamb's opening the seals. Conceive that those seven days begin in the evening before each day) for the Jews began their day in the evening) and that the solemnity of the fast begins in the morning of the seventh day.

IX. The seventh seal was therefore opened on the day of expiation, and then "there was silence in heaven for half an hour. And an angel [the high-priest] stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints, upon the golden altar which was before the throne." The custom was on other days, for one of the priests to take fire from the great altar in a silver censer; but on this day, for the high-priest to take fire from the great altar in a golden censer: and when he was come down from the great altar, he took incense from one of the priests who brought it to him, and went with it to the golden altar: and while he offered the incense, the people prayed without in silence, which is the silence in heaven for half an hour. When the high-priest had laid the incense on the altar, he carried a censer of it burning in his hand, into the most holy place before the ark. "And the smoke of the incense, with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hand." On other days there was a certain measure of incense for the golden altar: on this day there was a greater quantity for both the altar and the most holy place, and therefore it is called much incense. After this "the angel took the censer, and filled it with fire from the great altar, and cast it into the earth; that is, by the hands of the priests who belong to
" his

his mystical body, he cast it to the earth without the temple, ^{SCENE OF THE VISIONS.} for burning the goat which was the Lord's lot. "And [at this
"and other concomitant sacrifices, until the evening-sacrifice
"was ended] there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake;" that is, the voice of the high-priest reading the law to the people, and other voices and thunderings from the trumpets and temple-musick at the sacrifices, and lightnings from the fire of the altar.

X. The solemnity of the day of expiation being finished, the seven angels sound their trumpets at the great sacrifices of the seven days of the feast of tabernacles; and at the same sacrifices, the seven thunders utter their voices; which are the musick of the temple, and singing of the Levites, intermixed with the soundings of the trumpets: and the seven angels pour out their vials of wrath, which are the drink-offerings of those sacrifices.

XI. When six of the seals were opened, John said: "And after these things ("), that is, after the visions of the sixth seal, ^{Apoc. vii.} "I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that the wind should not blow on the earth, nor on the sea, nor on any tree. And I saw another angel ascending from the East, having the seal of the living God: and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea, saying, Hurt not the earth, nor the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads." This sealing alludes to a tradition of the Jews, that upon the day of expiation all the people of Israel are sealed up in the books of life and death. For the Jews in their Talmud ^(b) tell us, that ^{b Buxtorf in Synagoga Judaica, c. 18, 21.} in the beginning of every new year, or first day of the month Tisri, the seventh month of the sacred year, three books are opened in judgment; the book of life, in which the names of those are written who are perfectly just; the book of death, in which the names of those are written who are atheists, or very wicked; and a third book, of those whose judgment is suspended till the day of expiation, and whose names are not written in the book of life or death before that day. The first ten

days of this month they call the penitential days; and all these days they fast and pray very much, and are very devout, that on the tenth day their sins may be remitted, and their names may be written in the book of life; which day is therefore called the day of expiation. And upon this tenth day, in returning home from the synagogues, they say to one another, "God the Creator seal you to a good year." For they conceive that the books are now sealed up, and that the sentence of God remains unchanged henceforward to the end of the year. The same thing is signified by the two goats, upon whose foreheads the high-priest yearly, on the day of expiation, lays the two lots inscribed, "For God, and For Azazel;" God's lot signifying the people who are sealed with the name of God in their foreheads; and the lot Azazel, which was sent into the wilderness, representing those who receive the mark and name of the beast, and go into the wilderness with the great Whore.

XII. The servants of God being therefore sealed in the day of expiation, conceive that this sealing is synchronal to the visions which appear upon opening the seventh seal; and that when the Lamb had opened six of the seals, and seen the visions relating to the inside of the sixth, he looked on the backside of the seventh leaf, and then saw "the four angels holding the four winds of heaven, and another angel ascending from the East with the seal of God." Conceive also, that the angels which held the four winds were the first four of the seven angels, who upon opening the seventh seal were seen standing before God; and that upon their holding the winds, there was silence in heaven for half an hour; and that while the servants of God were sealing, the angel with the golden censer offered their prayers with incense upon the golden altar, and read the law: and that so soon as they were sealed, the winds hurt the earth at the sounding of the first trumpet, and the sea at the sounding of the second; these winds signifying the wars, to which the first four trumpets sounded. For as the first four seals are distinguished from the three last, by the appearance of four horse-men towards the four winds of heaven; so the wars of the first four trumpets are distinguished from those of the three

three last, by representing these by four winds, and the others by three great woes.

XIII. In one of Ezekiel's visions, when the Babylonian captivity was at hand, "six men appeared with slaughter-weapons; and "a seventh (^a), who appeared among them clothed in white linen and a writer's ink-horn by his side, is commanded to go "through the midst of Jerusalem, and set a mark upon the "foreheads of the men that sigh and cry for all the abominations done in the midst thereof." And then the six men, like the angels of the first six trumpets, are commanded to slay those men who are not marked. Conceive therefore that the hundred forty and four thousand are sealed, to preserve them from the plagues of the first six trumpets; and that at length, by the preaching of the everlasting gospel, they grow into a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people and tongues: and at the founding of the seventh trumpet come out of the great tribulation with palms in their hands: the kingdoms of this world, by the war to which that trumpet sounds, becoming the kingdoms of God and his Christ. For the solemnity of the great Hosannah was kept by the Jews upon the seventh or last day of the feast of tabernacles; the Jews upon that day carrying palms in their hands, and crying Hosannah.

XIV. After six of the angels, answering to the six men with slaughter-weapons, had sounded their trumpets; the Lamb, in the form of a mighty angel, came down from heaven clothed with a cloud, and a rainbow was upon his head, and his face was as it were the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire, the shape in which Christ appeared in the beginning of this prophecy; and he had in his hand a little book open, the book which he had newly opened; for he received but one book from him that sitteth upon the throne, and he alone was worthy to open and look on this book. "And he set his right foot upon the sea, "and his left foot on the earth, and cried with a loud voice, as "when a lion roared." It was the custom for the high-priest on the day of expiation, to stand in an elevated place in the people's court, at the eastern gate of the priests court, and read the law

to the people, while the heifer and the goat, which was the Lord's lot, were burning without the temple. We may therefore suppose him standing in such a manner, that his right foot may appear to John as it were standing on the sea of glass, and his left foot on the ground of the house; and that he cried with a loud voice, in reading the law on the day of expiation. "And when he had cried, seven thunders uttered their voices." Thunders are the voice of a cloud, and a cloud signifies a multitude; and this multitude may be the Levites, who sang with thundering voices, and played with musical instruments at the great sacrifices, on the seven days of the feast of tabernacles: at which times the trumpets also sounded. For the trumpets sounded, and the Levites sang alternately, three times at every sacrifice. The prophecy therefore of the seven thunders is nothing else than a repetition of the prophecy of the seven trumpets in another form. "And the angel which I saw stand upon the sea and upon the earth, lifted up his hand to heaven, and swore by him that liveth for ever and ever, that after the seven thunders there should be time no longer; but in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets." The voices of the thunders therefore last to the end of this world, and so do those of the trumpets.

XV. "And the voice which I heard from heaven," saith John, "spoke unto me again and said, Go and take the little book, &c. And I took the little book out of the angel's hand, and ate it up; and it was in my mouth sweet as honey, and as soon as I had eaten it, my belly was bitter. And he said unto me, Thou must prophesy again before many people's, and nations, and tongues, and kings." This is an introduction to a new prophecy, to a repetition of the prophecy of the whole book; and alludes to Ezekiel's eating a roll or book spread open before him, and written within and without, full of lamentations and mourning and woe, but sweet in his mouth. Eating and drinking signify acquiring and possessing; and eating the book is becoming inspired with the prophecy contained in it. It implies being inspired, in a vigorous and extraordinary manner, with the prophecy

prophecy of the whole book, and therefore signifies a lively repetition of the whole prophecy by way of interpretation, and begins not till the first prophecy, that of the seals and trumpets, is ended. It was sweet in John's mouth; and therefore begins not with the bitter prophecy of the Babylonian captivity, and the Gentiles being in the outward court of the temple, and treading the holy city under foot, and the prophesying of the two witnesses in sackcloth, and their smiting the earth with all plagues, and being killed by the beast: but so soon as the prophecy of the trumpets is ended, it begins with the sweet prophecy of the glorious Woman in heaven, and the victory of Michael over the dragon; and after that, it is bitter in John's belly, by a large description of the times of the great apostacy.

XV. "And the angel stood, upon the earth and sea, saying, Rise and measure the temple of God and the altar, and them that worship therein;" that is, their courts with the buildings thereon, viz. the square court of the temple called the separate place, and the square court of the altar called the priests court, and the court of them that worship in the temple called the new court: "But the [great] court which is without the temple leave out, and measure it not, for it is given to the Gentiles, and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months." This measuring hath reference to Ezekiel's measuring the temple of Solomon. There the whole temple, including the outward court, was measured, to signify that it should be rebuilt in the latter days: here the courts of the temple and altar, and they who worship therein, are only measured, to signify the building of a second temple, for those that are sealed out of all the twelve tribes of Israel, and worship in the inward court of sincerity and truth: but John is commanded to leave out the outward court, or outward form of religion and church-government, because it is given to the Babylonian Gentiles. For the glorious woman in heaven, the remnant of whose seed kept the commandments of God, and had the testimony of Jesus, continued the same woman in outward form after her flight into the wilderness, whereby she quitted her former sincerity and piety, and became the great whore. She lost her chastity, but kept her

her outward form and shape. And while the Gentiles tread the holy city under foot, and worship in the outward court, the two witnesses, represented perhaps by the two feet of the angel standing on the sea and earth, prophesied against them, and "had power," like Elijah and Moses, "to consume their enemies with fire proceeding out of their mouth, and to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy, and to turn the waters into blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues as often as they will;" that is, with the plagues of the trumpets and vials of wrath; and at length they are slain, rise again from the dead, and ascend up to heaven in a cloud; and then the seventh trumpet sounds to the day of judgment.

XVII. The prophecy being finished, John is inspired anew by the eaten book, and begins the interpretation thereof with these words: "And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of the testament." By the ark, we may know that this was the first temple; for the second temple had no ark. "And there were lightnings, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail." These answer to the wars in the Roman empire, during the reign of the four horsemen, who appeared upon opening the first four seals. "And there appeared a great wonder in heaven, a woman clothed with the sun." In the prophecy, the affairs of the church begin to be considered at the opening of the fifth seal; and in the interpretation, they begin at the same time with the vision of the church in the form of a woman in heaven: there she is persecuted, and here she is pained in travail. The interpretation proceeds down first to the sealing of the servants of God, and marking the rest with the mark of the beast; and then to the day of judgment, represented by a harvest and vintage. Then it returns back to the times of opening the seventh seal, and interprets the prophecy of the seven trumpets by the pouring out of seven vials of wrath. The angels who pour them out, come out of the temple of the tabernacle; that is, out of the second temple, for the tabernacle had no outward court. Then it returns back again to the times of measuring the temple and altar, and of the Gentiles worshipping in

in the outward court, and of the beast killing the witnesses in the streets of the great city; and interprets these things by the vision of a woman sitting on the beast, drunken with the blood of the saints; and proceeds in the interpretation downwards to the fall of the great city and the day of judgment.

XVIII. The whole prophecy of the book, represented by the book of the law, is therefore repeated, and interpreted in the visions which follow those of sounding the seventh trumpet, and begin with that of the temple of God opened in heaven. Only the things, which the seven thunders uttered, were not written down, and therefore not interpreted.

C H A P. III.

Of the relation which the prophecy of John hath to those of Daniel; and of the subject of the prophecy.

THE whole scene of sacred prophecy is composed of three principal parts: the regions beyond Euphrates, represented by the two first beasts of Daniel; the empire of the Greeks on this side of Euphrates, represented by the Leopard and by the He-Goat; and the empire of the Latins on this side of Greece, represented by the beast with ten horns. And to these three parts, the phrases of the third part of the earth, sea, rivers, trees, ships, stars, sun, and moon, relate. I place the body of the fourth beast on this side of Greece, because the three first of the four beasts had their lives prolonged after their dominion was taken away, and therefore belong not to the body of the fourth. He only stamped them with his feet.

II. By

II. By the earth, the Jews understood the great continent of all Asia and Africa, to which they had access by land: and by the isles of the sea, they understood the places to which they sailed by sea, particularly all Europe: and hence in this prophecy the earth and sea are put for the nations of the Greek and Latin empires.

III. The third and fourth beasts of Daniel are the same with the Dragon and ten-horned Beast of John, but with this difference: John puts the dragon for the whole Roman empire, while it continued entire; because it was entire when that prophecy was given: and the beast he considers not, till the empire became divided: and then he puts the dragon for the empire of the Greeks, and the beast for the empire of the Latins. Hence it is, that the dragon and beast have common heads and common horns: but the dragon hath crowns only upon his heads, and the beast only upon his horns; because the beast and his horns reigned not before they were divided from the dragon: and when the dragon gave the beast his throne, the ten horns received power as kings, the same hour with the beast. The heads are seven successive kings. Four of them were the four horsemen, which appeared at the opening of the first four seals. In the latter end of the sixth head, or seal, considered as present in the visions, it is said, five of the seven kings are fallen, and one is, and another is not yet come; and the beast that was and is not, being wounded to death with a sword, he is the eighth, and of the seven: he was therefore a collateral part of the seventh. The horns are the seven with those of Daniel's fourth beast, described above.

IV. The four horsemen which appear at the opening of the first four seals, have been well explained by Mr. Mede; excepting that I had rather continue the third to the end of the reign of the three Gordians and Philip the Arabian, those being kings from the South; and begin the fourth with the reign of Decius, and continue it till the reign of Dioclesian. For the fourth horseman "sat upon a pale horse, and his name was death; and hell followed with him; and power was given them to kill unto the fourth part of the earth, with the sword, and

" with famine, and with the plague, and with the beasts of the earth," or armies of invaders and rebels: and such were the times during all this interval. Hitherto the Roman empire continued in an undivided monarchical form, except rebellions; and such it is represented by the four horsemen. But Dioclesian divided it between himself and Maximianus, A. C. 285; and it continued in that divided state till the victory of Constantine the Great over Licinius, A. C. 323, which put an end to the heathen persecutions set on foot by Dioclesian and Maximianus, and described at the opening of the fifth seal. But this division of the empire was imperfect, the whole being still under one and the same senate. The same victory of Constantine over Licinius, a heathen persecutor, began the fall of the heathen empire, described at the opening of the sixth seal: and the visions of this seal continue till after the reign of Julian the apostate, he being a heathen emperor, and reigning over the whole Roman empire.

V. The affairs of the church begin to be considered at the opening of the fifth seal, as was said above. Then she is represented by a "woman in [the temple of] heaven, clothed with the sun [of righteousness] and the moon [of Jewish ceremonies] under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars (^a)," ^a Apoc. xii. 1. relating to the twelve apostles and to the twelve tribes of Israel. When she fled from the temple into the wilderness, she left in the temple a "remnant of her seed, who kept the commandments of God, and had the testimony of Jesus Christ (^b);" and ^b Apoc. xii. 17. therefore before her flight she represented the true primitive church of God, though afterwards she degenerated like Aholah and Aholibah. In Dioclesian's persecution "she cried, travelling in birth, and pained to be delivered (^c)." And in the end of that persecution, by the victory of Constantine over Maxentius, A. C. 312, "she brought forth a man-child, such a child as was to rule all nations with a rod of iron, [a Christian empire.] And her child, [by the victory of Constantine over Licinius, A. C. 323] was caught up unto God and to his throne. And the woman [by the division of the Roman empire into the Greek and Latin empires] fled [from the first temple] into the wilderness (^d)," ^d Apoc. xii. 5, 6.

CHAPTER

THIRD.

* Apoc. xvii.

3.—9.

c.—18.

or spiritually barren empire of the Latins, where she is found afterwards sitting upon the beast^(a) and upon the seven mountains^(b); and is called the great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth^(c); that is, over the ten kings who give their kingdom to her beast.

VI. But before her flight there was war in heaven between Michael and the dragon, the Christian and the heathen religions; and the dragon, "that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan, who deceiveth the whole world, was cast out to the earth, and his angels were cast out with him. And John heard a voice in heaven, saying, Now is come salvation and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ: for the accuser of our brethren is cast down.—And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony. And they loved not their lives unto the death. Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them. Woe be to the inhabitants of the earth and sea [or people of the Greek and Latin empires] for the devil is come down amongst you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time^(d)."

* Apoc. xii.
7—12.

VII. And when the dragon saw that he was cast down from the Roman throne, and the man-child caught up thither, "he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man-child;" and to her, by the division of the Roman empire between the cities of Rome and Constantinople, A. C. 330, "were given two wings of a great eagle," the symbol of the Roman empire, "that she might flee [from the first temple] into the wilderness of Arabia, to her place [at Babylon mystically so called]." ^(e) And the serpent [by the division of the same empire between the sons of Constantine the Great, A. C. 337,] "cast out of his mouth water as a flood [the Western empire] after the woman; that he might cause her to be carried away by the flood. And the earth [or Greek empire] helped the woman, and opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood^(f), [by the victory of Constantius over Magnentius, A. C. 353,] and thus the beast was wounded to death with a sword. And the dragon was wroth with the woman, [in the reign of Julian the apostate, A. C. 361,] and [by a new division

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"of the empire between Valentinian and Valens, A. C. 364,] went from her [into the Eastern empire] to make war with the remnant of her seed," ^(g) which she left behind her when she fled: and thus the beast revived. By the next division of the empire, which was between Gratian and Theodosius, A. C. 379, "the beast with ten horns rose out of the sea^(h), and the beast with two horns out of the earth⁽ⁱ⁾:" and by the last division thereof, which was between the sons of Theodosius, A. C. 395, "the dragon gave the beast his power and throne, and great authority." ^(j) And the ten horns "received power as kings, the same hour with the beast^(k)."

VIII. At length the woman arrived at her place of temporal as well as spiritual dominion upon the back of the beast, where she is nourished a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent; not in his kingdom, but at a distance from him. She is nourished by the merchants of the earth, three times or years and an half, or 42 months, or 1260 days: and in these prophecies days are put for years. During all this time the beast acted, and she sat upon him; that is, reigned over him, and over the ten kings who gave their power and strength, that is, their kingdom to the beast; and she was drunken with the blood of the saints. By all these circumstances she is the eleventh horn of Daniel's fourth beast, who reigned with a look more stout than his fellows, and was of a different kind from the rest, and had eyes and a mouth like the woman; and made war with the saints, and prevailed against them, and wore them out, and thought to change times and laws, and had them given into his hand, until a time, and times, and half a time. The characters of the woman, and little horn of the beast, agree perfectly. In respect to her temporal dominion, she was a horn of the beast; in respect of her spiritual dominion, she rode upon him in the form of a woman, and was his church, and committed fornication with the ten kings.

IX. The second beast, which rose up out of the earth, was the church of the Greek empire: for it had two horns like those of the Lamb, and therefore was a church; and it spake as the dragon, and therefore was of his religion; and it rose up out of the earth, and by consequence in his kingdom. It is called also

the false prophet that wrought miracles before the first beast, by which he deceived them that received his mark, and worshiped his image (*). When the dragon went from the woman to make war with the remnant of her seed; this beast, arising out of the earth, assisted in that war, and caused the earth and them which dwell thereon to worship the authority of the first beast, whose mortal wound was healed, and to make an image to him; that is, to assemble a body of men like him in point of religion. And he had power to give life and authority to the image, so that it could both speak, and by dictating, cause that all religious bodies of men, who could not worship the authority of the image, should be mystically killed. "And he causeth all men to receive a mark in their right hand or in their forehead, and that no man might buy or sell save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name^(b);" all the rest being excommunicated by the beast with two horns. And his mark is **✠✠✠**, and his name ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ, and the number of his name 666^(c).

X. Thus the beast, after he was wounded to death with a sword and revived, was deified; as the heathens used to deify their kings after death; and had an image erected to him; and his worshipers were initiated in this new religion, by receiving the mark or name of this new god, or the number of his name. By killing all that will not worship him and his image, the first temple, illuminated by the lamps of the seven churches, is demolished, and a new temple built for them who will not worship him; and the outward court of this new temple, or outward form of a church, is given to the Gentiles, who worship the beast and his image: while they who will not worship him, are sealed with the name of God in their foreheads, and retire into the inward court of this new temple. These are the 144000 sealed out of all the twelve tribes of Israel, and called the two Witnesses, as being derived from the two wings of the woman while she was flying into the wilderness, and represented by two of the seven candlesticks. These appear to John in the inward court of the second temple, standing on Mount Sion with the Lamb, and as it were on the sea of glass. These are the saints
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of the most High, and the host of heaven, and the holy people spoken of by Daniel, as worn out and trampled under foot, and destroyed in the latter times by the little horns of his fourth Beast and He-Goat.

• XI. And while the Gentiles tread the holy city under foot, God gives power to his two Witnesses, and they prophecy a thousand two hundred and threescore days clothed in sackcloth. They are called the two olive-trees, with relation to the two olive-trees, which in Zechary's vision (chap. iv.) stand on either side of the golden candlestick to supply the lamps with oil: and olive-trees, according to the apostle Paul, represent churches (Rom. xi.) They supply the lamps with oil, by maintaining teachers. They are also called two candlesticks; and candlesticks in this prophecy signify churches, the seven churches of Asia being represented by seven candlesticks. Five of these churches were found faulty, and threatened if they did not repent; the other two were without fault; and so their candlesticks were fit to be placed in the second temple. These were the churches in Smyrna and Philadelphia. They were in a state of tribulation and persecution, and the only two of the seven in such a state: and so their candlesticks were fit to represent the churches in affliction in the times of the second temple, and the only two of the seven that were fit. The two Witnesses are not new churches: they are the posterity of the primitive church, the posterity of the two wings of the woman, and so are fitly represented by two of the primitive candlesticks. We may conceive therefore, that when the first temple was destroyed, and a new one built for them who worship in the inward court, two of the seven candlesticks were placed in this new temple.

XII. The affairs of the church are not considered during the opening of the first four seals. They begin to be considered at the opening of the fifth seal, as was said above; and are further considered at the opening of the sixth seal; and the seventh seal contains the times of the great apostacy. And therefore I refer the epistles to the seven churches unto the times of the fifth and sixth seals: for they relate to the church when she began

gan to decline, and contain admonitions against the great apostacy then approaching.

XIII. When Eusebius had brought down his Ecclesiastical History to the reign of Dioclesian, he thus describes the state of the church: "*Qualem quantamque gloriam simul ac libertatem doctrina vera erga supremum Deum pietatis à Christo primum bonis ministris annuntiata, apud omnes Græcos pariter & barbaros ante persecutionem nostram memoriâ excitatam, consecuta sit, nos certe pro merito explicare non possumus. Argumento esse possit Imperatorum benignitas erga nostros: quibus regendas etiam provincias committebant, omni sacrificandi metu eos liberantes ob singularem, qua in religionem nostram affecti erant, benevolentiam.*" And a little after: "*Jam vero quis innumerabilem hominum multitudinem ad fidem Christi confugientium turbam, quis numerum ecclesiarum in singulis urbibus, quis illustres populorum concursus in aedibus sacris, cumulatè possit describere? Quo factum est, ut priscis aedificiis jam non contenti, in singulis urbibus spatiosas ab ipsis fundamentis exstruerent ecclesias. Atque hæc progressu temporis incrementa, & quotidie in majus & melius proficiscentia, nec livor ullus atterere, nec malignitas demonis fascinare, nec hominum insidie prohibere unquam potuerunt, quamdiu omnipotentis Dei dextra populum suum, utpote tali dignum præsidio, texit atque custodivit. Sed cum ex nimia libertate in negligentiam ac desidiam prolapsi essemus; cum alter alteri invidere, atque obtrectare cepisset; cum inter nos quasi bella intestina gereremus, verbis, tanquam armis quibusdam bastisque, nos mutuo vulnerantes; cum antistites adversus antistites, populi in populos collisi, jurgia ac tumultus agitent; denique cum fraus & simulatio ad summum malitiæ culmen adolevisset: tum divina ultio, levi brachio ut solet, integro adhuc ecclesiæ statu, & fidelium turbis libere convenientibus, sensim ac moderatè in nos cepit animadvertere; orsa primum persecutione ab iis qui militabant. Cum verò, sensu omni destituti, de placando Dei numine ne cogitaremus quidem; quin potius, instar impiorum quorundam, res humanas nullâ providentiâ gubernari rati, alia quotidie crimina aliis adjiceremus: cum pastores nostri, præteritæ religionis regulâ, mutuis inter se contentionibus decertarent, nihil aliud quàm jurgia, minas, emula-*"

"*tionem, odia, ac mutuas inimicitias amplificare studentes; principatum quasi tyrannidem quandam contentissimè sibi vindicantes: tunc demum juxta dictum Hieremiæ, obscuravit Dominus in irâ suam filiam Sion, & dejecit de cælo gloriam Israel,—per Ecclesiarum scilicet subversionem, &c.*" This was the state of the church just before the subversion of the churches in the beginning of Dioclesian's persecution: and to this state of the church agrees the first of the seven epistles to the angel of the seven churches, that to the church in Ephesus. "(*) I have some-^{Apoc. ii. 4.} thing against thee," saith Christ to the angel of that church, "because thou hast left thy first love. Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of its place, except thou repent. But this thou hast, that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate." The Nicolaitans are the *Continentes* above described, who placed religion in abstinence from marriage, abandoning their wives if they had any. These are here called Nicolaitans from Nicolas, one of the seven deacons of the primitive church of Jerusalem; who having a beautiful wife, and being taxed with uxoriousness, abandoned her, and permitted her to marry whom she pleased, saying that we must disuse the flesh; and thenceforward lived a single life in continency, as his children also. But the *Continentes* afterwards embraced the doctrine of Æons and ghosts, male and female, and were avoided by the churches till the fourth century; and the church of Ephesus is here commended for hating their deeds.

XIV. The persecution of Dioclesian began in the year of Christ 302, and lasted ten years in the Eastern empire, and two years in the Western. To this state of the church the second epistle, to the church of Smyrna, agrees. "(b) I know," saith Christ,^{Apoc. ii. 9, 10.} "thy works, and tribulation, and poverty, but thou art rich; and I know the blasphemy of them, which say they are Jews and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan. Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer: Behold, the Devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days. Be thou faithful unto death,

" and

"and I will give thee a crown of life." The tribulation of ten days can agree to no other persecution than that of Dioclesian, it being the only persecution which lasted ten years. By the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan, I understand the idolatry of the Nicolaitans, who falsely said they were Christians.

XV. The Nicolaitans are complained of also in the third epistle^a, as men that held the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balaam to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit spiritual fornication. For Balaam taught the Moabites and Midianites to tempt and invite Israel by their women to commit fornication, and to feast with them at the sacrifices of their gods^b. The dragon therefore began now to come down among the inhabitants of the earth and sea.

XVI. The Nicolaitans are also complained of in the fourth epistle, under the name of the woman Jezabel, who calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce the servants of Christ to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed to idols^c. The woman therefore began now to fly into the wilderness.

XVII. The reign of Constantine the Great from the time of his conquering Licinius, was monarchical over the whole Roman empire. Then the empire became divided between the sons of Constantine: and afterwards it was again united under Constantius, by his victory over Magnentius. And to the affairs of the church in these three successive periods of time, the third, fourth, and fifth epistles, that is, those to the angels of the churches in Pergamus, Thyatira, and Sardis, seem to relate. The next emperor was Julian the apostate.

XVIII. In the sixth epistle, that to the angel of the church in Philadelphia, Christ saith: "^d Because [in the reign of the heathen emperor Julian] thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation," which by the woman's flying into the wilderness, and the dragon's making war with the remnant of her seed, and the killing of all who will not worship the image of the beast, "shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth,"

"earth," and to distinguish them by sealing the one with the name of God in their foreheads, and marking the other with the mark of the beast. "Him that overcometh, I will make a pillar in the temple of my God; and he shall go no more out of it. And I will write upon him the name of my God in his forehead." So the Christians of the church of Philadelphia, as many of them as overcome, are sealed with the seal of God, and placed in the second temple, and go no more out. The same is to be understood of the church in Smyrna, which also kept the word of God's patience, and was without fault. These two churches, with their posterity, are therefore the two pillars, and the two candlesticks, and the two witnesses in the second temple.

XIX. After the reign of the emperor Julian, and his successor Jovian, who reigned but five months, the empire became again divided between Valentinian and Valens. Then the church catholic, in the epistle to the angel of the church of Laodicea, is reprehended as lukewarm, and threatened to be spewed out of Christ's mouth^e. She said, that she was "rich and increased with goods, and had need of nothing [being in outward prosperity]; and knew not that she was [inwardly] wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked." She is therefore spewed out of Christ's mouth at the opening of the seventh seal: and this puts an end to the times of the first temple.

XX. About one half of the Roman empire turned Christians in the time of Constantine the Great and his sons. After Julian had opened the temples, and restored the worship of the heathens, the emperors Valentinian and Valens tolerated it all their reign; and therefore the prophecy of the sixth seal was not fully accomplished before the reign of their successor Gratian. It was the custom of the heathen priests, in the beginning of the reign of every sovereign emperor, to offer him the dignity and habit of *Pontifex Maximus*. This dignity all emperors had hitherto accepted: but Gratian rejected it, threw down the idols, interdicted the sacrifices, and took away their revenues with their salaries and authority of the priests. Theodosius

dofius the Great followed his example; and heathenism afterwards recovered itself no more, but decreased so fast, that Prudentius, about ten years after the death of Theodosius, called the heathens, "*vix pauca ingenia, & pars hominum rarissima.*" Whence the affairs of the sixth seal ended with the reign of Valens, or rather with the beginning of the reign of Theodosius; when he, like his predecessor Gratian, rejected the dignity of *Pontifex Maximus*. For the Romans were very much infected by the invasions of foreign nations in the reign of Valentinian and Valens: "*Hoc tempore,*" saith Ammianus, "*velut per universum orbem Romanum bellicum canentibus buccinis, excitæ gentes sævissimæ limites sibi proximos persultabant: Galias Rhetiasque simul Alemanni populabantur: Sarmatæ Pannonias, & Quadi: Picci, Saxones, & Scoti & Attacotti Britannos ærumnis vexavere continuis: Austoriani, Mauricæque alie gentes Africam solito acrius incurfabant: Thracias diripiebant prædatorii globi Gottborum: Persarum Rex manus Armeniis injectabat.*" And whilst the emperors were busy in repelling these enemies, the Hunns and Alans and Goths came over the Danube in two bodies, overcame and slew Valens, and made so great a slaughter of the Roman army, that Ammianus saith: "*Nec ulla Annalibus præter Cannensem ita ad internecionem res legitur gesta.*" These wars were not fully stopt on all sides till the beginning of the reign of Theodosius, A. C. 379 and 380: but thenceforward the empire remained quiet from foreign armies, till his death, A. C. 395. So long the four winds were held: and so long there was silence in heaven. And the seventh seal

^a Apoc. viii. 1. was opened when this silence began (^a).

XXI. Mr. Mede hath explained the prophecy of the first six trumpets not much amiss: but if he had observed, that the prophecy of pouring out the vials of wrath is synchronal to that of sounding the trumpets, his explanation would have been yet more complete.

^b Apoc. viii. 13.

XXII. The name of Woes (^b) is given to the wars to which the three last trumpets sound, to distinguish them from the wars of the four first. The sacrifices on the first four days of the feast of tabernacles, at which the four first trumpets sound, and the first four

four vials of wrath are poured out, are slaughters in four great wars; and these wars are represented by four winds (^a) from the four corners of the earth. The first was an east wind, the second a west wind, the third a south wind, and the fourth a north wind; with respect to the city of Rome, the metropolis of the old Roman empire. These four plagues fell upon the third (^b) part of the earth, sea, rivers, sun, moon, and stars; that is, upon the earth, sea, rivers, sun, moon, and stars, of the third part of the whole scene of these prophecies of Daniel and John.

XXIII. The plague of the eastern wind at the sounding of the first trumpet, was to fall upon the earth (^c); that is, upon the nations of the Greek empire. Accordingly, after the death of Theodosius the Great, the Goths, Sarmatians, Hunns, Haurians, and Austorian Moors invaded and miserably wasted Greece, Thrace, Asia Minor, Armenia, Syria, Egypt, Libya, and Illyricum, for ten or twelve years together.

XXIV. The plague of the western wind at the sounding of the second trumpet, was to fall upon the Sea (^d), or Western empire, by means of a great mountain burning with fire cast into it, and turning it to blood. Accordingly in the year 407, that empire began to be invaded by the Visigoths, Vandals, Alans, Sueves, Burgundians, Ostrogoths, Heruli, Quadi, Gepides; and by these wars it was broken into ten kingdoms, and miserably wasted: and Rome itself, the burning mountain, was besieged and taken by the Ostrogoths in the beginning of these miseries.

XXV. The plague of the southern wind at the sounding of the third trumpet, was to cause "a great star (^e), burning as it were a lamp, to fall from heaven upon the rivers and fountains of waters [the Western empire now divided into many kingdoms,] and to turn them to wormwood and blood, and make them bitter." Accordingly Genferic, the king of the Vandals and Alans in Spain, A. C. 427, invaded Africa with an army of eighty thousand men; and seating himself in Africa, invaded the Moors, and made war upon the Romans, there and on the sea-coasts of Europe, for fifty years together, almost without intermission, taking Hippo A. C. 431, and Carthage the capital of Africa A. C. 439. And,

A. C. 455, with a numerous fleet containing three hundred thousand Vandals and Moors, he invaded Italy, took and plundered Rome, Naples, Capua, and many other cities; and carried thence the wealth of the cities and flower of the people into Africa: and the next year, A. C. 456, he rent all Africa from the empire, expelling the Romans. Then they invaded and took the islands of the Mediterranean, Sicily, Sardinia, Corfica, Ebusus, Majorca, Minorca, &c. and Ricimer besieged the emperor Anthemius in Rome, took the city, and gave his soldiers the plunder, A. C. 472. The Visigoths about the same time ejected the Romans out of Spain: and now the Western emperor, the great star which fell from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, having by all these wars gradually lost almost all his dominions, was invaded, and conquered in one year by Odoacer king of the Heruli, A. C. 476. After this the Moors revolted, A. C. 477, and weakened the Vandals by several wars, and took Mauritania from them. These wars continued till the Vandals were invaded and conquered by Belisarius, A. C. 534; and by all these wars Africa was almost depopulated, as Procopius represents; who reckons, that above five millions of men perished in them. When the Vandals first invaded Africa, that country was very populous, consisting of about 700 bishopricks; which were more than were in all France, Spain, and Italy together: but by the wars between the Vandals, Romans, and Moors, it was depopulated to that degree, that Procopius tells us, it was next to a miracle for a traveller to see a man.

XXVI. In pouring out the third vial it is said: "Thou art righteous, O Lord,—because thou hast judged thus: for they have shed the blood of thy saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink, for they are worthy (")." How they shed the blood of saints, may be understood by the following edict of the emperor Honorius, procured by four bishops sent to him by a council of African bishops, who met at Carthage 14 June, A. C. 410.

"Impp.

"Impp. Honor. & Theod. AA. Heracliano Com. Afric.

APOCALYPSE
COMPARED
WITH
DANIEL.

"Oraculo penitus remoto, quo ad ritus suos hereticæ superstitionis obrepserant, sciant omnes sanctæ legis inimici, plectendos se pœnâ & proscriptionis & sanguinis, si ultra convenire per publicum, execrandâ sceleris sui temeritate temptaverint. Dat. viii. Kal. Sept. Varano V. C. Conf. A. C. 410."

Which edict was five years after fortified by the following.

"Impp. Honor. & Theod. AA. Heracliano Com. Afric.

"Sciant cuncti, qui ad ritus suos heresis superstitionibus obrepserant, sacrosanctæ legis inimici, plectendos se pœnâ & proscriptionis & sanguinis, si ultra convenire per publicum exercendi sceleris sui temeritate temptaverint: nequâ vera divinaque reverentia contagione temeretur. Dat. viii. Kal. Sept. Honorio x. & Theod. vi. AA. Conf. A. C. 415."

XXVII. These edicts, being directed to the governor of Africa, extended only to the Africans. Before these there were many severe ones against the Donatists, but they did not extend to blood. These two were the first which made their meetings, and the meetings of all Dissenters, capital: for by Hereticks in these edicts are meant all Dissenters, as is manifest by the following against Eusebius, a Luciferan bishop.

"Impp. Arcad. & Honor. AA. Aureliano Proc. Africæ.

"Hereticorum vocabulo continentur, & latis adversus eos sanctionibus debent succumbere, qui, vel levi argumento, à judicio Catholicæ religionis & tramite detecti fuerint deviare: ideoque experientia tua Eusebium hereticum esse cognoscat. Dat. iii. Non. Sept. Constantinop. Olybrio & Probino Conf. A. C. 395."

XXVIII. The Greek emperor Zeno adopted Theoderic king of the Ostrogoths to be his son, made him master of the horse and Patricius, and consul of Constantinople; and recommending to him the Roman people and senate, gave him the Western empire, and sent him into Italy against Odoacer king of the Heruli. Theoderic

Theoderic thereupon led his nation into Italy, conquered Odoacer, and reigned over Italy, Sicily, Rhætia, Noricum, Dalmatia, Liburnia, Istria, and part of Suevia, Pannonia and Gallia. Whence Ennodius said, in a panegyric to Theoderic: "*Ad limitem suum Romana regna remeasse.*" Theoderic reigned with great prudence, moderation and felicity; treated the Romans with singular benevolence; governed them by their own laws, and restored their government under their senate and consuls, he himself supplying the place of emperor, without assuming the title. "*Ita sibi parentibus,*" saith Procopius, "*ut verè Imperatori conveniens decus nullum ipsi abesset: Justitie magnus ei cultus, legumque diligens custodia: terras à vicinis barbaris servavit intactas, &c.*" Whence I do not reckon the reign of this king amongst the plagues of the four winds.

* Apoc. viii.
12.

XXIX. The plague of the northern wind, at the sounding of the fourth trumpet, was to cause the sun, moon, and stars, that is, the king, kingdom and princes of the Western empire, to be darkened, and to continue some time in darkness^(*). Accordingly Belisarius, having conquered the Vandals, invaded Italy, A. C. 535, and made war upon the Ostrogoths in Dalmatia, Liburnia, Venetia, Lombardy, Tuscany, and other regions northward from Rome, twenty years together. In this war many cities were taken and retaken. In retaking Milan from the Romans, the Ostrogoths slew all the males young and old, amounting, as Procopius reckons, to three hundred thousand, and sent the women captives to their allies the Burgundians. Rome itself was taken and retaken several times, and thereby the people were thinned; the old government by a senate ceased; the nobles were ruined; and all the glory of the city was extinguished: and, A. C. 552, after a war of seventeen years, the kingdom of the Ostrogoths fell; whose kings had been her husband and her son; yet the remainder of the Ostrogoths, and an army of Germans called in to their assistance, continued the war three or four years longer. Then ensued a war of the Heruli, who, as Anastasius tells us, "*perinebant cunctam Italiam,*" slew all Italy. This was followed by the war of the Lombards, the fiercest of all the Barbarians, which began A. C. 568, and lasted thirty-eight years together; "*facta tali*
" *clade,*

" *clade,*" saith Anastasius, "*qualem à seculo nullus meminit.*"^{APCALYPSE COMPARED WITH DANIEL.} It ended in the papacy of Sabinian, A. C. 605, by a lasting peace then made with the Lombards. Three years before it ended, Gregory the Great, then bishop of Rome, thus speaks of it: "*Qualiter enim quotidie gladiis quantis Longobardorum incursionibus, ecce jam per triginta quinque annorum longitudinem premimur, nullis explere vocibus suggestionis valemus.*" And in one of his sermons to the people, he thus expresses the great presumption of the Romans by these wars: "*Ex illà plebe innumerabili quanti remanseritis aspicietis; tamen adhuc quotidie flagella urgent, repentini casus opprimunt, novæ res improvisæ clades affligunt.*" In another sermon he thus describes the desolations: "*Destructæ urbes, eversa sunt castra, depopulati agri, in solitudinem terra redacta est. Nullus in agris incola, pene nullus in urbibus habitator remansit. Et tamen ipsæ parvæ generis humani reliquæ adhuc quotidie sine cessatione feriuntur, finem non habent flagella cœlestis justitiæ. Ipsa autem, quæ aliquando mundi Domina esse videbatur, qualis remansit Roma, conspiciamus, innumeris doloribus multipliciter attrita, desolatione civium, impressione hostium, frequentia ruinarum.—Ecce jam de illà omnes hujus sæculi potentes ablati sunt.—Ecce populi deferunt.—Ubi enim Senatus? Ubi jam populus? Contabuerunt ossa, consumptæ sunt carnes. Omnis enim sæcularium dignitatum ordo extinctus est, tamen ipsos nos paucos, qui remansimus, adhuc quotidie gladii, adhuc quotidie innumeræ tribulationes premunt.—Vacua jam ardet Roma. Quid autem ista de hominibus dicimus? Cùm, ruinis crebrescentibus, ipsa quoque destrui ædificia videmus. Postquam defecerunt homines, etiam parietes cadunt. Jam ecce desolata, ecce contrita, ecce gemitibus oppressa est, &c.*" All this was spoken by Gregory to the people of Rome, who were witnesses of the truth of it. Thus by the plagues of the four winds, the empire of the Greeks was shaken, and the empire of the Latins fell; and Rome remained nothing more than the capital of a poor dukedom, subordinate to Ravenna, the seat of the exarchs.

XXX. The fifth trumpet sounded to the wars, which the king of the South, as he is called by Daniel, made in the time of the

end,

CHAPTER THIRD.
* Apoc. xi. 2. end, in pushing at the king who did according to his will. This plague began with the opening of the bottomless pit (*), which denotes the letting out of a false religion: the smoke which came out of the pit, signifying the multitude which embraced that religion; and the locusts which came out of the smoke, the armies which came out of that multitude. This pit was opened, to let out smoke and locusts into the regions of the four monarchies, or some of them. The king of these locusts was the angel of the bottomless pit, being chief governor as well in religious as civil affairs, such as was the caliph of the Saracens. Swarms of locusts often arise in Arabia Felix, and from thence infest the neighbouring nations: and so are a very fit type of the numerous armies of Arabians invading the Romans. They began to invade the Romans A. C. 634, and to reign at Damascus A. C. 637. The built Bagdat A. C. 766, and reigned over Persia, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, Africa and Spain. They afterwards lost Africa to Mahades, A. C. 910; Media, Hircania, Chorasan, and all Persia, to the Dailamites, between the years 927 and 935; Mesopotamia and Miafarekin to Nasiruddaulas, A. C. 930; Syria and Egypt to Achsjid, A. C. 935; and now being in great distress, the caliph of Bagdad, A. C. 936, surrendered all the rest of his temporal power to Mahomet, the son of Rajici, king of Wasit in Chaldea, and made him emperor of emperors. But Mahomet within two years lost Bagdad to the Turks; and thenceforward Bagdad was sometimes in the hands of the Turks, and sometimes in the hands of the Saracens; till Togrul-beig, called also Togra, Dogrissa, Tangrolipix, and Sadoq, conquered Chorasan and Persia; and, A. C. 1055, added Bagdad to his empire, making it the seat thereof. His successors Olub-Arslan and Melechschah, conquered the regions upon Euphrates; and these conquests, after the death of Melechschah, brake into the kingdoms of Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Cappadocia. The whole time that the caliphs of the Saracens reigned with a temporal dominion at Damascus and Bagdad together, was 300 years, viz. from the year 637 to the year 936 inclusive. Now locusts live but five months; and therefore, for

for the decorum of the type, these locusts are said to hurt men five months (*) and five months, as if they had lived about five months at Damascus, and again about five months at Bagdad; in all ten months, or 300 prophetic days, which are years.

XXXI. The sixth trumpet sounded to the wars, which Daniel's king of the North made against the king above-mentioned, who did according to his will. In these wars the king of the North, according to Daniel, conquered the empire of the Greeks, and also Judea, Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia: and by these conquests the empire of the Turks was set up, as may be known by the extent thereof. These wars commenced A. C. 1258; when the four kingdoms of the Turks seated upon Euphrates, that of Armenia Major seated at Miyapharekin, Megarkin or Martyropolis, that of Mesopotamia seated at Mosul, that of all Syria seated at Aleppo, and that of Cappadocia seated at Iconium, were invaded by the Tartars under Hulacu, and driven into the western parts of Asia Minor, where they made war upon the Greeks, and began to erect the present empire of the Turks. Upon the sounding of the sixth trumpet, "John" (b) heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar * Apoc. ix. 13, &c.
 "which is before God, saying to the sixth angel which had the trumpet, Loose the four angels which are bound at the great river Euphrates. And the four angels were loosed, which were prepared for an hour and a day, and a month and a year, for to slay the third part of men." By the four horns of the golden altar, is signified the situation of the head cities of the said four kingdoms, Miyapharekin, Mosul, Aleppo, and Iconium, which were in a quadrangle. They slew the third part of men, when they conquered the Greek empire, and took Constantinople, A. C. 1453, and they began to be prepared for this purpose, when Olub-Arslan began to conquer the nations upon Euphrates, A. C. 1063. The interval is called an hour and a day, and a month and a year, or 391 prophetic days, which are years. In the first thirty years, Olub-Arslan and

and Melechschah conquered the nations upon Euphrates, and reigned over the whole. Melechschah died A. C. 1092, and was succeeded by a little child; and then this kingdom broke into the four kingdoms above-mentioned.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

The last pages of these observations having been differently drawn up by the Author in another copy of his work; they are here inserted as they follow in that copy, after the 35th line of the 454th page foregoing.

A D V E R -

AND none was found worthy to open the book till the Lamb of God appeared; the great high-priest represented by a lamb slain at the foot of the altar in the morning-sacrifice. "And he came, and took the book out of the hand of him that sat upon the throne." For the high-priest, in the feast of the seventh month, went into the most holy place, and took the book of the law out of the right side of the ark, to read it to the people: and in order to read it well, he studied it seven days, that is, upon the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth days, being attended by some of the priests to hear him perform. These seven days are alluded to, by the Lamb's opening the seven seals successively.

Upon the tenth day of the month, a young bullock was offered for a sin-offering for the high-priest, and a goat for a sin-offering for the people: and lots were cast upon two goats to determine which of them should be God's lot for the sin-offering; and the other goat was called Azazel, the scape-goat. The high-priest in his linen-garments, took a censer full of burning coals of fire from the altar, his hand being full of sweet incense beaten small; and went into the most holy place within

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the

the veil, and put the incense upon the fire, and sprinkled the blood of the bullock with his finger upon the mercy-seat, and before the mercy-seat seven times: and then he killed the goat which fell to God's lot, for a sin-offering for the people, and brought his blood within the veil, and sprinkled it also seven times upon the mercy-seat and before the mercy-seat. Then he went out to the altar, and sprinkled it also seven times with the blood of the bullock, and as often with the blood of the goat. After this "he laid both his hands upon the head of the live goat; and confessed over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat; and sent him away into the wilderness by the hands of a fit man: and the goat bore upon him all their iniquities into a land not inhabited" (Levit. chap. iv. and chap. xvi.) While the high-priest was doing these things in the most holy place and at the altar, the people continued at their devotion quietly and in silence. Then the high-priest went into the holy place, put off his linen garments, and put on other garments; then came out, and sent the bullock and the goat of the sin-offering to be burnt without the camp, with fire taken in a censer from the altar: and as the people returned home from the temple, they said one to another, "God seal you to a good new year."

In allusion to all this, "when he had opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour. And an angel stood at the altar having a golden censer, and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints, upon the golden altar which was before the throne. And the smoke of the incense with the prayers of the saints ascended up before God out of the angel's hand. And the angel took the censer, and filled it with fire of the altar, and cast it to the earth^(*);" suppose without the camp, for sacrificing the goat which fell to God's lot. For the high-priest being Christ himself, the bullock is omitted. At this sacrifice there were voices and thunderings, of the musick of the temple, and lightnings of the sacred fire, and an earthquake: and synchronal to these things was the

sealing of the 144000 out of all the twelve tribes of the children of Israel with the seal of God in their foreheads^(*), while^a Apoc. vii. the rest of the twelve tribes received the mark of the beast^(b), and^b Apoc. xiii. the woman fled from the temple into the wilderness^(c) to her place^c Apoc. xii. 6. upon this beast. For this sealing and marking was represented by casting lots upon the two goats, sacrificing God's lot on mount Sion, and sending the scape-goat into the wilderness laden with the sins of the people.

Upon the fifteenth day of the month, and the six following days, there were very great sacrifices. And in allusion to the founding of trumpets, and singing with thundering voices, and pouring out drink-offerings at those sacrifices, seven trumpets are sounded, and seven thunders utter their voices, and seven vials of wrath are poured out. Wherefore the founding of the seven trumpets, the voices of the seven thunders, and the pouring out of the seven vials of wrath, are synchronal; and relate to one and the same division of the time of the seventh seal following the silence, into seven successive parts. The seven days of this feast were called the feast of tabernacles; and during these seven days the children of Israel dwelt in booths, and rejoiced with palm-branches in their hands. To this alludes the multitude with palms in their hands, which appeared after the sealing of the 144000^(d), and came out of the great tribulation^d Apoc. vii. 9. with triumph at the battle of the great day, to which the seventh trumpet sounds. The visions therefore of the 144000, and of the palm-bearing multitude, extend to the sounding of the seventh trumpet, and therefore are synchronal to the times of the seventh seal.

When the 144000 are sealed out of all the twelve tribes of Israel, and the rest receive the mark of the beast, and thereby the first temple is destroyed; John is bidden to "measure the temple and altar [that is, their courts], and them that worship therein, [that is, the 144000 standing on mount Sion and on the sea of glass]: but the court that is without the temple [that is, the peoples' court], to leave out and measure it not, because it is given to the Gentiles [those who receive the mark of the beast]; and the holy city they shall tread under foot forty and

^a Apoc. viii. 1-5.

^a Apoc. xi. 1, 2. "two months^(a)," that is, all the time that the beast acts under the woman Babylon: and the two witnesses prophesy 1260 days, that is, all the same time, clothed in sackcloth^(b). "These have power [like Elijah] to shut heaven that it rain not [at the sounding of the first trumpet]; and [like Moses] to turn the waters into blood [at the sounding of the second]; and to smite the earth with all plagues [those of the trumpets] as often as they will^(c)." These prophesy at the building of the second temple, like Haggai and Zechariah. These are the two olive-trees^(d), or churches, which supplied the lamps with oil (Zech. iv.) These are the two candlesticks, or churches, standing before the God of the earth^(d). Five of the seven churches of Asia, those in prosperity, are found fault with, and exhorted to repent, and threatened to be removed out of their places, or spewed out of Christ's mouth, or punished with the sword of Christ's mouth, except they repent: the other two, the churches of Smyrna and Philadelphia, which were under persecution, remain in a state of persecution, to illuminate the second temple. When the primitive church catholic, represented by the woman in heaven, apostatized, and became divided into two corrupt churches, represented by the whore of Babylon and the two-horned beast, the 144000 who were sealed out of all the twelve tribes, became the two witnesses, in opposition to those two false churches: and the name of two witnesses once imposed, remains to the true church of God in all times and places to the end of the prophecy.

In the interpretation of this prophecy, the woman in heaven clothed with the sun, before she flies into the wilderness, represents the primitive church catholic, illuminated with the seven lamps in the seven golden candlesticks, which are the seven churches of Asia. The dragon signifies the same empire with Daniel's he-goat in the reign of his last horn, that is, the whole Roman empire, until it became divided into the Greek and Latin empires; and all the time of that division it signifies the Greek empire alone: and the beast is Daniel's fourth beast, that is, the empire of the Latins. Before the division of the Roman empire into the Greek and Latin empires, the beast is included

included in the body of the dragon; and from the time of that division, the beast is the Latin empire only. Hence the dragon and beast have the same heads and horns; but the heads are crowned upon the dragon, and the horns upon the beast. The horns are ten kingdoms, into which the beast becomes divided presently after his separation from the dragon, as hath been described above. The heads are seven successive dynasties, or parts, into which the Roman empire becomes divided by the opening of the seven seals. Before the woman fled into the wilderness^(a), "she being with child [of a Christian empire], cried^a Apoc. xii. "travelling, [viz. in the ten years persecution of Dioclesian] and "pained to be delivered: and the dragon [the heathen Roman "empire] stood before her, to devour her child as soon as it was "born. And she brought forth a man child, who at length "was to rule all nations with a rod of iron. And her child was "caught up unto God, and to his throne [in the temple, by the "victory of Constantine the Great over Maxentius:] and the "woman fled [from the temple] into the wilderness of Arabia to "Babylon, where she hath a place [of riches and honour and "dominion, upon the back of the beast,] prepared of God, that "they should feed her there 1260 days. And there was war in "heaven, [between the heathens under Maximinus and the new "Christian empire:] and the great dragon was cast out, that "old serpent which deceiveth the whole world [the spirit of heathen idolatry:] he was cast out [of the throne] into the earth. "And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by "the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives "unto the death.

"And when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the "earth, he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man "child," stirring up a new persecution against her in the reign of Licinius. "And to the woman [by the building of Constantinople and equalling it to Rome,] were given two wings "of a great eagle, that she might flee into the wilderness into "her place [upon the back of her beast,] where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of "the

"the serpent. And the serpent [upon the death of Constantine the Great] cast out of his mouth water as a flood [viz. the Western empire under Constantine Junior and Constans,] after the woman: that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood. And the earth [the nations of Asia now under Constantinople] helped the woman;" and by conquering the Western empire, now under Magnentius, "swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth. And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ, which [in that war] were sealed out of all the twelve tribes of Israel," and remained upon Mount Sion with the Lamb, being in number 144000, and having their father's name written in their foreheads.

When the earth had swallowed up the flood, and the dragon was gone to make war with the remnant of the woman's seed, "John stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns.—And the beast was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion^(a)." John here names Daniel's four beasts in order, putting his beast in the room of Daniel's fourth beast, to shew that they are the same. "And the dragon gave this beast his power and his seat and great authority^(b)," by relinquishing the Western empire to him. "And one of his heads [the sixth] was as it were wounded to death^(c)," viz. by the sword of the earth, which swallowed up the waters cast out of the mouth of the dragon; "and his deadly wound was healed^(d)," by a new division of the empire between Valentinian and Valens, ann. 364. John saw the beast rise out of the sea, at the division thereof between Gratian and Theodosius, ann. 379. And the dragon gave the beast his power, and his seat and great authority, at the death of Theodosius, when Theodosius gave the Western empire to his son Honorius. After which the two empires were no more united: but the Western empire became presently divided into

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ten kingdoms, as above; and these kingdoms at length united in religion under the woman, and reign with her forty and two months.

"And I beheld," saith John, "another beast coming up out of the earth^(e)." When the woman fled from the dragon^{Apoc. xiii.} into the kingdom of the beast, and became his church, this other beast rose up out of the earth, to represent the church of the dragon. For "he had two horns like the lamb [such as were the bishopricks of Alexandria and Antioch:] and he spake as the dragon [in matters of religion]: and he causeth the earth [or nations of the dragon's kingdom] to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed, [that is, to be of his religion. And he doth great wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men^(f)];" that is, he excommunicateth those who differ from him in point of religion: for in pronouncing their excommunications, they used to swing down a lighted torch from above. "And he said to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast, which had the wound by a sword, and did live^(g);" that is, that they should call a council of men^{Apoc. xiii.} of the religion of this beast. "And he had power to give life¹⁴ unto the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed^(h), [viz. mystically,^{Apoc. xiii.} by dissolving their churches. "And he causeth all both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand or in their foreheads, and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name⁽ⁱ⁾;" that is, the mark $\chi\theta\varsigma$, 666. All others were excommunicated.

When the seven angels had poured out the seven vials of wrath, and John had described them all in the present time, he is called up^(f) from the time of the seventh vial to the time of the sixth seal, to take a view of the woman and her beast, who were to reign in the times of the seventh seal. And in respect of the

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latter part of time of the sixth seal, then considered as present, the angel tells John: "The beast that thou sawest, was and is not, and shall ascend out of the abyss, and go into perdition^(a);" that is, "He was," in the reign of Constantine and Magnentius, until Constantine conquered Magnentius, and re-united the Western empire to the Eastern: "He is not," during the re-union: "and he shall ascend out of the abyss," or sea, at a following division of the empire. The angel tells him further: "Here is the mind which hath wisdom: the seven heads are seven mountains, on which — 9. "the woman sitteth^(b);" Rome being built upon seven hills, and thence called the seven-hilled city. "Also there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space: and the beast that was and is not, even he is the eighth, and is — 10, 11. "of the seven, and goeth into perdition^(c)." "Five are fallen," the times of the five first seals being past: "and one is;" the time of the sixth seal being considered as present: "and another is not yet come, and when he cometh [which will be at the opening of the seventh seal], he must continue a short space: and the beast that was and is not, even he is the eighth [by means of the division of the Roman empire into two collateral empires]; and is "of the seven [being one-half of the seventh], and shall go into perdition." The words, "five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come," are usually referred by interpreters to the time of John the apostle, when the prophecy was given: but it is to be considered, that in this prophecy many things are spoken of as present, which were not present when the prophecy was given, but which were present with respect to some future time, considered as present in the visions. So where it is said upon pouring out the seventh vial of wrath, "that great Babylon received the cup of the wine of the fierceness of God's wrath^(d):" this relates not to the time of John the apostle, but to the time of pouring out the seventh vial of wrath. And so where it is said, — 12. "Babylon is fallen, is fallen^(e);" and "thrust in thy sickle and reap," — 13. "for the time is come for thee to reap^(f);" and "the time of the dead is come, that they should be judged^(g):" and again, "I saw

"saw the dead small and great stand before God^(h):" these sayings relate not to the days of John the apostle, but to the latter times considered as present in the visions. And so the words, "five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come^(b)," — 10. "and the beast that was and is not, he is the eighth^(c)," are not to be referred to the age of John the apostle, but relate to the time when the beast was to be wounded to death with a sword, and shew that this wound was to be given him in his sixth head: and without this reference we are not told in what head the beast was wounded. "And the ten horns which thou sawest, are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet, but receive power as kings one hour with the beast. These have one mind [being of the whore's religion], and shall give their power and strength to the beast. These shall make war with the Lamb [at the sounding of the seventh trumpet;] and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings; and they that are with him are called and chosen and faithful. And he saith unto me, the waters which thou sawest, where the whore sitteth, are peoples and multitudes and nations and tongues [composing her beast]. And the ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire [at the end of the 1260 days]. For God hath put in their hearts to fulfill his will, and to agree and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled. And the woman which thou sawest, is that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth^(d)," or the great city of the Latins, which reigneth over the ten kings till the end of those days.

THE END OF THE PROPHECIES.

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This tract has been carefully collated with the author's MSS. which has given occasion to the
 variations, which the learned reader will observe of this from the former editions.

THE END OF THE PROPHECIES.

A N

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

O R

TWO NOTABLE CORRUPTIONS OF SCRIPTURE.

I N

A LETTER TO A FRIEND.

Now first published entire from a MS. in the Author's hand-writing in the
possession of the Rev. Dr. EKENS, Dean of Carlisle.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

A VERY imperfect copy of this tract, wanting both the beginning and the end, and erroneous in many places, was published at London in the year 1754, under the title of Two Letters from Sir Isaac Newton to Mr. Le Clerc. But in the Author's MS. the whole is one continued discourse; which, although it is conceived in the epistolary form, is not addressed to any particular person.

A N H I S T O R I C A L A C C O U N T O F

TWO NOTABLE CORRUPTIONS OF SCRIPTURE.

I N A L E T T E R T O A F R I E N D.

S I R,

SINCE the discourses of some late writers have raised in you a curiosity of knowing the truth of that text of Scripture concerning the testimony of the Three in heaven (1 John v. 7.) I have here sent you an account of what the reading has been in all ages, and by what steps it has been changed, so far as I can hitherto determine by records. And I have done it the more freely, because to you, who understand the many abuses which they of the Roman church have put upon the world, it will scarce be ungrateful to be convinced of one more than is commonly believed. For although the more learned and quick-sighted men (as Luther, Erasmus, Bullinger, Grotius, and some others) would not dissemble their knowledge, yet the generality are fond of the place for its making against heresy. But whilst we exclaim against the pious frauds of the Roman church, and make it a part of our religion to detect and renounce all things
of

RECORD OF of that kind, we must acknowledge it a greater crime in us to favour such practices, than in the Papiſts we ſo much blame on that account: for they act according to their religion, but we contrary to ours. In the Eaſtern nations, and for a long time in the Weſtern, the faith ſubſiſted without this text; and it is rather a danger to religion, than an advantage, to make it now lean upon a bruifed reed. There cannot be better ſervice done to the truth, than to purge it of things ſpurious: and therefore knowing your prudence, and calmneſs of temper, I am confident I ſhall not offend you by telling you my mind plainly: eſpecially ſince it is no article of faith, no point of diſcipline, nothing but a criticiſm concerning a text of Scripture which I am going to write about.

H. The history of the corruption, in ſhort, is this. Firſt, ſome of the Latines interpreted the Spirit, Water and Blood of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, to prove them One. Then Jerome, for the ſame end, inſerted the Trinity in expreſs words into his verſion. Out of him the Africans began to alledge it againſt the Vandals, about 64 years after his death. Afterwards the Latines noted his variations in the margins of their books; and thence it began at length to creep into the text in tranſcribing, and that chiefly in the twelfth and following centuries, when diſputing was revived by the ſchoolmen. And when printing came up, it crept out of the Latine into the printed Greek, againſt the authority of all the Greek MSS. and ancient verſions; and from the Venetian preſſes it went ſoon after into Greece. Now the truth of this hiſtory will appear by conſidering the arguments on both ſides.

III. The arguments alledged for the teſtimony of the Three in heaven; are the authorities of Cyprian, Athanaſius, and Jerome; and of many Greek manuſcripts, and almoſt all the Latine ones.

IV. Cyprian's (*) words runs thus: the Lord ſaith, "I and the

(*) Dicit Dominus, ego et pater unum ſumus; et iterum de patre et filio et ſpiritu ſancto ſcriptum eſt, et tres unum ſunt. *Cypr. de Unit. Eccleſ.*

(*) Si templum Dei factus eſt, quaſo cujus Dei? Si ſpiritus ſancti, cum tres unum ſint, quomodo ſpiritus ſanctus placatus eſſe poteſt, qui aut patris aut filii inimicus eſt. *Cypr. Epiſt. 73. ad Jubaianum.*

" Father,

" Father am One." And again of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt it is written; " And theſe Three are One." The Soci-nians here deal too injuriouſly with Cyprian, while they would have this place corrupted: for Cyprian, in another place repeats almoſt the ſame thing (b). " If," ſaith he, [" one baptized among Heretics] be made the temple of God, tell me, I pray, of what God? If of the Holy Ghoſt, ſince theſe Three are One, how can the Holy Ghoſt be reconciled to him who is the enemy of " either the Father or the Son?" Theſe places of Cyprian being, in my opinion, genuine, ſeem ſo appoſite to prove the teſtimony of the Three in heaven, that I ſhould never have ſuſpected a miſtake in it, could I but have reconciled it with the ignorance I meet with of this reading in the next age, amongſt the Latines of both Africa and Europe, as well as among the Greeks. For had it been in Cyprian's bible, the Latines of the next age, when all the world was engaged in diſputing about the Trinity, and all arguments that could be thought of were diligently ſought out, and daily brought upon the ſtage, could never have been ignorant of a text, which in our age, now the diſpute is over, is chiefly inſiſted upon. In reconciling this difficulty, I conſider, therefore, that the only words of the text quoted by Cyprian in both places are, " And theſe Three are One;" which words may belong to the eighth verſe as well as to the ſeventh. For Eucherius (c), biſhop of Lion in France, and contemporary to St. Auſtin, reading the text without the ſeventh verſe, tells us, that many then underſtood the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, to ſignify the Trinity. And St. Auſtin (d) is one of thoſe many; as you may ſee in his third book againſt Maximus, where he tells us, " that the Spirit is the Father, for God is a Spirit: the Water the Holy Ghoſt; for he is the Water, which Chriſt gives to " them

(c) Eucherius reads the text thus: " Tria ſunt quæ teſtimonium perhibent; aqua, ſanguis, et ſpiritus." And then adds this interpretation: " Plures hic ipſam, interpretatione myſtica, intelligunt Trinitatem; eo quod perfectæ ipſa perhibeat teſtimonium Chriſto: aqua, patrem indicans; quia ipſe de ſe dicit, me dereliquerunt fontem aquæ vivæ: ſanguine, Chriſtum demonſtrans, utique per paſſionis eruorem: ſpiritu verò ſanctum ſpiritum manifeſtans." *Eucher. de Quæſt. N. Teſt.*

(d) Sane falli te nolo in epiſtolâ Joannis Apoſtoli, ubi ait, " tres ſunt teſtes, ſpiritus, aqua, et ſanguis, et tres unum ſunt;" ne fortè dicas, ſpiritum et aquam et ſanguinem diverſas eſſe ſubſtantias, et tamen dictam eſſe, tres unum ſunt. Propter hoc admonui te, ne fallaris: hæc enim ſunt.

RECORD OF "them that thirst: and the Blood the Son; for the Word was "made flesh." Now if it was the opinion of many in the Western churches of those times, that the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, signified the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; it is plain that the testimony of Three in heaven, in express words, was not yet crept into their books: and even without this testimony, it was obvious for Cyprian, or any man else of that opinion, to say of the Father and Son and Holy Ghost, it is written, "And these Three are One." And that this was Cyprian's meaning, Facundus (*), an African bishop in the sixth century, is my author: for he tells us expressly that Cyprian, in the above-mentioned place, understood it so; interpreting the Water, Spirit, and Blood, to be the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: and thence affirming that John said of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, "these Three are One." This at least may be gathered from this passage of Facundus, that some in those early ages interpreted Cyprian after this manner. Nor do I understand, how any of those many who took the Spirit, Water, and Blood, for a type of the Trinity; or any man else, who was ignorant of the testimony of the Three in heaven, as the churches in the times of the Arian controversy generally were, could understand him otherwise. And even Cyprian's own words do plainly make for the interpretation. For he does not say, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, as it is now in the seventh verse; but the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, as it is in baptism; the place from which they tried * at first to derive the Trinity. If it be pretended, that the words cited by Cyprian

sunt, in quibus non quid sint, sed quid ostendant, semper attenditur. Si vero ea, quae his significata sunt, velimus inquirere; non absurdè occurrit ipsa Trinitas, quae unus, solus, summus est Deus, pater et filius et spiritus sanctus; de quibus verissimè dici potuit, tres sunt testes, et tres unum sunt: ut nomine spiritus significatum accipiamus Deum Patrem (de Deo ipso quippe adorando loquebatur dominus, ubi ait, spiritus est Deus) nomine autem sanguinis, filium; quia verbum caro factum est; nomine autem aquae, spiritum sanctum. Cum enim de aqua loqueretur Jesus, quam daturus erat sitientibus, ait evangelista; "hoc autem dicit de spiritu, quem accepturi erant credentes in eum." D. Augustin. *Com. Maximum. Cap. XXII.*

(*) Facundus, in the beginning of his book to the emperor Justinian, pro Defensione trium Capitulorum Concilii Chalcedonensis, first recites the text after the manner of Cyprian, but more distinctly in these words: "Nam Joannes Apostolus, in epistola sua, de patre et filio et spiritu sancto sic dicit: 'Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terrâ, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis; et hi tres unum sunt' in spiritu significans patrem, &c. Joan. IV. 21. In aqua spiritum sanctum Joan. VII. 37. in sanguine vero filium." And a little after he thus confirms this interpretation by Cyprian's

prian are taken out of the seventh verse, rather than out of the eighth; because he reads not, "*Hi Tres in Unum sunt*," but "*Hi Tres Unum sunt*;" I answer that the Latines generally read, "*Hi Tres Unum sunt*," as well in the eighth verse, as in the seventh; as you may see in the newly-cited places of St. Austin and Facundus, and those of Ambrose, pope Leo, Beda and Casiodorus, which follow, and in the present vulgar Latine. So then the testimony of Cyprian respects the eighth, or at least is as applicable to that verse as to the seventh, and therefore is of no force for proving the truth of the seventh: but on the contrary, for disproving it we have here the testimony of Facundus, St. Austin, Eucherius, and those many others whom Eucherius mentions. For if those of that age had met with it in their books, they would never have understood the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, to be the Three Persons of the Trinity, in order to prove them One God.

V. These passages in Cyprian may receive further light by a like passage in Tertullian, from whence Cyprian seems to have borrowed them. For it is well known, that Cyprian was a great admirer of Tertullian's writings, and read them frequently, calling Tertullian his master. The passage is this (†): "The connection of the Father in the Son, and of the Son in the Paraclete, makes Three coherent ones from one another, which Three are One (one thing, not one person) as it is said, 'I and the Father are One;' denoting the Unity of substance, not the singularity of number." Here, you see, Tertullian says not, "the Father, Word, and Holy Ghost," as the text now has it, "but the Father, Son, and Paraclete;" nor cites any thing

Cyprian's authority, saying: "Aut si forsitan ipsi, qui de verbo contendunt, in eo quod dixit, 'tres sunt qui testificantur in terrâ, spiritus aqua et sanguis, et hi tres unum sunt,' Trinitatem nolunt intelligi; secundum ipsa verba quae posuit, pro apostolo Joanne respondeant. Numquid hi tres, qui in terrâ testificantur, et qui unum esse dicuntur, possunt spiritus et aquae et sanguines dici? Quod tamen Joannis apostoli testimonium B. Cyprianus Carthagenensis, antistes et martyr, in epistola sua libro quem de Trinitate, immo de unitate ecclesiae scripsit, de patre filio et spiritu sancto dictum intelligit: ait enim, dicit dominus, ego et pater unum sumus; et iterum de patre filio et spiritu sancto scriptum est; 'et hi tres unum sunt.' Facund. l. 1. p. 16. ex edit. Sirmond. Parisiis, 1629."

(†) Connexus patris in filio, et filii in paraclete, tres efficit coherentes, alterum ex altero, "qui Tres Unum sunt" (non Unus) quomodo dictum est. "Ego et Pater Unum sumus;" ad substantiae unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem. Tertullian advers. Prax. c. 25.

* The insinuation contained in this expression, that the Trinity is not to be derived from the words prescribed for the baptismal form, is very extraordinary to come from a writer who was no Socinian.

RECORD OF more of the text than these words, "which Three are One." Though this treatise against St. Praxeas be wholly spent in discoursing about the Trinity, and all texts of Scripture are cited to prove it, and this text of St. John, as we now read it, would have been one of the most obvious and apposite to have been cited at large, yet Tertullian could find no more obvious words in it for his purpose than "these Three are One." These, therefore, he interprets of the Trinity, and inforces the interpretation by that other text, "I and the Father are One;" as if the phrase was of the same importance in both places.

VI. So then this interpretation seems to have been invented by the Montanists for giving countenance to their Trinity. For Tertullian was a Montanist, when he wrote this; and it is most likely that so corrupt and forced an interpretation had its rise among a sect of men accustomed to make bold with the scriptures. Cyprian being used to it in his master's writings, it seems from thence to have dropt into his: for this may be gathered from the likeness between their citations. And by the disciples of these two great men, it seems to have been propagated among those many Latins, who (as Eucherius tells us) received it in the next age, understanding the Trinity by the "Spirit, Water, and Blood." For how, without the countenance of some such authority, an interpretation so corrupt and strained should come to be received in that age so generally, I do not understand.

VII. And what is said of the testimony of Tertullian and Cyprian, may be much more said of that in the feigned disputation of Athanasius with Arius at Nice. For there the words cited are only "και οι τρεις το εν εισιν;" and "these Three are One;" and they are taken out of the seventh verse, without naming the persons of the Trinity before them. For the Greeks interpreted "the Spirit, Water and Blood" of the Trinity, as well as the Latins; as is manifest from the annotations they made on this text

(*) Critical history of N. Test. cap. 18.

(*) Suspicion verba "τὸ γὰρ" non extare in MS.

(*) The whole preface runs thus: "Incipit prologus in epistolas canonicas. Non ita est ordo apud Græcos, qui integrè sapiunt, fidei quæ rectam sectantur, epistolarum septem, quæ canonicæ nuncupantur, sicut in Latinis codicibus invenitur: ut quia Petrus est primus in ordine apostolorum, primæ sit etiam ejus epistola in ordine ceterarum. Sed sicut evangelistas dedum ad veritatis hanc corrigimus, ita has proprio ordini, Deo juvante, reddidimus. Est enim una earum

text in the margin of some of their manuscripts. For father Simon^(*) informs us, that in one of the MSS. in the library of the king of France, marked Numb. 2247, over against these words; "ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυρηθέντες ἐν τῇ γῇ⁽¹⁾ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ αἷμα." "For there are Three that bear record [in earth], the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood:" there is this remark, "τῶν τρεῶν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ ὁ πατήρ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸς;" that is, "the Holy Ghost, and the Father, and He of Himself." And in the same copy over against these words, "καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἐν εἰσι," "and these Three are One;" this note is added, "τῶν τρεῶν μία θεότης, εἰς θεός." That is, "One Deity, One God." This MS. is about 500 years old.

VIII. Also in the margin of one of the MSS. in Monsieur Colbert's library, Numb. 871, father Simon tells us there is a like remark. For besides these words, "εἰς θεός, μία θεότης," "One God, One Godhead;" there are added, "μαρτυρία τῶν θεῶν τῶν πατέρων καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος." "The testimony of God the Father, and of the Holy Ghost." These marginal notes sufficiently shew how the Greeks used to apply this text to the Trinity; and by consequence how the author of that disputation is to be understood. But I should tell you also, that that disputation was not writ by Athanasius, but by a later author, and therefore, as a spurious piece, uses not to be much insisted upon.

IX. Now this mystical application of "the Spirit, Water and Blood, to signify the Trinity, seems to me to have given occasion to somebody, either fraudulently to insert the testimony of "the Three in heaven," in express words into the text, for proving the Trinity; or else to note it in the margin of his book, by way of interpretation. Whence it might afterwards creep into the text in transcribing. And the first upon record that inserted it, is Jerome; if the preface⁽¹⁾ to the canonical epistles, which goes under his name, be his. For whilst he composed

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earum prima Jacobi, duæ Petri, tres Johannis, et Judæ una. Quæ si sicut ab eis digestæ sunt, ita quoque ab interpretibus fideliter in Latinum verterentur eloquium, nec ambiguitatem legendis facerent, nec sermonum sese varietates impugnant, illis præcipue locis ubi de Unitate Trinitatis in primâ Johannis epistolâ, positum legimus, &c. In quæ etiam ab infidelibus translatoribus, multum erratum esse à fidei veritate comperimus, trium tantummodo vocabula, hoc est, Aquæ, Sanguinis et Spiritûs, in ipsâ suâ editione ponentibus; et Patris, Verbiq; ac Spiritûs testimonium

RECORD OF not a new translation of the New Testament, but only corrected the ancient vulgar Latin (as learned men think) and among his emendations (written perhaps at first in the margin of his book) he inserted this testimony; he complains in the said preface, how he was thereupon accused * by some of the Latins for falsifying Scripture; and makes answer, that former Latin translators had much erred from the faith, in putting only "the Spirit, "Water and Blood" in their edition, and omitting the testimony of "the Three in heaven," whereby the Catholic Faith is established. In this defence he seems to say, that he corrected the vulgar Latin translation by the original Greek; and this is the great testimony the text relies upon.

X. But whilst he confesses it was not in the Latin before, and accuses former translators of falsifying the Scriptures in omitting it, he satisfies us that it has crept into the Latin since his time, and so cuts off all the authority of the present vulgar Latin for justifying it. And whilst he was accused by his contemporaries of falsifying the Scriptures in inserting it, this accusation also confirms, that he altered the publick reading. For had the reading been dubious before he made it so, no man would have charged him with falsification for following either part. Also, whilst upon this accusation, he recommends the alteration by its usefulness for establishing the Catholick Faith, this renders it the more suspected; by discovering both the design of his making it, and the ground of his hoping for success. However, seeing he was thus accused by his contemporaries, it gives us just reason to examine the business between him and his accusers. And so, he being called to the bar, we are not to lay stress upon his own testimony for himself (for no man is a witness in his own cause) but laying aside all prejudice, we ought, according to the ordinary rules of justice, to examine the business between him and his accusers by other witnesses.

aium. omittentibus: in quo maxime et fides catholica roboratur, et Patris, ac Filii, et Spiritus una divinitatis substantia comprobatur. In ceteris vero epistolis, quantum à nostrâ aliorum disset editio, lectoris iudicio derelinquo. Sed tu, virgo Christi Eustochium, dum à me impenitus scripturæ veritatem inquiris, meam quodammodo senectutem invidorum dentibus corrodendam exponis, qui me falsarium, corruptoremque Sanctorum pronunciant Scripturarum. Sed ego in tali opere, nec æmulum meorum invidiam pertimesco, nec Sanctæ Scripturæ veritatem poscentibus denegabo."

XI. They

XI. They that have been conversant in his writings, observe a strange liberty which he takes in asserting things. Many notable instances of this he has left us in composing those very fabulous lives of Paul and Hilarian, not to mention what he has written upon other occasions. Whence Erasmus said of him, that he was in affirming things, "(k) frequently violent and impudent, and often contrary to himself." But I accuse him not. It is possible that he might be sometimes imposed upon, or, through inadvertency, commit a mistake. Yet since his contemporaries accused him, it is but just that we should lay aside the prejudice of his great name, and hear the cause impartially between them.

XII. Now the witnesses between them are partly the ancient translators of the Scriptures into the various languages; partly the writers of his own age, and of the ages next before, and after him; and partly the Scribes, who have copied out the Greek manuscripts of the Scriptures in all ages. And all these are against him. For by the unanimous evidence of all these, it will appear that the testimony of "the Three in heaven" was wanting in the Greek manuscripts, from whence Jerome, or whoever was the author of that preface to the canonical epistles, pretends to have borrowed it.

XIII. The ancient interpreters, which I cite as witnesses against him, are chiefly the authors of the ancient vulgar Latin, of the Syriac, and the Æthiopic versions. For as he tells us, that the Latins omitted the testimony of "the Three in heaven" in their version before his time, so in the Syriac and Æthiopic versions (both which, from bishop Walton's account of them, are much ancients than Jerome's time, being the versions which the Oriental and Æthiopic nations received from the beginning, and generally used, as the Latins did the vulgar Latin) that same testimony is wanting to this day; and the authors of these Three

(k) Sæpe numero violentus, parumque pudens, sæpe varius, parumque sibi constans. *Erasmus Annotation. in Johan. v. 7.*

Vide etiam, quæ Erasmus contra Leum in hunc locum de Hieronymo fusius dixit.

Jerom complains not of any accusation raised upon what he had done in this, or any other particular text of Scripture. He asserts, that this text was unfaithfully rendered in the Latin bible, which were current in his time before his own edition. That his edition in this, as well as in other passages, faithfully represented the original Greek; and he expresses an apprehension, that the number of his emendations, which the infidelity of former translators had rendered necessary, might furnish his enemies with a pretence for abuse.

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RECORD OF most ancient, most famous, and most received versions by omitting it are concurrent witnesses, that they found it wanting in the original Greek manuscripts of their own times. It is wanting also in other ancient versions; as in the Egyptian Arabick, published in Walton's Polyglot; in the Armenian version⁽¹⁾, used, ever since Chrysostom's age, by the Armenian nations; and in the Illyrican^(m) of Cyrillus, used in Rascia, Bulgaria, Moldavia, Russia, Muscovy, and other countries, which use the Slavonic tongue. In a copy of this version^(m), printed at Ostrobo (Ostrow) in Volhinia, in the year 1581, I have seen it wanting; and one Camillus⁽ⁿ⁾ relates the same thing out of ancient manuscripts of this version seen by him. Father Simon notes it wanting also in a certain version of the French church, which, faith he, is at least 1000 years old, and which was published by father Mabillon, a Benedictine monk. Nor do I know of any version wherein it is extant, except the modern vulgar Latin, and such modern versions, of the Western nations, as have been influenced by it. So then, by the unanimous consent of all the ancient and faithful interpreters, which we have hitherto met with (who doubtless made use of the best manuscripts they could get) the testimony of "the Three in heaven" was not anciently in the Greek.

XIV. And that it was neither in the ancient versions nor in the Greek, but was wholly unknown to the first churches, is most certain by an argument hinted above; namely, that in all that vehement, universal, and lasting controversy about the Trinity in Jerome's time, and both before, and long enough after it, this text of "the Three in heaven" was never once thought of. It is now in every body's mouth, and accounted the main text for the business, and would assuredly have been so too with them, had it been in their books. And yet it is not once to be met with in all the disputes, epistles, orations, and other writings of the Greeks and Latins (Alexander of Alexandria, Athanasius, the council of Sardica, Basil, Nazianzen, Nyssen, Epiphanius, Chry-

(1) Codex Armeniacus ante 400 annos exaratus, quem vidi apud Episcopum Ecclesie Armeniacae, quae Amstelodami colligitur, locum illum non legit. Sandius Append. Interpret. Paradox. in b. j.

(n) The printed Slavonic version runs thus: "Quia Tres sunt, qui testificantur, Spiritus, et Aqua, et Sanguis; et Tres in Unum sunt. Si testimonium, &c."

stom,

sofom, Cyril, Theodoret, Hilary, Ambrose, Austin, Victorinus^{THE THREE IN HEAVEN.}, Afer, Philastrius Brixienfis, Phæbedius Agennensis, Gregorius Bæticus, Faustinus Diaconus, Paschasius, Arnobius Junior, Cerealis, and others) in the times of those controversies; no, not in Jerome himself; if his version and preface to the canonical epistles be excepted. The writings of those times were very many, and copious; and there is no argument, or text of Scripture, which they do not urge again and again. That of St. John's gospel, "I, and the Father, am One," is every where inculcated, but this of "the Three in heaven, and their being One," is nowhere to be met with, till at length, when the ignorant ages came on, it began by degrees to creep into the Latin copies out of Jerome's version. So far are they from citing the testimony of "the Three in heaven," that, on the contrary, as often as they have occasion to mention the place, they omit it, and that too, as well after Jerome's age, as in, and before it. For Hesychius^(o) cites the place thus: "*Audi Johannem dicentem, Tres sunt, qui testimonium præbent, et Tres Unum sunt, Spiritus, et sanguis et aqua.*" The words, *in terrâ*, he omits, which is never done, but in copies where "the Three in heaven" is wanting. Cassiodorus, or whoever was the author of the Latin version of the discourse of Clemens Alexandrinus on these epistles of St. John, reads it thus: "*Quia tres sunt, qui testificantur, Spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis, et hi Tres Unum sunt* (P)." Beda, in his commentary on the place, reads it thus: "*Et spiritus est, qui testificatur, quoniam Christus est veritas. Quoniam Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terrâ, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis, et Tres Unum sunt. Si testimonium, &c.*" But here the words, *in terrâ*, so far as I can gather from his commentary on this text, have been inserted by some latter hand. The author of the first epistle, ascribed to pope Eusebius, reads it, as Beda doth, omitting only the words, *in terrâ*. And if the authority of popes

(o) Testimonium trium in Cælo non est in antiquissimis Illyricorum et Ruthenorum codicibus; quorum unum exemplar, à sexcentis fere annis manuscriptum, jampridem apud illustrissimum Gabrielem Chineum, terræ Bactricæ Dominum vidi, et legi: alterum manibus nostris teritur, fide et antiquitate suâ nobile. Camillus de Antichristo. Lib. ii. cap. 2. pag. 156.

(p) Hesych. in Levit. lib. 2. c. 8. post med.

(P) Cassiodor. in Bibl. S. Patr. edit. Paris, 1589.

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RECORD OF be valuable, pope Leo the Great, in his tenth epistle, thus cites the place: "*Et spiritus est, qui testificatur, quoniam spiritus est veritas; quia Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant, spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis; et hi Tres Unum sunt.*" St. Ambrose, in the sixth chapter of his first book, *De Spiritu Sancto*, disputing for the Unity of the Three Persons, says, "*Hi Tres Unum sunt, Johannes dixit, aqua, sanguis et spiritus: Unum in mysterio; non in natura.*" This is all he could find of the text, while he was disputing about the Trinity, and therefore he proves the Unity of the Persons by the mystical Unity of the Spirit, Water, and Blood: interpreting these of the Trinity with Cyprian and others. Yea, in the eleventh chapter of his third book, he fully recites the text thus: "*Per aquam et sanguinem venit Christus Jesus, non solum in aqua, sed in aqua et sanguine; et spiritus testimonium dat, quoniam spiritus est veritas. Quia Tres sunt testes, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis; et hi Tres Unum sunt in Christo Jesu (9).*" The like reading of Facundus, Eucherius, and St. Austin, you have in the places cited above. These are Latins as late, or later, than Jerome. For Jerome did not prevail with the churches of his own time to receive the testimony of "the Three in heaven." And for them to know his version, and not receive his testimony, was in effect to condemn it.

XV. And as for the Greeks, Cyril of Alexandria reads the text without this testimony in the xivth book of his *Theaurus*, cap. 5; and again in his first book *De fide ad Reginas*, a little after the middle. And so does Oecumenius, a later Greek, in his commentary on this place of St. John's epistle. Also Didymus Alexandrinus, in his commentary on the same passage, reads, "the Spirit, Water, and Blood," without mentioning "the Three in heaven:" and so he doth in his book of the Holy Ghost, where he seems to omit nothing that he could find for his purpose: and so doth Gregory Nazianzen in his xxxviith oration concerning the Holy Ghost; and also Nicetas in his commentary on Gregory Nazianzen's xlvth oration. And here it is farther observable, that, as the Eusebians had contended, that "the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost" were not to be connumerated,

(9) See also Ambrose in Luc. xxii. 10, and in his book, *De iis qui mysteriis initiantur*, cap. 4.

because they were things of a different kind; Nazianzen and Nicetas answer, that they might be connumerated, because St. John connumerates three things not substantial, namely, "the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood." By the objection of the Eusebians, it then appears that the testimony of "the Three in heaven" was not in their books; and by the answer of the Catholics it is as evident, that it was not in theirs. For while they answer by instancing the "the Spirit, Water, and Blood," they could not have missed of "the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost;" had they been connumerated, and called one in the words immediately before; and to answer by instancing in these, would have been far more to their purpose, because it was the very thing in question. In like manner the Eunomians, in disputing against the Catholics, had objected, that the Holy Ghost is no where in Scripture conjoined with the Father and the Son, except in the form of baptism: which is as much as to say, that the testimony of "the Three in heaven" was not in their books: and yet St. Basil (1), whilst he is very diligent in returning an answer to them, and perplexes himself in citing places, which are nothing to the purpose, does not produce this text of "the Three in heaven," though it be the most obvious, and the only proper passage, had it been then in the Scriptures; and therefore he knew nothing of it. The objection of the Eunomians, and the answer of the Catholics, sufficiently shew that it was in the books of neither party. Besides all this, the tenth epistle of pope Leo, mentioned above, was that very famous epistle to Flavian, patriarch of Constantinople, against Eutyches, which went about through all the churches, both Eastern and Western, being translated into Greek, and sent about in the East by Flavian. It was generally applauded in the West, and read in the council of Chalcedon, and there solemnly approved and subscribed by all the bishops; and in this epistle the text was thus cited: "*Et spiritus est, qui testificatur, quoniam Christus est veritas: quia Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis; et hi Tres Unum sunt.*" And by putting *τρεῖς* (according to the Greek reading) for *Christus*, which is still the vul-

(1) Lib. 5. adversus Eunomium lib. secundum.

RECORD OF gar Latin, it was thus translated by the Greeks: "καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἔστιν τὸ μαρτυροῦν· ἐπεὶ δὴ τὸ πνεῦμα ἔστιν ἡ ἀληθεία· τρεῖς γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς τὸ ἓν εἰσι." So then we have the reading, quoted by the pope, owned in the West, and solemnly subscribed in the East by the fourth general council, and therefore it continued the publick received reading in both the East and West, till after the age of that council.

XVI. So then the testimony of "the Three in heaven," which, in the times of these controversies, would have been in every body's mouth, had it been in their books, was wholly unknown to the churches of those ages. All that they could find in their books was the testimony of "the Water, the Spirit, and the Blood." Will you now say, that the testimony of "the Three in heaven" was razed out of their books by the prevailing Arians? Yes, truly, those Arians were crafty knaves, that could conspire so cunningly and sily all the world over at once (as at the word of a Mithridates) in the latter end of the reign of the emperor Constantius, to get all men's books in their hands, and correct them without being perceived: ay, and conjurors too, to do it without leaving any blot or chasm in their books, whereby the knavery might be suspected and discovered; and to wipe away the memory of it out of all men's brains; so that neither Athanasius, or any body else, could afterwards remember that they had ever seen it in their books before; and out of their own books too; so that when they turned to the con-substantial faith, as they generally did in the West, soon after the death of Constantius, they could then remember no more of it than any body else. Well, then, it was out of their books in Jerome's age, when he pretended it was in; which is the point we are to prove; and when any body can shew, that it was in their books before, it may be pertinent to consider that point also: but till then we are only to enquire how, since it was out, it came into the copies that are now extant. For they that, without proof, accuse the Hereticks of corrupting books, and upon that pretence correct them at their pleasure without the authority of ancient manuscripts, as some learned men of the fourth and fifth centuries

centuries used to do, are falsaries by their own confession, and certainly need no other confutation. And therefore if this reading was once out, we are bound in justice to believe, that it was out from the beginning; unless the razing of it out can be proved by some better argument, than that of pretence and clamour.

XVII. Will you now say, that Jerome followed some copy different from any which the Greeks were acquainted with? This is to overthrow the authority of his version by making him depart from the received Greeks; and besides, it is contrary to what he himself seems to represent. For in his blaming not the vulgar Greek copies, but the Latin interpreters only, which were before his time, as if they had varied from the received Greek, he represents, that he himself followed it. He does not excuse, and justify himself for reading differently from the received Greek, to follow a private copy, but accuses former interpreters, as if, in leaving out the testimony of "the Three in heaven," they had not followed the received Greek, as he did. And therefore since the Greeks knew nothing of this testimony, the authority of his version sinks; and that the rather, because he was then accused of corrupting the text, and could not persuade either the Greeks or the Latins of those times to receive his reading. For the Latins received it not till many years after his death; and the Greeks not till this present age, when the Venetians sent it amongst them in printed books: and their not receiving it was plainly to approve the accusation.

XVIII. The authority of this version being thus far discussed, it remains, that we consider the authority of the manuscripts, wherein we now read the testimony of "the Three in heaven." And by the best inquiry that I have been able to make, it is wanting in the manuscripts of all languages but the Latin. For, as we have shewn, that the Æthiopick, Syriac, Arabick, Armenian and Sclavonian versions, still in use in the several Eastern nations, Ethiopia, Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Muscovy, and some others, are strangers to this reading, and that it was antiently wanting also in the French: so I am told by those who have been in Turkey, that it is wanting to this day in the Greek

RECORD OF Greek manuscripts, which have been brought from those parts into the West; and that the Greeks, now that they have got it in print from the Venetians, when their manuscripts are objected against it, pretend that the Arians razed it out. A reading to be found in no manuscripts but the Latin, and not in the Latin before Jerome's age, as Jerome himself confesses, can be but of little authority: and this authority sinks, because we have already proved the reading spurious by shewing, that it was heretofore unknown, both to the Western and the Eastern churches, in the times of the great controversy about the Trinity. But, however, for further satisfaction, we shall now give you an account of the Latin and Greek manuscripts; and shew, first, how, in the dark ages, it crept into the Latin manuscripts out of Jerome's version; and then how it lately crept out of the Latin into the printed Greek without the authority of MSS; those, who first published it in Greek, having never yet so much as seen it in any Greek manuscript.

XIX. That the vulgar Latin, now in use, is a mixture of the old vulgar Latin, and of Jerome's version together, is the received opinion. Few of these manuscripts are above four or five hundred years old. The latest generally have the testimony of "the Three in heaven;" the oldest of all usually want it; which shews, that it has crept in by degrees. Erasmus notes it to be wanting in three very ancient ones; one of which was in the pope's library at Rome; the other two were at Bruges; and he adds, that in another manuscript belonging to the library of the Minorites in Antwerp, the testimony of "the Three in heaven" was noted in the margin in a newer hand. Peter Cholinus notes in the margin of his Latin edition of the Scriptures, printed anno Christi 1543 and 1544, that it was wanting in the most ancient manuscript of the Tugurine library. Dr. Gilbert Burnet has lately, in the first letter of his travels, noted it wanting in five other ones kept at Strasburg, Zurich, and Basil: one of which MSS. he reckons about 1000 years old, and the other four about 800. F. Simon has noted it wanting in five others in the libraries of the king of France, Mons. Colbert, and the Benedictines of the abbey of St. German's. An ancient and diligent

collator

collator of manuscripts, cited by Lucas Brugenfis by the name ^{THE THREE} of Epanorthotes, notes in general, that it was wanting in the ancient Latin manuscripts. Lucas himself, collating many Latin ones, notes it to be wanting in only *five*, that is, in the few old ones he had, his manuscripts being almost all of them new ones. For he praises ⁽¹⁾ the Codex Lobienfis written anno Christi 1084, and the Codex Tornacenfis written anno Christi 1105, as most ancient and venerable for their antiquity, and used others much more new, of which a great number was easily had; such as was the Codex Bussidianus, written anno Christi 1432, that is, but eight years before the invention of printing. The Lateran council, collected under Innocent the Third, anno Christi 1215, canon 2., mentions Joachim, the abbot, quoting the text in these words: "*Quoniam in canonica Johannis epistolâ, quia Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in Cœla, Pater, et Verbum, et Spiritus; et hi Tres Unum sunt: statimque subjungitur. Et Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terrâ, Spiritus, Aqua, et Sanguis, et Tres Unum sunt: sicut in codicibus quibusdam invenitur.*" This was written by Joachim ⁽²⁾ in the papacy of Alexander the Third, that is, in or before the year 1180, and therefore this reading was then got but into some books. For the words, "*sicut in codicibus quibusdam invenitur,*" refer as well to the first words of Joachim, "*Quoniam in canonica Johannis epistolâ legitur,*" as to the text, "*statimque subjungitur;*" and more to the first, than the text; because the first part of the citation was then but in some books, as appears by ancient manuscripts; but the second part was in almost all: the words "*Tres Unum sunt,*" being in all the books which wanted the testimony of "the Three in heaven;" and in most of those which had it; though afterwards left out in many, when branded by the schoolmen for Arian.

XX. But to go to the original of the corruption. Gregory the Great ⁽³⁾ writes, that Jerome's version was in use in his time; and therefore no wonder if the testimony of "the Three in hea-

(1) Lucas Brug. in calce annot.

(2) Vide Math. Paris Histon. Angl. A. D. 1179.

(3) Vide Walton's Prolegomena x. 5.

RECORD OF "ven" began to be cited out of it before. Eugenius, bishop of Carthage, in the seventh year of Hunneric, king of the Vandals, anno Christi 484, in the summary of his faith exhibited to the king, cited it the first of any man, so far as I can find. A while after Fulgentius, another African bishop, disputing against the same Vandals, cited it again, and backed it with the fore-mentioned place of Cyprian, applied to the testimony of "the Three in heaven." And so it is probable, that by that abused authority of Cyprian it began first in Afric, in the disputes with the ignorant Vandals, to get some credit; and thence at length crept into use. It occurs also frequently in Vigilius Tapsensis, another African bishop, contemporary to Fulgentius. In its defence, some alludge earlier writers; namely, the first epistle of pope Hyginus, the first epistle of pope John II. the book of Idacius Clarus against Varimadus; and the book, *De unitá Deitate Trinitatis*, ascribed to Athanasius. But Chiffletius, who published the works of Victor Vitensis, and Vigilius Tapsensis, sufficiently proves the book against Varimadus to be this Vigilius's, and erroneously ascribed to Idacius. To the same Vigilius he asserts also the book, *De unitá Deitate Trinitatis*. Certainly Athanasius was not its author. All the epistles of Hyginus, except the beginning and the end, and the first part of the epistle of pope John, wherein the testimony of "the Three in heaven" is cited, are nothing else than fragments of the book against Varimadus, described word by word by some forger of decretal epistles, as may appear by comparing them. So then Eugenius is the first upon record that quotes it.

XXI. But though he set it on foot among the Africans, yet I cannot find that it became of authority in Europe before the revival of learning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In those ages St. Barnard, the Schoolmen, Joachim, and the Lateran council spread it abroad, and Scribes began generally to insert it into the text: but in such Latin manuscripts and European writers, as are ancients than those times, it is scarce to be met with.

XXII. Now that it was inserted into the vulgar Latin out of Jerome's version is manifest by the manner, how the vulgar Latin and

and that version came to be mixed. For it is agreed that the Latin version, after Jerome's version began to be of use, noted out of it his corrections of the vulgar Latin in the margin of their books. And these the transcribers afterwards inserted into the text. By this means, the old Latin has been so generally corrected, that it is no where to be found sincere. It is Jerome that we now read, and not the old vulgar Latin; and what wonder, if in Jerome we read the testimony of "the Three in heaven?" For who, that inserted the rest of Jerome into the text, would leave out such a passage for the Trinity, as this hath been taken to be?

XXIII. But to put the question out of dispute, there are footsteps of the insertion still remaining. For in some old manuscripts, it has been found noted in the margin; in others, the various readings are such as ought to arise, by transcribing it out of the margin into the text. I shall only mention the three following varieties. Of the manuscripts which have not the testimony of "the Three in heaven;" some have the words *in terrá*, in the eighth verse, but the most want it; which seems to proceed from hence, that some, before they allowed so great an addition to the text, as the testimony of "the Three in heaven" noted only *in terrá*, in the margin of their books, to be inserted into the testimony of the Spirit, Water and Blood. Of the manuscripts which have the testimony of "the Three in heaven," some in the eighth verse have "*hi Tres Unum sunt*." Others not. The reason of this seems to be, that of those who noted this testimony in the margin, some blotted out "*Et hi Tres Unum sunt*" in the eighth verse, according to Jerome; and others did not. And, lastly, the testimony of "the Three in heaven" is in most books set before the testimony of "the Three in earth;" in some, it is set after. So Erasmus notes two old books, in which it is set after; Lucas Brugenſis a third; and Heſſelius (if I misremember not) a fourth; and so Vigilius Tapsensis (x) sets it after: which seems to proceed from hence, that it was sometimes so noted in the margin, that the reader or

(x) Vigilius libr. advers. Varimadum. cap. 5.

RECORD OF transcriber knew not whether it were to come before or after. Now these discords in the Latin manuscripts, as they detract from the authority of the manuscripts, so they confirm to us, that the old vulgar Latin has in these things been tampered with, and corrected by Jerome's version.

XXIV. In the next place, I am to shew how, and when, the testimony of "the Three in heaven" crept out of the Latin into the Greek. Those, who first printed the Greek Testament, did generally, in following their manuscripts, omit the testimony of "the Three in heaven," except in *Spain*. For it was omitted in the first and second edition of Erasmus, anno Christi 1516 and 1519: in the edition of Francis Afulan, printed at Venice by Aldus, anno Christi 1518: in that of Nicholas Gerbelius, printed at Haganau, anno Christi 1521: and a little after, in that of Wolfius Cephalius, printed at Straßbourg, anno Christi 1524: and again in 1526, in the Badian edition, as Erasmus notes; and in that of Simon Colinæus at Paris, anno Christi 1534 (7). At the same time it was omitted in some editions of other Western languages, as in the Saxon and German editions of Luther; and in the Latin Tugurine editions of Peter Cholins, anno Christi 1543 and 1544. The first edition in Greek, which has the testimony of "the Three in heaven," was that of cardinal Ximenes, printed at Complutum in Spain in 1515; but not published before the year 1521. The cardinal, in his edition, used the assistance of several divines, which he called together to Complutum, there founding an university, anno Christi 1517, or a little before. Two of those divines were Antonius Nebriffensis and Stunica. For Stunica then resided at Complutum; and in the preface (2) to a treatise he wrote against Erasmus, gives this testimony of himself; "That he had spent some years in reading the holy Scriptures in Hebrew, Greek and Latin; and had diligently collated the Hebrew and Greek exemplars

(7) "In editis exemplaribus nonnullis non legi: ut in Aldinâ et Badianâ editione.—Addo, nec in Græco Testamento Gerbelii Haganæ, 1521; nec in Colinæi, Parisiis edito." *Gomarus in b.*

(2) "Cum præfetim, si quisquam alius; et nos quoque his de rebus, nostro quodam jure, judicium ferre possumus. [Quippe] qui non paucos annos in sanctis Scripturis veteris et Novi Testamenti,

"exemplars with the Latin copies." This book, displeasing the cardinal, was not printed till after his death; and then it came forth at Complutum, anno Christi 1520. The year before one Lee, an Englishman, writ also against Erasmus; and both Stunica and Lee, amongst other things, reprehended him for omitting the testimony of "the Three in heaven." Afterwards Erasmus, finding the Spaniards, and some others of the Roman church, in a heat against him, printed this testimony in his third edition, anno Christi 1522; representing, "That in his former editions he had printed the text, as he found it in his manuscripts; but now there being found in England one manuscript which had the testimony of *the Three in heaven*, he had inserted it, according to that manuscript; for avoiding the calumnies raised against him." And so it continued in his two following editions. And at length Robert Stephens, anno Christi 1550, reprinted Erasmus's edition, with some few alterations, and various lections, taken out of the Complutensian edition, and fifteen Greek manuscripts, which he named after the numeral letters, α, β, γ, δ, ε, &c. putting α for the Complutensian edition, and β, γ, δ, ε, &c. for the manuscripts in order; and noting in the margin, that the testimony of "the Three in heaven" was wanting in the seven manuscripts, δ, ε, ζ, θ, ι, κ, γ. Whence Beza (3) tells us, that he had read it in the rest. His words are, "*Legit Hieronymus, legit Erasmus in Britannico codice, et in Complutensi editione. Legimus et nos in nonnullis Roberti nostri veteribus libris.*" And this is the original and authority of the printed editions. For these are the editions ever since followed by all the West; and of late years propagated by the Venetian presses into Greece; and nothing further, that I know of, has been discovered in any manuscripts in favour of these editions.

XXV. Now to pull off the vizard, I cannot but, in the first place, extremely complain of Beza's want of modesty and cau-

"Testamenti, Hebraicè, Græcè, et Latine perlegendis consumpserimus; ac Hebraica, Græcæque ipsa divinarum literarum exemplaria cum Latinis codicibus diligentissime contulerimus. Longâ igitur lectione ac experientia jam pridem edocti, quantum translationi huic ecclesiasticæ Novi Testamenti deferendum sit, ni fallor, optime novi." *Hæc Stunica in præm. libri sui.*
(3) Beza in hunc locum.

RECORD OF tion in expressing himself. ^(bb) In the preface to his annotations, describing what helps he had in composing his first edition, he tells us, "That he had the annotations of Valla, Stapulensis, "and Erasmus, and the writings of the ancients and moderns "collated by himself; and out of Stephens's library, the exem- "plar, which Stephens had collated with about twenty-five ma- "nuscripts, almost all of which were printed." He should have said seventeen; for that number he puts in other places, and in his annotations cites no more. So then he had the collations of two more manuscripts, than Stephens has given us in print. And this was all his furniture. The original manuscripts he does not here pretend to have; nor could he have them: for they were not Stephens's manuscripts; but belonged to several libraries in France and Italy. The manuscript ϵ , Stephens himself never saw; but had only various lections collected out of it by his friends in Italy. The manuscripts γ , δ , ϵ , ζ , η , ι , κ , were not Stephens's, but belonged to the library of the king of France, to whom Stephens was printer. The other six books, θ , α , ι , ϵ , $\iota\gamma$, $\iota\delta$, $\iota\epsilon$, Stephens had not out of his own library, but borrowed them for a time from several places to collate, his friends studying to promote the design of his edition. And yet Beza in his annotations, when he would favour any text, cites the collations of Stephens in such a manner, as if he had the very original manuscripts at Geneva before his eyes. And where Stephens does not cite various lections, there he reckons, that in the text of Stephens's collated books he read all the manuscripts. So in Mark vi. 11, where Stephens notes a certain period to be wanting in the manuscript copies ϵ and η ; Beza saith, "*Hæc periodus in omnibus exemplaribus Græcis legitur, exceptis secundo et octavo.*" In the Acts xiii. 33, because Stephens had noted no various lections, Beza affirms of the Greek text, "*Ita scriptum invenimus in omnibus vetustis codicibus.*" In 1 John iv. 3, where Stephens is silent, Beza speaks, "*Sic legitur in omnibus Græcis exemplaribus, quæ quidem mihi inspicere licuit.*" In James

i. 22,

^(b) "Non desunt, qui Bezam nimis audacem fuisse judicant, dum à receptâ lectione sæpius sine necessitate recedit; et unius, interdum nullius, codicis autoritate fretus, prætoriam ex-
"erect

i. 22, where Stephens is again silent, Beza tells us of the word ^{THE THREE} $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\nu$, "*Ego in omnibus nostris vetustis libris inveni.*" And so, where Stephens in the margin had noted the testimony of "the "Three in heaven" to be wanting in seven manuscripts, he thinks that, in reading the text of Stephens's collated book, he reads it in the rest; and so tells us, "*Legimus et nos in nonnullis "Roberti Stephani codicibus.*" This he did in the first edition of his annotations. Afterwards, when he had got two real manuscripts, the Claromontan, and that, which at length he presented to the University of Cambridge (in both which the canonical epistles are wanting); in the epistle to his fourth edition, in reckoning up the books he then used, he puts only these two, and the seventeen of Stephens; and, in his fifth edition, he writes summarily, that he used nineteen manuscripts, joining with those two real ones the collations of Stephens, as if in those he had seventeen others; which sufficiently explains his way of speaking in his annotations. But whilst he had not the manuscripts themselves to read with his own eyes, it was too hard and unwarrantable a way of speaking to tell us, "*Legimus et nos in nonnullis "Roberti Stephani codicibus;*" and therefore, in his later editions, he corrects himself, and tells us only, that the reading doth "*Extare in nonnullis Stephani veteribus libris.*" Thus Beza argues from Stephens's book of collations; and the same inference has been made by Lucas Brugensis, and others, ever since from Stephens's forementioned edition of that book. "For," say they, "Stephens had fifteen manuscripts in all, and found the testimony of *the Three in heaven* wanting but in seven; and therefore "it was in the other eight; and so being found in the greater "part of his manuscripts, has the authority and manuscripts on "its side." Thus they argue; and this is the great argument by which the printed Greek has hitherto been justified.

XXVI. But if they please to consider the business a little better, they will find themselves very much mistaken. For though Stephens had fifteen manuscripts in all, yet all of them did not contain all the Greek Testament. Four of them noted γ , ϵ , ι , $\iota\delta$,

"erect potestatem, ex conjecturis mutando et interpolando textum sacrum pro lubitu." *Walton Prolegom. IV. Sect. 15. in Bibl. Polyglott.*

had

RECORD OF

had each of them the four gospels only. Two, noted ξ , η , contained only the gospels, and the Acts of the apostles. One, noted $\iota\varsigma$, contained the Apocalypse only. One, noted κ , had only the Apocalypse, with St. Paul's epistles to the Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians. The other seven, noted δ , ε , ζ , θ , ι , $\iota\alpha$, $\iota\gamma$, contained both St. Paul's epistles and the canonical ones, besides some other books; namely, the manuscript ζ , contained the epistles and gospels; the manuscripts ι , $\iota\alpha$, $\iota\gamma$, the epistles and acts of the apostles; and the manuscripts δ , ε , θ , the epistles, gospels and acts. And this any one may gather, by noting what manuscripts the various lections are cited out of, in every book of the New Testament. For in the various lections of the canonical epistles, and those to the Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, and the Hebrews, are found these seven manuscripts, δ , ε , ζ , θ , ι , $\iota\alpha$, $\iota\gamma$, every where cited, and no more than these. The same also, and no more, are cited in the epistles to the Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, and the Hebrews; one numeral error (whether of the scribe or typographer) excepted. Stephens therefore did collect various lections of the epistles out of only these seven manuscripts, δ , ε , ζ , θ , ι , $\iota\alpha$, $\iota\gamma$; and in all these seven, he found the testimony of "the Three in heaven" to be wanting; as you may see noted in the margin of his edition.

XXVII. And that this testimony was wanting in all Stephens's manuscripts, is apparent also by its being generally wanting in the manuscripts which are now extant in France. For father Simon^(c) tells us, "That after a diligent search in the library of the king of France, and in that also of Monsieur Colbert, he could not find it in any one manuscript; though he consulted seven manuscripts in the king's library, and one in Colbert's." And because Stephens had some of his various lections from Italy, I will add, that a gentleman, who, in his travels, had consulted

^(c) Simon's Critic. History of the New Test. chap. 18.

^(d) "Dicam mihi diversis temporibus plura fuisse exemplaria, quam septem; [scilicet Græca] nec in ullo horum repertum, quod in nostris [scilicet Latinis] legitur. Quod si contigisset unum exemplar, in quo fuisset, quod nos legimus, nimirum illinc adjecissem, quod in cæteris aberat. Id quia non contigit, quod solum licuit, teci; indicavi quid in Græcis codicibus minus esset." *Hæc Erasmus contra Læm, in hunc locum.*

twelve MSS. in several libraries in Italy, assured me that he found it wanting in them all. One of the twelve, was that most ancient and most famous MS. in the pope's library, written in capital letters.

XXVIII. So then the authority of the printed books rests only upon the authority of the editions of Erasmus, and cardinal Ximenes. But seeing that Erasmus omitted it in his two first editions, and inserted it unwillingly, against the authority of his manuscripts, in his three last; the authority of these three can be none at all. When Lee, upon Erasmus's putting forth his second edition, fell foul upon him for leaving out the testimony of "the Three in heaven," Erasmus^(d) answered, "That he had consulted more than seven Greek manuscripts, and found it wanting in them all; and that if he could have found it in any one manuscript, he would have followed that in favour of the Latin." Hence notice was sent to Erasmus out of England, that it was in a manuscript there, and thereupon to avoid^(e) their calumnies (as he saith), he printed it in his following editions; notwithstanding that, he suspected that manuscript to be a new one, corrected by the Latin. But since, upon enquiry, I cannot learn that they in England ever heard of any such manuscript, but from Erasmus; and since he was only told of such a manuscript in the time of the controversy between him and Lee, and never saw it himself; I cannot forbear to suspect, that it was nothing but a trick put upon him by some of the popish clergy, to try if he would make good what he had offered, the printing of the testimony of "the Three in heaven" by the authority of one Greek copy, and thereby to get it into his edition^(f). Greek manuscripts of the Scriptures are things of value, and do not use to be thrown away; and such a manuscript, for the testimony of "the Three in heaven," would have made a greater noise than

^(d) "Ex hoc igitur codice Britannico reposuimus, quod in nostris dicebatur deesse; necui sit ania calumniandi. Quamquam et hunc suspicor, et Latinorum codices, fuisse castigatum. Posteaquam enim concordiam interant cum ecclesiâ Romanâ, studuerunt et hæc in parte cum Romanis consentire." *Erasmii Annotation. in hunc locum Editio tertia et sequen.*
^(e) "Versiculus 1. Joan. v. 7. in Syriacâ, ut et vetustissimis Græcis exemplaribus, nostro Alexandrino, aliis manuscriptis Græcis, quos contulimus, non reperitur." *Walton. Prolegomena. xix. 23. in Bibli. Polyglot.*

the

RECORD OF the rest have done against it. Let those who have such a manuscript, at length tell us where it is.

XXIX. So also let them, who insist upon the edition of cardinal Ximenes, tell us by what manuscript he printed this testimony; or, at least, where any such manuscript of good note is to be seen. For till then I must take the liberty to believe, that he printed nothing else than a translation out of the Latin, and that for these reasons.

First: Because in the preface to his edition of the New Testament we are told, that this testament was printed after manuscripts taken out of the pope's library; and these the cardinal only borrowed^(ss) thence, and therefore returned them back so soon as his edition was finished. And Caryophilus some time after, by the pope's command, collating the Vatican manuscripts, found the testimony of "the Three in heaven," wanting in them all. I do not say but that the cardinal had other manuscripts; but these were the chief, and the only ones he thought worth while to tell his reader of.

Secondly: I startle at the marginal note in this place of the cardinal's edition. For it is beside the use of this edition, to put notes in the margin of the Greek text. I have not found it done above thrice in all this edition of the New Testament; and therefore there must be something extraordinary; and that, in respect of the Greek, because it is in the margin of this text. In 1 Corinth. xv. there is noted in this margin a notable variation in the Greek reading. In Matthew vi. 13, where they, in their edition, recede from the Greek copies, and correct it by the Latin, they make a marginal note, to justify their doing so. And so here, where the testimony of "the Three in heaven" is generally wanting in the Greek copies, they make a third marginal note, to secure themselves from being blamed for printing it.

^(ss) "Accipit à Vaticanâ Romæ Bibliothecâ, bonâ cum Leonis X. pontificis maximi veniâ." As Gaspar Bellerus, in his epistle prefixed to the Quinquagena of Antonius Nabrisensis, expresses it.

^(h) The marginal note is this: "Sanctus Thomas, in expositione secundæ decretalis de summâ Trinitate et Fide Catholicâ, tractans istum passum contra Abbatem Joachim, viz. 'Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in Cælo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus' dicit ad literam verba sequentia. "Et ad insinuendam Unitatem Trium Personarum subditur, et 'Hi Tres Unum sunt;'

it. Now in such a case as this, there is no question but they would make the best defence they could; and yet they do not tell of any various lections in the Greek manuscripts, nor produce any one Greek manuscript on their side, but run to the authority of Thomas Aquinas^(hh). The Greek manuscripts have the text thus, "For there are Three that bear record, the Spirit, the Water and the Blood; and these Three are One." In many of the Latin manuscripts, the words "these Three are One" are here omitted, and put only at the end of the testimony of "the Three in heaven," before that of "the Spirit, Water and Blood;" in others, they are put after both testimonies. In the Complutensian edition, they follow the former copies, and justify their doing so, by the authority of Thomas Aquinas^(hh); "Thomas, say they, in treating of the Three which bear witness in heaven, teaches, that the words 'these Three are One' are subjoined for insinuating the Unity of the essence of the Three Persons. And whereas one Joachim interpreted this Unity to be only in *love*, and *consent*, it being thus said of the Spirit, Water and Blood in some copies, that 'these Three are One':" Thomas replied, "That this last clause is not extant in the true copies; but was added by the Arians for perverting the sense." Thus far this annotation. Now this plainly respects the Latin copies (for Thomas understood not Greek) and therefore part of the design of this annotation is to set right the Latin reading. But this is not the main design. For so the annotation should have been set in the margin of the Latin version. Its being set in the margin of the Greek text shews, that its main design is to justify the Greek by the Latin thus rectified and confirmed. Now to make Thomas thus, in a few words, do all the work, was very artificial; and in Spain, where Thomas is of apostolic authority, might pass for a very judicious and

"sunt;" quandoquidem dicitur propter essentiae Unitatem. Sed hoc Joachim perverse trahere volens ad Unitatem charitatis et consensûs, inducebat consequentem auctoritatem. Nam subditur ibidem, 'Et Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terrâ, Spiritus Sanctus, Aqua et Sanguis:' et in quibusdam libris additur, 'Et hi Tres Unum sunt.' Sed hoc in veris exemplaribus non habetur; sed dicitur esse appositum ab Hæreticis Arianis ad pervertendum intellectum sanum auctoritatis præmissæ de Unitate essentiae Trium Personarum." Hæc Beatus Thomas, ubi supra.

RECORD OF substantial defence of the printed Greek. But to us, Thomas Aquinas is no apostle. We are seeking for the authority of Greek manuscripts.

A third reason why I conceive the Complutensian Greek to have been in this place a translation from the Latin, is, because Stunica (who, as I told you, was one of the divines employed by the cardinal in this edition; and at that very time wrote against Erasmus), when, in his objections, he comes to this text of the testimony of "the Three in heaven," he cites not one Greek manuscript for it against Erasmus; but argues wholly from the authority of the Latin. On the contrary, he sets down, by way of concession, the common reading of the Greek manuscripts (as well as his own, and that of others) in these words; "ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσι": and then condemns them all together without exception; and justifies the Latin against them by the authority of Jerome. "(^h) Know, saith he, "that in this place the Greek manuscripts are most evidently corrupted; but ours (that is, the Latin ones) contain the truth itself, as they are translated from the first original: which is manifest by the prologue of St. Jerome upon the epistles, &c." And this prologue (which he goes on to cite at length, and of which we gave you an account above) is all he argues in favour of the testimony of "the Three in heaven." In other places of Scripture, where he had Greek manuscripts on his side, he produces them readily. So 1 Thessalonians ii. 7, "*Ita quidem legitur*," says he, "*in Græcis codicibus, quos ego viderim*." In James i. 11, he saith, "*Sciendum in omnibus Græcis codicibus πορειαὶ βίβ. legi per εἰ διπθONGUM*." In 1 Thessalonians v. 23, he saith, "*Cum in Græcis exemplaribus, quotquot sunt, ολοκληρον, et in Latinis integer βίβ. legatur pernemine discrepante, nescio, cur Erasmus dixerit, &c.*" In Philipp. iv. 9, "*Si quidem in omnibus*," saith he, "*Græcis codicibus; ταῦτα λογιζομε βίβ. legitur: neque Græci sunt libri, qui πρᾶσσετε hoc loco, neque La-*

" *tini,*

(^h) "Sciendum est, hoc loco codices apertissime esse corruptos; nostros verò veritatem ipsam, ut à primâ origine traducti sunt, continere; quod ex prologo B. Hieronymi super epistolas manifestè

" *tini, qui agite; nisi mendosos utriusque linguae codices, cum hæc commentaretur Erasmus, perlegit.*" After this manner does Stunica produce the manuscripts used in the Complutensian edition, when they make for him: and here he produces them too, but it is for Erasmus against himself. "Know," saith he, "that in this place the Greek manuscripts are most evidently corrupted." In other places, if he hath but one manuscript on his side, he produces it magnificently enough; as the Codex Rhodensis in his discourses upon 2 Corinthians ii. 3. James i. 22. 2 Peter ii. 2. and other texts. Here he produces all the manuscripts against himself, without excepting so much as one. And hence Erasmus, in his answer to Stunica, gloried in the consent of the Spanish manuscripts with his own; and Sanctius Caranza, another of the Complutensian divines, in his defence of Stunica, written presently after, had nothing to reply in this point. Neither could Sepulveda, or the Spanish monks who next undertook the controversy, find one Greek manuscript, which here made against Erasmus. Neither had Marchio Valesius better success, though, on that occasion, he collated sixteen Greek manuscripts, eight whereof belonged to the king of Spain's library; and the other eight to other libraries of Spain: and he did it on purpose, to collect out of them whatever he could meet with in favour of the present vulgar Latin. Neither did the reprinting of the Complutensian Bible by Arias Montanus, produce the notice of any such manuscript; though, on that occasion, many manuscripts, as well Greek as Latin, fetched from Complutum and other places, were collated by Arias, Lucas Brugenfis, Canter, and others.

XXX. So then, to sum up the argument, the Complutensian divines did sometimes correct the Greek by the Latin, without the authority of any Greek manuscript; as appears by their practice in Matthew vi. 13, and therefore their printing the testimony of "the Three in heaven" is no evidence that they did it by a manuscript; but, on the contrary, for want of one, they

"manifestè apparet." Ait enim, "Quæ si sicut ab eis digestæ sunt; ita quoque ab interpretibus fideliter in Latinum verterentur eloquium, &c."—Hæc Stunica in b. locum. Ejus Liber exstat in Criticæ. vol. IX.

RECORD OF contented themselves with the authority of Thomas Aquinas: and Stunica confessed that they had none. Nor has all the zeal for this text been able since to discover one either in Spain, or any where else.

XXXI. And now you may understand whence it is, that the Complutensian edition, and the reading of the pretended English manuscript, set down by Erasmus in his annotations, differ so much from one another. For the Complutensian edition has the text thus: "Οτι τρεις εισιν οι μαρτυρητες εν τω ουρανω, ο πατηρ, ο λογος, και το αγιον πνευμα" και οι τρεις εις το εν εισι και τρεις εισιν "οι μαρτυρουντες επι της γης, το πνευμα, και το υδωρ, και το αιμα." The pretended English manuscript thus: "Οτι τρεις εισιν οι μαρτυρουντες εν τω ουρανω, πατηρ, λογος, και πνευμα" και ουτοι οι τρεις "εν εισιν και τρεις μαρτυρουντες εν τη γη, πνευμα, και υδωρ, και αιμα." The differences are too great to spring from the bare errors of scribes, and arise rather from the various translations of the place, out of Latin into Greek, by two several persons.

XXXII. But whilst these two readings, by their discord, confute one another; the readings of the real Greek manuscripts by their agreement confirm one another as much. For Caryophilus, who, by the command of pope Urban the Eighth, collated the Vatican, and other manuscripts, borrowed out of the principal libraries in Rome, found one common reading in them all, without the testimony of "the Three in heaven;" as you may see in those his collations, printed in 1673, by Peter Possinus, in the end of his Catena of the Greek fathers upon Mark. He met with eight manuscripts in all upon the epistles, and notes their reading thus: "1 Joan. v. 7. Manuscripti octo (omnes nempe) legunt, Οτι τρεις εισιν οι μαρτυρουντες, το πνευμα, και το υδωρ, και το αιμα; και οι τρεις εις το εν εισι." "*Porro totus septimus versus hujus capituli desideratur in octo manuscriptis codicibus Græcis, &c.*" Thus Caryophilus.

XXXIII. The very same reading Erasmus, in his annotations on this place, gives us of all his manuscripts, which were more than seven; and so doth Stephens of all his seven, without noting any various

various lections in them. Only the comma, which in Stephens's edition is (surely by mistake) set after *ερανω*, is to be put in its right place. The very same reading does Stunica also, in his book against Erasmus, note out of the manuscript, he had seen in Spain, as was seen above. Nor does Valesius, in his collection of the sixteen Spanish manuscripts, note any various lections in this text. The same reading exactly have also the manuscripts in England; namely, that most ancient and famous one in the king's library, which was conveyed thither from Ægypt through Greece, and published in Walton's Polyglott Bible; and the four at Oxford, viz, that in New College, and that in Magdalen College (both very old), and two in Lincoln College: and four or five other ancient ones lately collated at Oxford, in order to a new impression of the Greek testament, as I am informed. The very same reading have also the three manuscripts of Monsieur Petavius Gachon, a senator of Paris, whose various lections, collected by his son, John Gachon, were printed in the Oxford edition of the New Testament, anno Christi 1675. The same reading, without any variation, is published by Francis Asulan in his edition, printed anno Christi 1518, by Aldus at Venice, out of the manuscripts of those parts. The same reading Occumenius, six hundred years ago, found in the manuscripts of Greece; as you may see in the text of his commentary on this epistle of St. John. The same reading also Cyril of Alexandria met with in the manuscripts of Egypt, above eleven hundred years ago; as you may see in his citations of the text; both in his Thesaurus, lib. xiv. cap. 5. And in his first book *De Fide ad Reginas*, excepting that in the latter of these two citations, the particle "*εις*" is omitted; and "*μαρτυροι*," written for "*οι μαρτυρουντες*." And that the very same reading was also in the manuscripts of the first ages, may be gathered from the conformity of this reading to all the ancient versions.

XXXIV. It may seem by what has been hitherto said, that this testimony is not to be found in the Greek manuscripts. Epanorthotes (^{kk}), whom Lucas Brugenfis describes to be an ancient, accurate,

(^{kk}) "Habuiimus ab Hunnæo—id quod maximi facimus, MS. Bibl. correctorium ab incerto auctore,"

"auctore, quem Epanorthotem, aut correctorem fere vocamus, magnâ diligentia, ac fide contextum"

RECORD OF curate, full, and industrious collator of manuscripts, found it wanting in all those he met with. "*Epanorthotes*," saith Lucas, "*deesse hæc eadem Græcis libris, et antiquis Latinis annotat.*" Nor have other collators made a further discovery to this day. Lee, Stunica, and the rest in England, Spain, Flanders, France and Italy, who conspired against Erasmus, could find nothing in the manuscripts of those parts against him; if that Phoenix be excepted, which once appeared to somebody somewhere in England, but could never since be seen. Hæffeli⁽¹⁾, about the year 1565, professor of divinity at Lovain, in his commentary on this place, ingenuously confesses it wanting in all the Greek manuscripts then known, except two; the one in Spain, the other in England; meaning those, by which the Complutenian divines and Erasmus printed it. Which two we have shewn to be none at all; unless one Annius dug up one in England. Since that time nothing further has been produced, besides the imaginary books of dreaming Beza. And yet I will not say, but that it may hereafter be found in some Greek copies. For in the times of the holy war, the Latins had much to do in the East. They were long united to the Greek church: they made Latin patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch: they reigned at Constantinople over the Greeks from the year 1204, for above fifty years together: and during this their kingdom, in the year 1215, was assembled the Lateran council, consisting of four hundred and fifteen bishops, Greeks and Latins together; and therein the testimony of "the Three in heaven" was quoted out of some of the Latin manuscripts, as we told you above. All which might occasion some Greeks, as well as Latins, to note it in the margins of their books; and hence insert it into the text in transcribing.

For

"tum, secuto uti oportet antiquas nostræ editionis codices, eosque cum Hæbræis, Græcis, et veterum patrum commentariis sedulo collatos: qui liber ad Genesim viii. 7: latius à nobis descriptus est." Hæc Lucas; qui ad Genesim viii. 7. dixit hunc librum multis annis scriptum, et pluribus forte compositum. Dein loco ex eo citato pergit. "Ad quæ dici quid possit? An quod libro fidendum non sit? Non hoc dicet, qui evolverit; quæ namque à nostri sæculi scriptoribus ex MSS. codicibus collectæ sunt variæ lectiones, omnes propemodum in eo comperimus; et ad fontes fideliter examinatasprehendimus.—*Scripti hæc Lucas*, anno 1579: unde sequitur correctorium ante disputationes Erasmi de Testibus in Cælo elaboratum esse."

⁽¹⁾ Hæffeli in hunc locum ait, "Manuscripti Græci fere omnes sic se habent. 'Quoniam Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terrâ, Spiritus, Aqua et Sanguis, et hi Tres Unum sunt,'

"nullâ

For this is most certain, that some Greek manuscripts have been corrected by the Latin ones. Such a book Erasmus^(mm) tells us, that he "once met with, and that there was such another in "the pope's library." He suspected also that book in England, out of which he printed the testimony of "the Three in heaven," to be of the same kind; though I rather think it was none at all; unless some falsary of that age were at the pains to transcribe one or two of St. Paul's epistles. Such another book was one of those, out of which Valesius collected his various lections. Whence Mariana, into whose hands the manuscript book of those lections fell, tells us, that for that reason, in his annotations on the New Testament, he used those lections but sparingly and cautiously. And that Valesius did meet with such a corrected manuscript, appears by the lections themselves. For in the Apocalypse xviii. 17, where the Greek reads "*ἐπὶ τοπον*;" and the Latin translates *in locum*, and by the error of one letter *in lacum*, as the books now have it; some Grecian has here corrected this book by the Latin, and written "*ἐπὶ λίμνην*;" as it is in the lections of Valesius, taken out of this. Again in the Apocalypse ix. 11, where the Latin translation, in expounding the names *Abaddon et Apollyon*, adds, "*Et Latine habens nomen 'exterminans';*" Valesius notes the reading in his Greek copy to be "*ρωμαῖσι ἔχων ὄνομα ἐξτεμνῖνας*;" which certainly is a translation of the Latin. Again, in the Apocalypse xxi. 12, where the Greek has "*ἀγγελος*;" and some ancient Latin copies, *angelos*; but the far greater part of the Latin copies at present have *angulos*; Valesius, in his manuscript, reads "*γωνίας*." So in the Apocalypse xix. 6, where the Greek is "*οχλὸς πολλὰ*;" the Latin, *turbæ magnæ*; and in the later copies, *turbæ magnæ*; Valesius, in his manuscript, reads "*σαλπικτος μεγάλης*." In He-

"nullâ factâ mentione triplicis testimonii de Cælo, 'Patris, Verbi et Spiritus Sancti.'" Dein codices aliter legentes describendo sic pergit: "Nostro tempore duo Græci codices manuscripti reperti sunt; unus in Angliâ, et alter in Hispaniâ: quorum uterque hoc loco testimonium habet 'Patris, Verbi et Spiritus Sancti.'"

^(mm) "Hic obiter illud incidit admonendum, esse Græcorum quosdam Novi Testamenti codices ad Latina exemplaria emendatos. Id factum est in fœdere Græcorum cum Romanâ ecclesiâ: quod fœdus testatur Bulla, quæ dicitur Aurea: visum est enim et hoc ad firmandam concordiam pertinere. Et nos olim in hujusmodi codicem indicimus; et talis adhuc dicitur adservari in Bibliothecâ Pontif. Verum ex his corrigere nostros est Lestiam, ut aiunt, admoveere regulam."—*Erasmi ad Leorem. Editio 3ta Novi Testamenti.*

brews

RECORD OF brews xiii. 2, for "ελαθον," *latuerunt*; and in later copies, *placuerunt*, Valesius reads "ηρεσαν:" and in 1 Peter iii. 8, for "το δε τελος," *in fine*; and by an error *in fide*, Valesius reads "εν τη πισει δε." These, and such like instances, put the thing out of dispute. Now, though Valesius found not the testimony of "the Three in heaven" in this manuscript; and Erasmus tells us, that he never saw it in any Greek manuscript; and, by consequence, not in that corrected one which fell into his hands, yet it may have crept out of the Latin into some other books, not yet taken notice of; and even in some manuscripts, which, in other places, have not been corrected by the Latin, it may possibly have been inserted by some of the Greek bishops of the Lateran council, where the testimony of "the Three in heaven" was read. And therefore he, that shall hereafter meet with it in any book, ought first, before he insist upon the authority of that book, to examine whether it has not been corrected by the Latin; and whether it be ancients than the Lateran council, and empire of the Latins in Greece; for, if it be liable to either of these two exceptions, it can signify nothing to produce it.

XXXV. HAVING given you the history of the controversy, I shall now confirm all that I have said from the sense of the text itself. For, without the testimony of "the Three in heaven," the sense is good and easy, as you may see by the following paraphrase inserted in the text in a different character.

"WHO IS HE THAT OVERCOMETH THE WORLD, BUT HE THAT BELIEVETH THAT JESUS IS THE SON OF GOD, that Son spoken of in the Psalms, where he saith, 'Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee.' THIS IS HE THAT, after the Jews had long expected him, CAME, first in a mortal body, BY baptism of WATER, AND then in an immortal one by shedding his BLOOD upon the Cross, and rising again from the dead; NOT BY WATER ONLY, BUT BY WATER AND BLOOD; being the Son of God, as well by his resurrection from the dead (Acts xiii. 33.) as by his supernatural birth of the Virgin (Luke i. 35.) AND IT IS THE SPIRIT also, THAT, together
"with

"with the Water and Blood, BEARETH WITNESS of the truth of THE THREE IN HEAVEN.
"his coming; BECAUSE THE SPIRIT IS TRUTH; and so a fit and unexceptionable witness. FOR THERE ARE THREE THAT BEAR RECORD of his coming; THE SPIRIT, which he promised to send; and which was since shed forth upon us in the form of cloven tongues, and in various gifts; THE baptism of WATER, wherein God testified, 'This is my beloved Son;' AND THE shedding of his BLOOD, accompanied with his resurrection, whereby he became the most faithful martyr, or witness, of this truth. AND THESE THREE, the Spirit, the baptism, and passion of Christ, AGREE in witnessing ONE, and the same thing (namely, that the Son of God is come); and, therefore, their evidence is strong: for the law requires but two consenting witnesses, and here we have three: AND IF WE RECEIVE THE WITNESS OF MEN, THE threefold WITNESS OF GOD, which he bare of his Son, by declaring at his baptism, 'This is my beloved Son;' by raising him from the dead, and by pouring out his Spirit on us, IS GREATER; and therefore ought to be more readily received."

XXXII. This is the sense plain and natural, and the argument full and strong: but, if you insert the testimony of "the Three in heaven," you interrupt and spoil it. For the whole design of the apostle being here to prove to men by witness the truth of Christ's coming, I would ask how the testimony of "the Three in heaven" makes to this purpose. If their testimony be not given to men, how does it prove to them the truth of Christ's coming? If it be, how is the testimony in heaven distinguished from that on earth? It is the same Spirit which witnesses in heaven and in earth. If in both cases it witnesses to us men, wherein lies the difference between its witnessing in heaven, and its witnessing in earth? If, in the first case, it does not witness to men, to whom doth it witness? And to what purpose? And how does its witnessing make to the design of St. John's discourse? Let them make good sense of it, who are able. For my part, I can make none. If it be said that we are not to determine what is scripture, and what not, by our private judgments; I confess it in places not controverted: but in disputable places, I love to

RECORD OF take up with what I can best understand. It is the temper of the hot and superstitious part of mankind, in matters of religion, ever to be fond of mysteries; and for that reason, to like best what they understand least. Such men may use the apostle John as they please; but I have that honour for him, as to believe that he wrote good sense; and therefore take that sense to be *his*, which is the best: especially since I am defended in it by so great authority. For I have on my side the authority of the Fourth General Council, and (so far as I know) of all the churches in all ages, except the modern Latin, and such others as have lately been influenced by them; and that also of all the old versions, and Greek manuscripts, and ancient Latin ones: and nothing against me, but the authority of Jerome, and the credulity and heat of his followers. For to tell us of other manuscripts, without ever letting us know, in what libraries they were to be seen: to pretend manuscripts which, since their first discovery, could never be heard of; nor were then seen by persons whose names and credit we know; is plainly to impose upon the learned world, and ought not to pass any longer for plain dealing. The Spaniards tell us plainly that they followed the Latin, and by the authority of Thomas left out the clause, "And these Three are One," in the eighth verse, as inserted by the Arians. And yet St. Ambrose, St. Austin, Eucherius and other Latins, in the Arian age, gathered the Unity of the Deity from this clause; and the omission of it is now, by printing it, acknowledged to be an erroneous correction. The manuscript in England wanted the same clause, and therefore if there was any such MS. it was a corrected one, like the Spanish edition, and the manuscript of Valesius. Erasmus, who printed the triple testimony in heaven by that English manuscript, never saw it; tells us it was a new one; suspected its sincerity; and accused it publicly in his writings on several occasions, for several years together: and yet his adversaries in England never answered his accusation; never endeavoured to satisfy him; and the world about it; did not so much as let us know, where the record might be consulted for confuting him; but, on the contrary, when they had got the Trinity into his edition, threw by their manuscript (if

(if they had one), as an almanack out of date. And can such ^{THE THREE} shuffling dealings satisfy considering men? Let manuscripts at ^{IN HEAVEN} length be produced, and freely exposed to the sight of the learned world; but let such manuscripts be produced as are of authority; or else let it be confessed, that whilst Jerome pretended to correct the Latin by the Greek, the Latins have corrected both the Latin and the Greek by the sole authority of Jerome.

I. WHAT the Latins have done to this text, the Greeks have done to that of St. Paul (Timothy iii. 16). For by changing ^{GOD MANI- FESTED} $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ into $\Theta\varsigma$, the abbreviation of $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, they now read, "Great is the ^{IN THE FLESH.} mystery of godliness: GOD manifested in the flesh." Whereas all the churches for the first four or five hundred years, and the authors of all the ancient versions, Jerome, as well as the rest, read, "Great is the mystery of godliness, which was manifested in the flesh." For this is the common reading of the Ethiopic, Syriac, and Latin versions to this day; Jerome's manuscripts having given him no occasion to correct the old vulgar Latin in this place. Grotius adds the Arabic, but the Egyptian Arabic version has $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$; and so has the above-mentioned Sclavonian version of Cyrillus: for these two versions were made long after the sixth century, wherein the corruption began. With the ancienter versions agree the writers of the first five centuries, both Greeks and Latins. For they, in all their discourses to prove the Deity of the Son, never alledge this text (that I can find) as they would all have done; (and some of them frequently) had they read "God manifested in the flesh," and therefore they read δ . Tertullian (*adversus Praxeam*) and Cyprian (*adversus Judaeos*) industriously cite all the places where Christ is called God, but have nothing of this. Alexander of Alexandria, Athanasius, the bishops of the council of Sardica, Epiphanius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, Chrysostom, Cyril of Jerusalem, Cyril of Alexandria, Cassian, also Hilary, Lucifer, Jerome, Ambrose, Austin, Phæbadius, Victorinus Afer, Faustinus Diaconus, pope Leo the Great, Arnobius junior, Cerealis, Vigilus Tapfenfis, Fulgentius, wrote all of them in the fourth and fifth centuries for the Deity of the Son, and incarnation of God;

God; and some of them largely, and in several tracts; and yet I cannot find that they ever alledge this text to prove it, excepting that Gregory Nyssen⁽ⁿⁿ⁾ once urges it, if the passage crept not into him out of some marginal annotation. In all the times of the hot and lasting Arian controversy, it never came into play; though now those disputes are over, they that read "God manifested in the flesh," think it one of the most obvious and pertinent texts for the business.

II. The churches therefore of those ages were absolute strangers to this reading. For, on the contrary, their writers, as often as they have any occasion to cite the reading then in use, discover that it was *ὁ*. For though they cite it not to prove the Deity of the Son, yet in their commentaries, and sometimes in other discourses, they produce it. And particularly Hilary (lib. 2. *de Trinitate*) and Ambrose, or whoever of his contemporaries was the author of the commentary on the epistles, reads *ὁ*; and so doth St. Austin in *Genesin ad litteram*, lib. 5. And Beda in his commentary on this text, where he cites the reading of St. Austin, and the author of the commentary on the epistles ascribed to Jerome. So also do Primasius and Sedulius in their commentaries on this text; and Victorinus Afer, lib. 1. *adversus Arium*; and Idacius Clarus, or rather Vigilius Tapsensis, lib. 3. *adversus Varimadum*, cap. 12. And Fulgentius, c. 2. *de Incarnatione*; and so did pope Leo the Great, epist. 20. *ad Flavianum*; and pope Gregory the Great, lib. 34. *Moral. cap. 7*. These ancient Latins all cite the text after this manner, "Great is the mystery of godliness, which was manifested in the flesh;" as the Latin manuscripts of St. Paul's epistles generally have it to this day: and therefore it cannot be doubted, but that this hath been the

(nn) Orat. xi. contra Eunom.

* — nor expounds it as they do, who read *Θεος*.] They who read *Θεος* cannot expound the passage otherwise than Chrysostom expounds it. His words, "For God was made Man, and Man God," are not particularly expositive of *ὁ*, as our author imagines, but declarative of the mystery which the apostle calls the great mystery of godliness, and they will not decide for either reading. "Observe," says Chrysostom, "how the apostle calls the dispensation for our sakes [the scheme of redemption] a mystery in all its branches. With good reason. For it is not known to all men. Nay, rather it was [formerly] not known to angels. How should it? since it has been discovered through the church. Therefore, he says, without controversy it is great. And great indeed it is. For God has been made Man, and Man God. A Man was seen without sin. A Man has been

" received

the constant publick reading of the Latin churches from the beginning. So also one of the Arians in a homily, printed in Fulgentius's works, reads *ὁ*, and interprets it of the Son of God, who was born of the Father *ante secula*; and of the Virgin, *in novissimo tempore*. And Fulgentius, in his answer to this homily, found no fault with the citation; but on the contrary, in his first book *ad Trasimundum*, cap. 6. seems to have read and understood the text after the same manner with other Latins.

III. Now for the Greeks, I find indeed that they have changed the ancient reading of the text, not only in the manuscripts of St. Paul's epistles, but also in other authors; and yet there are still remaining sufficient instances among them of what the reading was at first. So in Chrysostom's commentary on this epistle, they have now gotten *Θεος* into the text; and yet by considering the commentary itself, I am satisfied that he read *ὁ*. For he neither in this commentary, nor any where else, infers the Deity of Christ from this text; nor expounds it, as they do who read *Θεος*;* but with the Latins, who read *ὁ*, understands by it Christ incarnate; or, as he expresses it, "Man made God, and God made man;" and so leaves it at liberty to be taken for either God or man. And accordingly in one place of his commentary he saith, "Εφανερωθη εν σαρκι ὁ δημιουργος†." In another place: "Ανθρωπος ωφθη αναμαρτητος, ανθρωπος αναληφθης, εκηρυχθη εν κοσμοις, μεθ ημων ειδον αυτον οι αγγελοι." "Man appeared without sin; Man was received up; Man was preached in the world; was seen amongst us by angels." Instead of "*ὁ εφανερωθη εν σαρκι, εδικαιωθη εν πνευματι*," &c. he saith, "Man appeared without sin;" making Man the nominative case to these, and all the verbs which follow; which certainly he would not have done, had *Θεος* been their nominative case expressly in the text.

* received up—preached in the world—angels saw him with us—truly this is mystery." The design of this paraphrase of St. Chrysostom's, is to shew that the scheme of redemption involves mystery in every distinct branch mentioned by the apostle: and our author's conclusion, that the subject of the verb εφανερωθη in Chrysostom's bible, was something that might be taken either for God or man, is at best precarious. The more natural conclusion would be, that the common subject of the verbs εφανερωθη, εδικαιωθη, ωφθη, εκηρυχθη, &c. was some word that might denote a living person; and is not likely to have been the neuter relative *ὁ*.

† Chrysostom's words are — λεγων, "Θεος εφανερωθη εν σαρκι," τωδε, ο δημιουργος. Substitute *ὁ* for *Θεος* in the text of Chrysostom, and the exposition τωδε εστιν ο δημιουργος, will be rank nonsense.

He

He might properly put man for δ , but not for $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$. Neither could he have put $\alpha\nu\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\tau\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ for $\epsilon\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\theta\eta$; if he had read in his text $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\theta\eta$. For what man of common sense would say, that God was made sinless in and through the Spirit? But what I have said of Chrysostom will be more evident, when I shall have shewn you how afterwards, in the time of the Nestorian controversy, all parties read δ or $\delta\varsigma$ without any dispute raised about the reading; and how the Greeks have since corrupted the text in Cyril's writings, and changed δ and $\delta\varsigma$ into $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, as they have done in Chrysostom's.

IV. And, first, that the Nestorians read δ is evident by some fragments of the orations or homilies of Nestorius sent by him to the pope, and cited by Arnobius Junior, in the second book of his conflict with Serapion. For there, in order to shew what was the opinion of Nestorius, and how he defended it, he cites two of his orations in these words: "*Non peperit sanctissima Maria Deitatem; nam quod natum est de carne, caro est. Non peperit creatura Creatorem; sed peperit hominem Deitatis ministerium. Non edificavit Deum verbum, Spiritus Sanctus; quod ex ipsa natum est, de Spiritu Sancto est. Deo itaque virgo templum ex virgine edificavit.*" Et paulo post, "*Qui per se natus est Deus in utero (scilicet ante Luciphorum) Deus est.*" Et paulo post; "*\Theta\epsilon\omicron\tau\omicron\kappa\epsilon* formam in Deo honoramus." Et in aliâ prædicatione; "*Spiritum divina separat natura, qui humanitatem ejus creavit. Quicquid ex Maria natum est, de Spiritu Sancto est, qui et secundum justitiam replevit, quod creatum est; hoc quod manifestum est in carne, justificatum est in Spiritu.*" Which last words in the language, wherein Nestorius wrote those homilies, are, " δ $\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\rho\omega\theta\eta$ $\epsilon\nu$ $\sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\iota$, $\epsilon\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\theta\eta$ $\epsilon\nu$ $\pi\nu\epsilon\nu\mu\alpha\tau\iota$."

V. Here you see that Nestorius reads δ expressly; not only so, but absolutely excludes God from being understood by it; arguing, that the Virgin was not $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\tau\omicron\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, because that thing which was manifested in the flesh, was justified in the Spirit; or (as he expounds it) replenished by the Spirit in righteousness, and calling that thing which was manifested in the flesh, a creature: "*Spiritus*," saith he, "*secundum justitiam replevit* [*hoc*] *quod crea-*
tum

"*tum est*; [*nempe*] *hoc quod manifestum est in carne, justificatum est in Spiritu.*"

VI. And now whilst he read the text after this manner, and urged it thus against the Deity of Christ, one would suspect, that if this had not been the received publick reading in the Greek churches, his adversaries would have fallen foul upon him, and exclaimed against him for falsifying the text, and blasphemously saying it was a created thing, which the Scripture calls "God manifested in the flesh." And such an accusation as this, would surely have made as great a noise as any thing else in the controversy: and yet I meet with nothing of this kind in history. His adversaries do not so much as tell him, that $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ was in the text. They were so far from raising any controversy about the reading, that they do not in the least correct him for it; but, on the contrary, they themselves, in their answers to his writings, read δ , as he did; and only laboured by various disputations to put another sense upon the text, as I find by Cassian and Cyril, the two principal who at that time wrote against him.

VII. John Cassian was Chrysostom's scholar, and his deacon and legate to the pope; and after the banishment of Chrysostom, retired from Constantinople into Syria and Egypt, where he lived a monkish life for some time, and then ended his days in France. At that time, therefore, when Nestorius, who was patriarch of Constantinople, broached his opinion, and Cyril, the patriarch of Alexandria, opposed him; Nestorius sent a legacy to Rome with copies of his orations, to let the pope understand the controversy: and thereupon Leo the Great, who was then archdeacon of the church of Rome, and afterwards pope, put Cassian (then in France) upon writing this book, *De Incarnatione Domini*, against Nestorius. He wrote it therefore in the year 430, as Baronius also reckons. For he wrote it before the condemnation of Nestorius in the council of Ephesus; as appears by the book itself. This book is now extant only in Latin; but, considering that his design in writing was to stir up the Greek church against Nestorius, and that for the making great impression upon them, he quotes Greek fathers at the end of his book, and concludes with an exhortation to the citizens of Constantinople; telling them, that

that what he wrote for, he had received from his master Chrysostom: I am satisfied that he wrote it originally in Greek. His other books were in both languages. For Photius saw them in eloquent Greek; and it is more likely that they had their author's eloquent language from their author, and the Latin from one of the Latins, where he lived; than that the contrary should be true. Now in this treatise ^(^{oo}) when he comes to consider the passage of Nestorius about this text, of which we gave you an account above out of Arnobius, he returns this answer to it: "*Jam primum enim hoc ais Nestori, quia justitiā repleverit, quod creatum est; et hoc apostolico vis testimonio comprobare, quod dicat, apparuit in carne; justificatus est in Spiritu; utrumque falso sensu, et furioso Spiritu loqueris. Quia et hoc, quod à Spiritu vis eum repletum esse justitiā, ideo ponis, ut ostendas ejus vacuitatem, cui præstitam esse asseras justitiæ adimpletionem. Et hoc, quod super hac re apostolico testimonio uteris, divini testimonii ordinem rationemque furaris. Non enim ita ab apostolo positum est, ut tu id truncatum, vitiatumque posuisti. Quid enim apostolus ait? 'Et manifestè magnum est pietatis sacramentum, quod manifestum est in carne, justificatum est in Spiritu.' Vides ergo, quòd mysterium pietatis, vel sacramentum justificatum apostolus prædicavit.*" Thus far Cassian not only reading *ὁ*, but confuting Nestorius by that reading. For whereas Nestorius said it was a creature which was justified, Cassian tells him, that if he had read the whole text, he would have found that it was "the mystery of godliness." "*Vides ergo,*" saith he, "*quod mysterium pietatis justificatum apostolus prædicavit.*" He does not say, "*Deum justificatum apostolus prædicavit;*" (as he would certainly have done, had that been in his bible) but *mysterium*; and so makes *mysterium*, or, which is all one, its relative *quod*, the nominative case to the verbs which follow. In another part of this treatise, lib. 5. cap. 12. Cassian cites and interprets the text as follows: "*Et manifestè magnum est pietatis sacramentum, quod manifestatum est in carne, &c. Quod ergo magnum est illud sacramentum, quod manifestatum est in carne? Deus, scilicet, natus in carne, Deus visus in corpore, qui utique sicut palam est af-*

(^{oo}) Libro septimo, cap. 18.

"*sumptus in gloriā.*" So you see Nestorius and Cassian agree in reading *ὁ*, but differ in interpreting it; the one restraining it to a creature, by reason of its being justified; the other restraining it to God, by reason of its being a great mystery, and assumed in glory.

VIII. In like manner Cyril, the grand adversary of Nestorius, in his three books, *De Fide ad Imperatorem et Reginas*, written against him in the beginning of that controversy, did not reprehend him, as if he had cited the text falsely, but only complained of his misinterpreting it; telling him, that he did not understand the great mystery of godliness, and that it was not a created thing (as he thought), but the Word or Son of God; and arguing for this interpretation from the circumstances of the text. And, first, in his book *De Fide ad Imperatorem*, sect. 7. he has this passage: "*Πλανᾷτε, μη εἰδοτες τας γραφας μητε μεν το μεγα της ευσεβειας μυστηριον, τῷ Χριστῷ, ὃς ἐφανερωθῇ ἐν σαρκί, ἢ ἐδικαιωθῇ ἐν πνεύματι, &c.*" "Ye err," saith he, "not knowing the Scriptures, nor the great mystery of godliness, that is, Christ; who was manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit." By this citation, it is plain that he read *ὃς*, using one of these MSS. which, by understanding *Χριστῷ* for *μυστηριον*, turned *ὁ* into *ὃς*; and, by way of interpretation, inserting *τῷ Χριστῷ*, which in those MSS. was to be understood; unless you will say that he turns *θεος* into *ὃς*, which is very hard. For had *Θεος* been in this text, he would not have said *μυστηριον, τῷ Χριστῷ, ὃς ἐφανερωθῇ*; but *μυστηριον, Θεος, τῷ Χριστῷ ἐφανερωθῇ*, putting *Χριστος* not for *μυστηριον*, but for *Θεος*. For *Χριστος* and *Θεος* are more plainly equipollent than *Χριστος* and *μυστηριον*. And making *Χριστος* and *μυστηριον* equipollent, he makes *μυστηριον* the nominative case to *ἐφανερωθῇ*; and therefore read them joined in this text by the article *ὃς*. Had he read *Θεος*, he would never have left out that authentick and demonstrative word, and by way of interpretation for *μυστηριον Θεος*, written *Χριστῷ ὃς*. For this was not to argue against Nestorius, but to spoil the argument which lay before him. Neither would he have gone on, as he does, with in a few lines, to recite the same text, putting *λογος* by way of interpretation for *μυστηριον*; and after to propound it as his bare

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opinion, that the Word, or Son of God, was here to be understood by this mystery, and to dispute for this his opinion, as needing proof out of other texts of Scripture, as he does after this manner: "(PP) Moreover," saith he, "in my opinion, that mystery of godliness is nothing else than he who came to us from God the Father; the Word, who was manifested in the flesh. For in taking the form of a servant, he was born of the holy God-bearing Virgin, &c." And then after many other things he at length, in Sect. 23 and 24, concludes, that "this divine mystery is above our understanding; and that the Only-begotten, who is God, and, according to the Scriptures, the Lord of all things, appeared to us, was seen on earth, and became a Man." This he makes not the text itself, but the interpretation thereof; and from the preceding disputation, concludes it to be genuine.

IX. Again, in the first of his two treatises, *De Fide ad Reginas*, near the end, he cites the text, and argues thus against the interpretation of Nestorius. "Who is he," saith he, "that is manifested in the flesh? Is it not fully evident, that it is no other than the Word of God the Father? For so will that be a great mystery of godliness (which was (qq) manifested in the flesh): he was seen of angels, ascending into heaven; he was preached to the Gentiles by the holy apostles; he was believed on in the world; but this not as a mere man; but as God born in the flesh, and after our manner."

X. So also in his second book, *De Fide ad Reginas* (rr), he cites the place again; and then argues upon it against the opinion of Nestorius after this manner: "If the Word, being God, is said to become a Man, and yet continue what he was before, without losing his Deity, the mystery of godliness is without doubt a very great one: but if Christ be a mere man, joined with God only in the parity of dignity and power (for this is maintained by some unlearned men) how is he manifested in the flesh? Is it not plain, that every man is in the flesh, and

(pp) "Εἰν γὰρ ἀν' οὐχ ἴτερον οἶμαι τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, ἢ αὐτὸς ἡμεῖς ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγος, ὃς ἐφάρτην ἐν σαρκί. Γεννῆται γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου καὶ θεοτοκῆς, μετ' οὗτος δούλου λαβὼν."—Cyril *de Fide ad Imperatorem*, Sect. 8.

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"cannot otherwise be seen by any body; how then was he said ^{IN THE} to be seen of the holy angels? For do they not also see us? ^{FLESH.} What was there therefore new or extraordinary in Christ, if the angels saw him such a Man as we are, and nothing more, &c." Thus Cyril goes on to give his reasons why that, which was manifested in the flesh, was not a mere created Man, as Nestorius interpreted, but the eternal Word, or Son of God; all which would have been very superfluous and impertinent, if God had then been expressly in the text.

XI. Seeing therefore Nestorius alledged the text to prove, that it was a created thing which was manifested in the flesh; and Cyril, in confuting him, did not answer that it was God expressly in the text, nor raise any debate about the reading, but only put another interpretation upon the text than Nestorius had done; arguing with Cassian, that in the text it was not a mere Man, as Nestorius contended, but a great mystery of godliness; and by consequence Christ, or God the Son, which was manifested in the flesh; and labouring by divers other arguments to prove this interpretation, it is evident beyond all cavil, that Cyril was a stranger to Θεός, now got into the text; and read ὁς or ὁ, as Nestorius and Cassian did.

XII. And all this is further confirmed by Photius, who in his commentary on the epistles not yet published, relates that Cyril, in the 12th chapter of his Scholiums, read ὁς ἐφανερώθη, &c. and consonant to this reading is Cyril's commentary upon the text in his explanation of the second of the twelve Anathematisms, where he puts the question, "*Quid est igitur quod dicit, apparuit in carne?*" And explains it by saying, "*Hoc est Dei patris verbum Caro factum est:*" and concludes, that it is hence that we call him God and Man. Whereas had Θεός been in the text, it would have needed no interpretation; nor would he have put λόγος for Θεός, in order to prove that God was manifested in the flesh. And yet in his books *ad Reginas*, and his other writings, wherever he quotes this text, the Greeks have since corrected it by their corrected manuscripts of St. Paul's epistles, and written

(rr) Codex Græcus hoc loco jam legit ΘC pro ὁ: sensu perturbato.

(s) Section 33.

Θ:ος instead of δ: whence, if you would truly understand the Nestorian history, you must read δ or δς for Θ:ος in all Cyril's citations of this text.

XIII. Now, whilst Cyril read δ or δς, and in the explanation of the twelve chapters, or articles, quoted this text in the second article; and this explanation was recited by him in the council of Ephesus, and approved by the council^(ss), with an Anathema at the end of every article: it is manifest that this council allowed the reading δς or δ; and by consequence that δς or δ was the authentick public uncontroverted reading till after the times of this council. For if Nestorius and Cyril, the patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria, and the heads of the two parties in this controversy, read δς or δ; and their writings went about amongst the Eastern churches, and were canvassed by the bishops and clergy without any dispute raised about the reading; and if Cyril read δς by the approbation of the council itself: I think that the conclusion we make, of its being then the general uncontroverted reading, must needs be granted us. And if the authority of one of the four first general councils make any thing for the truth of the reading, we have that into the bargain.

XIV. Yet whilst the Nestorian controversy brought the text into play, and the two parties ran the interpretation into extremes, the one disputing that δ or δς was a creature; the other, that it was the Word of God: the prevalence of the latter party made it pass for the orthodox opinion, that δ or δς was God; and so gave occasion to the Greeks henceforward to change the language of Christ into that of God; and say, in their expositions of the text, that God was manifested in the flesh (as I find Theodoret doth), and at length to write God in the text itself; the easy change of O or OC into ΘC, inviting them to do it: and, if this was become the orthodox authentick reading, to set right the text in Chrysostom, Cyril, Theodoret, and wherever else they found it (in their opinion) corrupted by Hereticks.

XV. And the man that first began thus to alter the sacred text, was Macedonius, the patriarch of Constantinople, in the begin-

^(ss) Concil. Ephes. Par. iii. sub initio.

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ning of the sixth century. For the emperor Anastasius banished him for corrupting it. At that time, the Greek church had been long divided about the council of Chalcedon. Many, who allowed the condemnation of Eutyches, rejected the council; by reason of its decreeing, by the influence of the bishop of Rome's letter against Eutyches, that Christ subsisted not only *ex duabus naturis*, which Eutyches allowed, but also *in duabus naturis*; which language was new to the Greeks, and by a great part of that church taken for Nestorianism. For they understood, that as the body and soul made the nature of man, so God and Man made the nature of Christ; assigning the nature to the person of Christ, as well as to all other things, and not considering that in all compounds the several parts have also their several natures. Hence each party endeavoured to render the other suspected of Heresy; as if they that were for the council secretly favoured the Nestorians, and they that were against it, the Eutychians. For one part, in maintaining two distinct natures in Christ, were thought to deny the nature of one person with Nestorius; and the other party, in opposing two distinct natures in him, were thought to deny the truth of one of the natures with Eutyches. Both parties, therefore, to clear themselves of those imputations, anathematized both those Heresies; and therefore whilst they thus differed in their modes of speaking, they agreed in their sense, as Evagrius well observes. But the bishops of Rome and Alexandria being engaged against one another, and for a long time distracting the East by these disputes; at length the emperor Zeno, to quiet his empire, and perhaps to secure it from the encroachment of the bishop of Rome, who, by this verbal contest^(tt), aspired to the name and authority of universal bishop, sent about an *benoticum*, or pacificatory decree; wherein he anathematized both Nestorius and Eutyches with their followers on the one hand, and abrogated the pope's letter and the council on the other: and his successor Anastasius, for the same end, laboured for to have this decree signed by all the bishops. And Macedonius at first subscribed it; but afterwards heading those

^(tt) Vide Baronium, anno 451. Sect. 149, 150, 151.

who

who stood up for the council (^{uu}), was, for corrupting the Scriptures in favour of his opinion, and such other things as were laid to his charge, deposed and banished, ann.C. 512 (^{xx}). But his own party (which at length prevailed) defended him, as if oppressed by calumnies; and so received that reading for genuine, which he had put about among them. For how ready are all parties to receive what they reckon on their side, Jerome well knew, when he recommended the testimony of "the Three in heaven" by its usefulness; and we have a notable instance of it in the last age, when the churches, both Eastern and Western, received this testimony in a moment in their Greek testaments, and still continue with great zeal and passion to defend it for the ancient reading against the authority of all the Greek manuscripts.

XVI. But now I have told you the original of the corruption, I must tell you my author; and he is Liberatus, archdeacon of the church of Carthage, who lived in that very age. For in his Breviary, which he wrote in the year 535, or soon after, and collected (as he saith in his preface) out of Greek records, he delivers it in these words (^{yy}): "*Hoc tempore Macedonius Constanti-*" "*nopolitanus episcopus ab imperatore Anastasio dicitur expulsus, tan-*" "*quam evangelia falsaret; et maximè illud apostoli dictum, Quia*" "*apparuit in carne, justificatum in Spiritu. Hunc enim mutasse,*" "*ubi habet qui hoc est monosyllabum Græcum, literâ*" "*mutatâ in vertisse et fecisse id est, ut esset Deus,*" "*apparuit per carnem. Tanquam Nestorianus ergo culpatus ex-*" "*pellitur per severum Monachum (^{zz})."*" The Greek letters here omitted are, in the second edition of Sunius, and in those of the councils, thus inserted: "*Ubi habet ôç, hoc est qui; monosyllabum*" "*Græcum, literâ mutatâ o in w, vertisse, et fecisse, ôç; id est, ut*" "*esset, Deus apparuit per carnem.*" But this interpolation was surely made by conjecture: for if Θεός was in the sacred text be-

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(^u) Evagrius, lib. iii. cap. xxi. 44.—Theodorus Iector, lib. ii. and Marcellini Chronicon.

(^{uu}) Flavian was banished in the year of Antioch 561, as Evagrius notes; and Macedonius was banished the same year, or the year before.

(^y) Liberati Brev. cap. xix.

(^{yy}) Vide Baronii Annal. 510. Sect. 9.

(^z) N. B. In Hincmari opuscul. xxxiii. cap. 22. the words "ut esset" are in like manner referred

fore the corruption, then ôç or ô was not in, and so could not be changed into ôç: but if Θεός was not in, it could not be brought in by this change. The interpolation therefore is inconsistent and spurious, and seems to have been occasioned by straining to make out Nestorianism here; the Scribes for that end (^a), referring the words *ut esset* to the sacred text; and then the interpolator writing ôç for *ut*. Whereas they should have referred *ut esset* to the words of Liberatus, thus distinguished from the sacred text; "*Id est, ut esset, Deus apparuit per carnem.*" I had rather, therefore, wave the conjecture of this interpolator, and fill up the *lacunæ* by the authority of an ancient author, Hincmarus; who above eight hundred years ago (^β) related the fact out of Liberatus after this manner: "*Quidam ipsas scripturas*" "*verbis illicitis imposturaverunt; sicut Macedonius Constantinopoli-*" "*tanus episcopus, qui ab Anastasio Imperatore, ideo à civitate ex-*" "*pulsus legitur, quoniam falsavit evangelia; et illum apostoli lo-*" "*cum, quod apparuit in carne, justificatum est in Spiritu; per*" "*cognitionem Græcarum literarum O et Θ hoc modo mutando fal-*" "*savit. Ubi enim habuit, qui, hoc est OC, monosyllabum Græcum,*" "*literâ mutatâ O in Θ, mutavit, et fecit ΘC, id est, ut esset, Deus*" "*apparuit per carnem, quâpropter tanquam Nestorianus fuit ex-*" "*pulsus.*" He was banished therefore for changing the ancient reading (which in some MSS. was OC, as these authors have it, and in others O) into ΘC. But whereas he is here represented a Nestorian, for doing this, the meaning is, that he was banished for corrupting the text in favour of the doctrine of two natures in Christ; which his enemies accounted Nestorianism, though it was not really so. Nestorius held only a human nature in Christ; and that God, *the Word*, dwelt in this nature, as the Spirit in a holy man; and therefore interpreted ô of the human nature. This doctrine Macedonius anathematized, and maintained two natures in Christ; and, for proving this, corrupted the text, and made it God *manifested in the flesh*. This distinguishing Christ

ferred to the sacred text; and somebody, to make out the sense, has in their stead added "*ut appareret*" to the words of Liberatus, and written "*ut appareret, ut esset Deus, &c.*" But the words "*ut appareret*" not being in Liberatus must be struck out, and supplied by setting the comma after "*ut esset,*" to part these words from the sacred text.

(^β) Hincmari opuscul. artic. xxxiii. cap. 18.

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into two natures was, by the enemies of Macedonius, accounted Nestorianism in another language; and in this respect the historian faith, that they banished him as a Nestorian for corrupting the text, though he was not really of that opinion.

XVII. But whilst he is said to be banished as a Nestorian for this, without explaining what is here meant by a Nestorian, it looks like a trickish way of speaking, used by his friends to ridicule the proceedings against him as inconsistent; perhaps to invert the crime of falsification; as if a Nestorian would rather change ΘC into O. For they that read history with judgment, will too often meet with such trickish reports; and even in the very story of Macedonius, I meet with some other reports of the same kind. For Macedonius having in his keeping the original acts of the council of Chalcedon, signed by that emperor, under whom it was called, and refusing to deliver up this book to the emperor Anastasius; some, to make this emperor prejudiced, distorted the story; as if, at his coming to the crown, he had promised under his hand and oath, that he would not act against the council of Chalcedon; and represented his subscribed promise to be the book, which Macedonius refused to deliver back to him. Macedonius had got his bishoprick by being against the council of Chalcedon, and had subscribed the *benoticum* (γ) of Zeno, in which that council was anathematized; and this being objected against him, his friends, to stifle the accusation, make a contrary story of the emperor; as if, when he came to the crown, he had done as much as that in behalf of the council. Another report was (δ), “That the people of Alexandria and all Egypt, great and small, bond and free, priests and monks, excepting only strangers, became about this time possessed with evil spirits, and being deprived of human speech, barked day and night like dogs; so that they were afterwards bound with iron chains, and drawn to the church, that they might recover their health. For they all ate their hands and arms. And then an angel appeared to some of the people, saying, that this happened to them, because they anathematized the council of Chalcedon, and threat-

(γ) Vide Annotationes Valesii in Evagr. &c. lib. iii. cap. 31.

(δ) Victor Turonensis in Chronico.

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“ened that they should do so no more.” Again, we are told in ^{IN THE} history (ε), “That the adversaries of Macedonius produced certain boys in judgment, to accuse both him and themselves of sodomy; but that when they found his genitals were cut off, they betook themselves to other arts for deposing him.” Now if you can believe that a eunuch had the beard and voice of another man; and that in a solemn council, the great patriarch of the East was thus accused and thus acquitted, and yet deposed; you must acknowledge, that there were many bishops among the Greeks who would not stick at as ill and shameless things, as corrupting the Scriptures. But if all this be a sham, invented to discredit the council, the need of such shams adds credit to their proceedings, in condemning him for a falsary.

XVIII. This council (if I mistake not) sat first at Constantinople, being that council which Theodorus calls “a company of mercenary wretches.” And Nicephorus, “a convention of Hereticks, assembled against Macedonius.” Upon their adding to the (ζ) “thrice holy” these words, “who art crucified for us,” the people fell into a tumult; and afterwards, when Macedonius came to be accused, they fell into a greater tumult, crying out, “The time of persecution is at hand. Let no man desert the father;” meaning Macedonius. In this tumult (which was said to be stirred up by the clergy of Constantinople) many parts of the city were burnt, and the nobles and emperor brought into the greatest danger; insomuch, that the emperor was forced to proffer the resignation of his empire, before he could quiet the multitude. Then seeing that if Macedonius were judged, the people would defend him, he caused him to be carried by force in the night to Chalcedon; and thence into banishment, as Theodorus writes. Whence I gather, that the council removed also to Chalcedon to avoid the tumult, and finish their proceeding there. For the story of his being accused in judgment by boys, Nicephorus places after this tumult; and all agree that he was condemned: and the monks of Palestine, in an epistle recorded by Evagrius, say that Xenaïas and Diosco-

(ε) Evagrius, lib. iii. cap. 32.

(ζ) Theodor. lib. ii. — Nicephor. lib. xvi. cap. 26. — Evagr. lib. iii. cap. 44.

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rus, joined with many bishops, banished him. When his condemnation was sent him, signed by the emperor; he asked, whether they, that had condemned him, received the council of Chalcedon; and when they that brought him the sentence denied it, he replied, "If Arians and Macedonians had sent me a book of 'condemnation, could I receive it?' So that it seems he stood upon the illegality of the council. The next day one Timothy was made bishop of Constantinople; and he sent about the condemnation of Macedonius to all the absent bishops to be subscribed (η). Whence I think it will easily be granted, that he was condemned as a falsary by the greatest part of the Eastern empire; and by consequence, that the genuine reading was till then, by the churches of that empire, accounted δ . For had not the publick reading then been δ , there could have been no colour for pretending that he changed it into Θ C.

XIX. About six years after Anastasius died; and his successors, Justin and Justinian, set up the authority of the council of Chalcedon again, together with that of the pope over the Eastern churches, as universal bishop; and from that time the friends of Macedonius prevailing, it is probable, that in opposition to the Hereticks, which condemned him, and for promoting and establishing the doctrine of two natures in Christ, they received and spread abroad the reading Θ C. But as for the authority of the pope, that fell again with Rome in the Gothick wars, and slept till Phocas revived it.

XX. I told you of several shams put about by the friends of Macedonius, to discredit the proceedings of the council against him. There is one which notably confirms what has hitherto been said, and makes it plain that his friends received his corruptions as genuine Scripture. For whereas Macedonius was banished for corrupting the New Testament, his friends retorted the crime upon the council; as if they had taken upon them, under colour of purging the Scriptures from the corruptions of Macedonius, to correct in them whatever they thought the apostles, as unskilfull men and idiots, had written amiss. For this I gather

(η) Theophanes, pag. 135.

from

from an ironical report of this kind put about in the West, and thus recorded by Victor Turonensis. "*Messala. V. C. consulibus, Constantinopoli, jubente Anastasio Imperatore, sancta evangelia, tanquam ab idiotis composita reprehenduntur, et emendantur;*" that is, "In the consulship of Messala, the holy gospels, by the command of the emperor Anastasius, were censured and corrected at Constantinople; as if written by evangelists that were 'idiots.' Here Victor errs in the year. For Messala was consul anno Christi 506; that is, six years before the banishment of Macedonius. But Victor is very uncertain in dates of the years. For he places the banishment of Macedonius in the consulship of Avienus 502; and the above-mentioned tumult about the *Trisagium* in the consulship of Probus, anno Christi 513; whereas all these things happened in the same year. For it is plain by this chronicle, that the Scriptures were examined and corrected about this time by a council at Constantinople, by the order of Anastasius; and I meet with no other council to which this character can agree, besides that which deposed Macedonius. Now that they should censure and correct the gospels, as if written by idiots, is too plainly ironical to be true history; and therefore it must be an abusive report invented and put about to ridicule and shame the council, and to propagate the corruptions of Macedonius as the genuine apostolic reading of the Scriptures, which the council had rashly corrected.

XXI. So then the falsation was set on foot in the beginning of the fifth century, and is now of about twelve hundred years standing; and therefore since it lay but in a letter, and so was more easily spread abroad in the Greek manuscripts, than the testimony of "the Three in heaven" in the Latin ones; we need not wonder if the old reading be scarce to be met with in any Greek manuscripts now extant, and yet it is in some.

XXII. For though Beza tells us, that all the Greek manuscripts read $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$; yet I must tell Beza's readers, that all his manuscripts read δ . For he had no other manuscripts of the epistles besides the Claromontan; and in this manuscript, as Morinus by ocular inspection has since informed us, the ancient reading

was δ (θ); but yet in another hand, and with other ink, the letter Θ has been written out of the line; and the letters O thickened to make a C, appears: which instance shews sufficiently by whom the ancient reading has been changed. Valeſius alſo read δ in one of the Spaniſh manuſcripts; and ſo did the author of the Oxford edition of the New Teſtament, ann. Ch. 1675, in the manuſcript of Lincoln College library, which is the oldeſt of the Oxford manuſcripts. The Alexandrian MS (ι). and one of Colbert's and Cyril, c. 12. Scholiorum (teſte Photio MS. com. in epiſt.) read OC. So then there are ſome ancient Greek manuſcripts which read δ , and others $\delta\zeta$; but I do not hear of any Latin ones, either ancient or modern, which read $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\zeta$.

XXIII. And beſides, to read $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\zeta$, makes the ſenſe obſcure and difficult. For how can it properly be ſaid, "that God was juſtified in the Spirit?" But to read δ , and interpret it of Chriſt, as the ancient Chriſtians did, without reſtricting it to his divinity, makes the ſenſe very eaſy. For the promiſed and long-expecteſt Meſſias, the hope of Iſrael, is to us "the great myſtery of godlineſs." And this myſtery was at length manifeſt to the Jews from the time of his baptiſm, and juſtified to be the perſon whom they expected.

XXIV. I have now given you an account of the corruption of the text, the ſum of which is this: the difference between the Greek and the ancient verſions puts it paſt diſpute, that either the Greeks have corrupted their MSS. or the Latins, Syrians, and Ethiopians, their verſions: and it is more reaſonable to lay the fault upon the Greeks than upon the other three for theſe conſiderations. It was eaſier for one nation to do it than for three to conſpire.

(θ) "Alia manu et atramento, extra lineæ ſeriæ, addita eſt litera Θ , et ambæ paululum O, ut appareret ſigna. Sed præpoſtera emendatio facile conſpicitur." Hæc Morinus in exercitationibus Bibliſis, lib. 1. Exercitat. iii. cap. 4. — At Beza nobis aliqua invidit, ut ex ejus epiſtolâ ad Academiam Cantabrigiæ à Waltonò editam liquet; ubi variantes aliquas lectionescelandas eſſe admonet.

(ι) Alio atramento jam ducta cernitur tam lineolâ per medium literæ O, quàm virgula ſuperna; ut jam legatur OC. Putat autem Millius, lineolas illas olim tenues fuiſſe et prope evanidas, et novo dein atramento increaſſatas fuiſſe; eo quod perluftrato attentius loco, lineolæ per medium Θ ductæ, quæ primam aciem fugerat, ductus quoidam ac veſtigia ſatis certa deprehendere viſus eſſet; præſertim ad partem ſiniſtram, quæ peripheriam literæ pertingit: luculentiora multo habiturus niſi obſtante liturâ quam dixit hodiernâ lineolæ ipſi ſuperinductâ. Verum ſi lineola antiquitus

conſpire. It was eaſier to change a letter or two in the Greek, than ſix words in the Latin. In the Greek, the ſenſe is obſcure; in the verſions, clear. It was agreeable to the intereſt of the Greeks, to make the change, but againſt the intereſt of other nations to do it; and men are never falſe to their intereſt. The Greek reading was unknown in the times of the Arian controverſy; but that of the verſions, then in uſe amongſt both Greeks and Latins. Some Greek MSS. render the Greek reading dubious; but thoſe of the verſions hitherto collated agree. There are no ſigns of corruption in the verſions, hitherto diſcovered; but in the Greek we have ſhewed you particularly when, on what occaſion, and by whom the text was corrupted.

XXV. I know not whether it be worth the while to tell you, that in the printed works of Athanaſius, there is an epiſtle, *De incarnatione verbi*, which reads $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\zeta$. For this epiſtle relates to the Neſtorian Hereſy, and ſo was written by a much later author than Athanaſius, and may alſo poſſibly have been ſince corrected (like the works of Chryſoſtom and Cyril) by the corrected texts of St. Paul's epiſtles. I have had ſo ſhort a time to run my eye over authors, that I cannot tell whether, upon further ſearch, more paſſages about this falſation may not hereafter occur pertinent to the argument. But if there ſhould, I preſume it will not be difficult, now the falſation is thus far laid open, to know what conſtruction to put upon them, and how to apply them.

XXVI. You ſee what freedom I have uſed in this diſcourſe, and I hope you will interpret it candidly. For if the ancient churches, in debating and deciding the greateſt myſteries of religion, knew nothing of theſe two texts; I underſtand not, why

quitus tam conſpicua eſſet, ut uſque nunc per medium lineæ craſſioris, alio atramento ſuperinductæ, cerni poſſit; quid opus eſſet, ut à lineâ illâ ſuperinductâ increaſſaretur. Sin olim tam evanida eſſet, ut cerni vix poſſet; mirum eſt, quod ejus ductus et veſtigia ſatis certa, per medium literæ illius ſuperinductæ, etiamnum appareant. Doceant verba evanida aliis in locis atramento novo increaſſata fuiſſe, vel fateantur OC hic mutatum in $\Theta\zeta$.

* How is it ſaid in St. Luke, that "publicans juſtified God" by receiving John's baptiſm? If to read $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\zeta$ gives a difficult ſenſe in this claſe, to read δ , will it give an eaſy ſenſe in others? Are the propoſitions, that a myſtery was manifeſt in the feſts, a myſtery was received up into glory, both which ariſe from the reading δ , very eaſily intelligible? Is it eaſy to underſtand what myſtery was manifeſt in the feſts, if our Lord's divinity is ſet out of the queſtion? If it be allowed that his divinity makes the myſtery, the two readings will be equivalent in ſenſe, but $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\zeta$ makes the beſt conſtruction.

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we should be so fond of them now the debates are over. And whilst it is the character of an honest man to be pleased, and of a man of interest to be troubled at the detection of frauds, and of both to run most into those passions when the detection is made plainest; I hope this letter will, to one of your integrity, prove so much the more acceptable, as it makes a further discovery than you have hitherto met with in commentators.

F I N I S.

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